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George Lyman Kittredge.

July, 1897.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

SWEET

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A

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

WITH

FULL WORD-LISTS

BY

HENRY SWEET, M.A.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD; HON. PH.D. HEIDELBERG

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1888

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PREFACE.

THIS work first appeared in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873–4. Additional copies were struck off for the members of the Dialect Society. I also put a few hundred copies into the hands of Mr. Trübner, so as to make the work accessible to the general public; these have long since been sold out.

My investigations were due to the combined influence of Bell's Visible Speech, Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, and the German school of comparative and historical philology, of which Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* was to me still the chief exponent. In attempting to trace the connection between the Old English vowel-system as revealed by its comparison with the cognate languages, with the early Modern one deduced by Mr. Ellis from his contemporary phonetic authorities, certain difficulties became manifest. It was evident that if the present distinction between *oo* and *o*, as in *moon*, *stone*, already existed in the Old English *mōna*, *stān*, it must also have existed in the intermediate Chaucer period, so that Chaucer's *o* in *mone*, *ston* could not possibly have stood for one and the same sound, as Mr. Ellis assumed. This self-evident objection to Mr. Ellis's view had also been made by Dr. Weymouth, and had been, indeed, foreshadowed by Rapp (see Ellis EEP II, 675). But with the *e*s the parallelism did not seem to hold good. The correspondence was clear enough in the case of Old English *ē*, *ēo*, *ēa*, but Old English *ǣ* seemed to be represented by *ee* and *e*, *ea* at random, so as partly to justify Rapp's and Ellis's levelling of Chaucer's long *e*s under one sound. On further examination it turned out, however, that Old English *ǣ* became Modern English *ee* only in those words in which it corresponded to Gothic *ē*, as in *deed*. The inference was clear, viz. that in the dialect which gave rise to Standard English the West-Saxon *ǣ* in *dǣd* must have been represented by *ē*. The difficulty of the lengthening of the close Old English *e* of *stelan* into Modern English *ea* was cleared up by a comparison with similar changes in the Modern Scandinavian languages. Rough and tentative as these investigations were, they sufficed to show that the development of English sounds followed definite laws, and was not—as had hitherto been tacitly assumed—the result of mere chance and caprice.

My History of English Sounds was, therefore, originally an expansion of a monograph on the history of long *e* and *o*. At first intended to treat only of the vowels, it was afterwards made to include a sketch of the consonants. The word-list grew under my hands in the same way.

The defects of the book were the result of the inevitable gaps in the knowledge of an entirely self-trained student. In 1873 my undergraduate career at Oxford had only just come to an end, and Plato and Aristotle had so interfered with my own proper studies that my knowledge of Old English was at a lower ebb than it had ever been during the preceding five years. My ms dictionary was still only in the index stage, and the considerable stores of material it contained were therefore practically out of my reach, and I was obliged to rely mainly on Ettmüller's lexicon and my own memory. Middle English I had hardly studied at all.

As might be expected, I had failed to keep pace with the advance of German investigation. I still kept the antiquated view of the priority of Gothic *i* in *stilan* etc. I had glanced through Scherer's *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, but my dislike to his theory of 'tone-raising'—well-founded as it was—unfortunately prevented me from appreciating his explanation of the development of Old English *ēa*.

The most serious of my defects of method was my rejection of the principle of gradual sound-change in favour of change *per saltum* (Ellis EEP 18), although in practice (as in treating of the diphthonging of *ī*) I admitted that these leaps were infinitesimally small. Of the influence of stress in forming doublets etc I had no idea, although a phonetic student of living English might well have partially anticipated the later investigations of Osthoff, Paul and their fellow-workers.

I had, on the other hand, clearly grasped the distinction between phonetic and analogical sound-change. It seems now self-evident that the preterite *bore* owes its *o* to the past participle; but when I first propounded this view before the Philological Society, it met with opposition: people 'didn't see why' Old English *æ* should not become *o* merely because the Germans said it ought to become *a*.

Things have changed in the last fifteen years. The adoption of German methods is no longer a bar to recognition and success. Now too that the Germans are beginning to take up practical phonetics, its importance is beginning to be recognized in the land of its birth. German philology itself has been quickened into new life. English philology has been made a specialty in the German universities: it boasts a 'literature' of its own; it is even beginning to develope cliques and schools.

Nor have I been idle myself. My Old English dictionary collections have been brought into more manageable shape, and have been supplemented by similar collections from the Middle English texts. My range of languages—both dead and living—has been widely extended, with a corresponding advance in my command of sounds. I have done my best to keep level with the latest results of foreign investigation.

Hence the present second edition, while adhering to the general plan of the first, is in execution and detail an entirely new work, which has not only been re-written from beginning to end, but is based on a fresh collection of materials. Its object is, however, the same as before—to sketch the development and history of English sounds from the very beginnings of articulate speech down to the present day, with such discussion of the general principles of sound-formation, sound-change, sound-representation and the development of dialects and languages as seemed necessary.

It is evident that so ambitious and comprehensive a scheme as this can only be carried out by subordination of details to general principles, and strict adherence to the main line of development. This main line of development itself need not and cannot be traced with equal fulness throughout. A history of English sounds which did not go further back than Old English would still be complete in itself, and might well content itself with a reference to other books for the Germanic and Arian sounds, which cannot be adequately treated of without going into the details of a considerable number of separate languages. Brugman's *Grundriss*, which is confined to the phonology of the Arian languages, takes up nearly six hundred pages, and yet it is—what it professes to be—a mere outline! But the main features of Arian phonology can be stated in a much smaller space, if the reader is contented to take them without detailed proofs. Such brief summaries of Arian and Germanic phonology as I have given in this book are, besides, useful for reference even to those who have studied special treatises on these subjects. At the time, too, when I wrote this book, Brugman's *Grundriss* had not appeared, and a knowledge of the latest results had to be laboriously gleaned from a variety of sources—often almost inaccessible to an Englishman. The ten pages into which I have condensed my sketch of the Arian sounds represent years of tedious toil and groping after light.

The most serious defect of the book is that I have not been able to make any general use of the modern English and Scotch dialects, which (with a few brilliant exceptions) have been treated in such a way as to make them worse than useless for purposes of historical phonology. American English and Irish English are equally important and equally inaccessible at present.

In the present edition I have made less use than in the first of the living Germanic languages. The reason is that I feel too painfully the defects of my knowledge of them. In 1877, when my practical knowledge of them was still fresh, I wrote out for press a sketch of the comparative grammar of the six literary Germanic languages in their spoken form, but was unable to find a publisher, and the work is, of course, now antiquated.

I have abstained throughout from controversy or discussion of doubtful points, as far as possible. I have tried, to the best of my ability, to arrive at an independent judgment on each question by an impartial study of the evidence and the views of my predecessors and contemporaries. I have also abstained, as a rule, from giving references to the works of others, or attempting to settle questions of priority of discovery: this I leave to the future historian of nineteenth century philology. I will only add that many of the new views expressed in this work were first published (generally in a very brief form) in the proceedings of the Philological Society, where also may be found Henry Nicol's valuable contributions to the history of Middle English sounds and orthography.

The reader will observe several novelties in terminology, especially in the section on Sound-Change. I use 'Arian' instead of the clumsy 'Indo-Germanic'; as the word *āria* is alway three-syllabled in Vedic Sanskrit, I see no reason for writing it 'Aryan.'

My use of the revised Visible Speech notation for exact purposes requires no justification. Although far from perfect, it is the only system which is universal in its application and at the same time capable of being worked practically. Although experience shows that there is no chance of philologists agreeing on a general Roman system, I have given one in the chapter on Phonetics for the use of those who have not access to the Visible Speech letters. It will be observed that I use the less accurate 'Broad Romic' as a kind of algebraic notation, each letter representing a group of similar sounds.

In the chapter on Sound-Change I have aimed more at reliability than fulness: nearly the whole of the material is drawn from languages of which I have a practical knowledge.

In Sound-Representation the section on the Laws of Form-Change was suggested by the observations I made in working out a system of Shorthand on which I have been engaged for some years. That on Alphabets is based partly on an elaborate study of Old English palæography which I made many years ago, partly on Wattenbach's *Lateinische Palæographie.*

In treating of the Runes I have followed Dr. Wimmer's *Runeskriftens Oprindelse* (now accessible in a German translation) very closely. But at the same time I could not help feeling the force of Canon Taylor's arguments against the Latin origin of the runes, as stated in his *Greeks and Goths.* So I have had to steer a middle course in this hopelessly obscure question.

In the Modern English section I have relied for my material almost entirely on Mr. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation.* To save the reader the trouble of constant reference to this great work, I have given the statements of Mr. Ellis's phonetic authorities in full, wherever necessary.

Especial care has been expended on the First Word-List, which is based mainly on my own collections, as far as Old and Middle English are concerned. For the early Modern period I have, of course, relied mainly on Mr. Ellis's pronouncing vocabularies. The Middle English quotations make no pretension to completeness. At first it was my intention to confine myself to three or four representative texts, but, as might be expected, I found it advisable to widen my range as I went on. An ideally perfect list would, of course, give the forms not only of all the dialects of the three periods of English, but also of the cognate Germanic and Arian languages, together with references to the body of the work for explanations of obscure or abnormal developments, and would also include proper names, which I have only occasionally dealt with.

It is evident that any attempt to carry out this ideal would have involved another ten or fifteen years delay in bringing the book out, and would have swelled its bulk to an indefinite extent. In the present unsettled and progressive state of English philology and the utter uncertainty of its prospects in this country, excessive elaboration would be a waste of time. I am as fully alive to the defects of this work as any of my critics can be, but nevertheless when I see the great advance it is on the first edition, I cannot help regarding it with a feeling of satisfaction, which is not diminished by the reflection that its best portions are, after all, little more than summaries of the work of others. It is to me a source of some pride that, just as Henry Nicol and myself were the first to take up Bell's Visible Speech and apply it to linguistic investigation and the practical study of language, so also we were the first to welcome the revolutionary investigations in Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, and were the first in England (with the brilliant exception of John Kemble) to apply German methods to English philology, although from the beginning we set our faces against the 'woodenness' which then characterized German philology: its contempt for phonetics and living speech and reverence for the dead letter, its one-sidedly historical spirit, and disregard of analogy. So too at a later date, I was one of the first in England to welcome the 'neo-philological' reformers who have rescued German philology from its earlier stagnation of methods. Of the many illustrious members of this school I owe most to Paul and Sievers. No one can read the chapters on general principles in my book without seeing how much I owe to Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*. My debt to Sievers's *Phonetik* is seen in the chapter on Sound-Change, and in almost every paragraph that deals with Old English; Sievers's *Angelsächsische Grammatik* has indeed lighted up the obscure and tortuous paths of Old English dialectology and linguistic chronology in much the same way as Bopp's grammar lighted up the intricacies of Arian philology. I only regret that by an unfortunate accident I was prevented from utilizing the second edition of Sievers's grammar[1]. My debt to Mr. Bell speaks for itself. My debt to Mr. Ellis is best expressed by repeating what I said in the Concluding Remarks to my first edition: "As regards my obligations to Mr. Ellis, I can only say, once for all, that without his investigations this essay would never have been written. It is essentially based on his results, of which, in some places, it is little more than a summary; while I have throughout drawn largely on the enormous mass of material stored up in the 'Early English Pronunciation'." If I had to dedicate this book, it would receive on its title-page the four names of BELL, ELLIS, PAUL, and SIEVERS.

HENRY SWEET.

Bath: *18th January*, 1888.

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[1] I may take this opportunity of saying that I have definitely abandoned my intention of bringing out a grammar to my *Oldest English Texts*. Those German scholars who have hitherto refrained from utilizing that work for grammatical investigations need no longer have any scruples on my account.

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HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS.

PHONETICS[1].

ANALYSIS.

1. In the following sketch the revised Visible-Speech symbols[2] are employed for exact notation, with an occasional Romic transcription. The Romic symbols are enclosed in ( ) where necessary to prevent confusion. They are sometimes used more loosely, especially in representing the sounds of dead languages (37).

2. Speech-sounds are generally formed with *out-breathing* or expiration (›), rarely with *in-breathing* or inspiration (‹). *Suction-stops* or clicks, as in the familiar *tut!* ɔ‹, are formed without either out- or in-breathing.

3. **Throat Sounds.** When the glottis is wide open, the air passing through it produces *breath* (o); when the glottis is narrowed so as to make the vocal chords vibrate, *voice* (ɪ) is the result; if the chords are approximated without being allowed to vibrate, *whisper* (•) is the result. If whisper is strengthened by contraction of the superglottal passage or 'false glottis,' we get the *wheeze* (•ʌ), as in the Arabic *Hha*, which can be voiced (♦), as in the Arabic *Ain*. The *Glottal stop* (x) is produced by a sudden shutting or opening of the glottis, as in a cough.

4. **Nasal Sounds** are formed by depressing the uvula so as to let the breath pass through the nose. Nasality is denoted by ʃ.

5. **Narrow and Wide.** *Narrow* (ᶺ) sounds are formed with

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[1] Sweet: Handbook of Phonetics. Sievers: Phonetik. Vietor: Elemente der Phonetik.

[2] See my *Sound-Notation* in Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1880–1, II.

tensity and convexity, *wide* (ᵛ) with slackness and flatness of the tongue. There are various degrees of narrowness, and it is possible to produce a sound which is exactly half way; the Norwegian short *i* in *fisk* is an example (ſᵛ).

6. Vowels are voice modified by different configurations of the superglottal passages, but without audible friction. By position they are either *back* (guttural), *front* (palatal), or *mixed*, that is, formed by a position intermediate between back and front. They have three degrees of elevation of the tongue, *high*, *mid*, *low*. When the tongue is lowered from the high position, the place of narrowing is at the same time shifted further back. So we have altogether nine positions:

high-back	high-mixed	high-front
mid-back	mid-mixed	mid-front
low-back	low-mixed	low-front

Each of these positions yields a different vowel-sound according as the tongue has the narrow or the wide shape. Intermediate positions are: *retracted* (⊣) and *advanced* (⊢), *raised* (⊥) and *lowered* (⊤). Each vowel-position can be further modified by *rounding* (labialization). Front vowels are rounded by the lips only (outer rounding), mixed and back vowels more by the cheeks (inner rounding). There are three degrees of lip- and cheek-contraction in rounding, high vowels having the narrowest, low vowels the widest lip-opening. When a vowel has a higher degree of rounding than belongs to its height, as when a mid vowel is formed with the rounding of a high vowel, it is said to be *over-rounded*, which is denoted by adding the 'rounder,' as in }›=the Swedish close *o*. The opposite phenomenon of *under-rounding* is denoted by adding the 'rounder' to the symbol of a front vowel, the 'inner rounder' (ᴐ) to that of a mixed or back vowel, as in ſ›= Swedish *y*, lᴐ=Swedish short *u*. Vowels are also capable of *point*-modification (\), the tip of the tongue being raised while the vowel-position is maintained.

7. The thirty-six elementary vowels are given in the annexed table in their Organic and Romic symbols, together with key-words:

high-back-narrow 1 ʌ. Gael. l*ao*gh.	high-mixed-narrow I ï. Welsh *u*n.	high-front-narrow ſ i. Fr. s*i*.	high-back-wide 1 *a*.	high-mixed-wide I *ï*. pr*e*tty.	high-front-wide ſ *i*. b*i*t. *see* sſɷ. ſ˗ pit*y*, *fear*.
mid-back-n.] a. b*u*t.	mid-mixed-n. l ë. G. gab*e*. Amer. *ear*th lɪv.	mid-front-n. [e. G. s*ee*. [˗ Dan. s*e*.	mid-back-w.] *a*. f*a*ther.]˖ Dan. m*a*ne.	mid-mixed-w. l *ë*. *eye*. bett*er*.	mid-front-w. [*e*. m*e*n. *say* s[ſ˗.
low-back-n. J ɐ. Cockney p*a*rk.	low-mixed-n. I ä. s*ir*.	low-front-n. ɪ æ. Swed. l*ä*ra.	low-back-w. J ɒ. Swed. m*a*t.	low-mixed-w. I *ä*. h*o*w. Port. c*a*m*a*.	low-front-w. ɪ *æ*. m*a*n.
high-back-n.-round ł u. Fr. s*ou*. łɒ Swed. *u*pp.	high-mixed-n.-round Ŧ ü. Norw. h*u*s. Ŧ˖ Swed. h*u*s.	high-front-n.-round. f y. Fr. l*u*ne.	high-back-w.-round. ł *u*. p*u*t. *two* ʊłɜ.	high-mixed-w.-round. Ŧ *ü*. val*ue*.	high-front-w.-round. f *y*. Dan. l*y*st.
mid-back-n.-r. ł o. G. s*o*. ł) Swed. sol.	mid-mixed-n.-r. ł ö.	mid-front-n.-r. f ə. Fr. p*eu*. f) G. *ü*ber.	mid-back-w.-r. ł *o*. G. st*o*ck. b*o*y. no ʇłɜ).	mid-mixed-w.-r. ł *ö*. F. h*o*mme. f*o*llow >ɟɷłɜ).	mid-front-w.-r. f *ə*. F. p*eu*r.
low-back-n.-r. ɟ ɔ. l*aw*. ɟ) Swed. s*å*.	low-mixed-n.-r. ɪ ö.	low-front-n.-r. ɪ œ. Swed. f*ö*r.	low-back-w.-r. ɟ *ɔ*. n*o*t.	low-mixed-w.-r. ɪ *ö*.	low-front-w.-r. ɪ *œ*. ɪ) G. g*ö*tter.

8. Acoustically considered, a vowel is voice modified by a resonance-chamber, viz. the mouth. Every time we alter the position of the tongue and lips, we create a new resonance-chamber, which moulds the voice into a different vowel. Each vowel has an inherent pitch, due to the shape and size of the resonance-chamber. The following is the order of some of the chief vowels in pitch, beginning with the lowest:

ɫ; ɫ; }; }; ɟ; ɟ; ȷ;];]; ɪ, ɪ; l, {; I, f; ɩ; ɩ; [; [; ſ; ſ.
u; *u*; o; *o*; ɔ; *ɔ*; *ɒ*; a; *a*; ä, œ; ë, ə; ï, y; *æ*; æ; *e*; e; *i*; i.

Vowels separated only by a comma have the same pitch. It will be observed that vowels of distinct formation are often alike in pitch and consequently in sound (174).

9. Consonants are the result of audible friction or stopping of the breath in the throat or mouth. But in many consonants the friction is not audible when they are uttered with voice. When the friction is audible in a voiced consonant, as in s *z*, ⩾ *v*, it is called a *buzz*, the corresponding breath consonants s *s*, > *f*, being called *hisses*. All consonants can be formed either with *breath*, *voice*, or *whisper*. The last are denoted by ◗: >◗ = whispered *f*. Consonants are either narrow (˄) or wide (˅); in E. they are wide, ɜ˅ *w* being equivalent to close (10) ɫ (*u*).

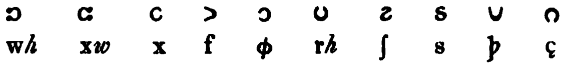
10. By form there are four classes of consonants: (1) *open*, such as ω *r*, s *s*. (2) *side*, such as ꝏ *l*, which is often *one-sided* or unilateral. (3) *stopped*, such as ɑ *k*, ϖ *d*. (4) *nasal*, formed with stoppage of the mouth passage, the nose passage being left open, as in ɔ *n*, ꜰ *m*. When an unstopped (open or side) consonant is pronounced with the nose passage open, it is said to be 'nasalized,' as in ɜɩ, which is a nasalized *w* or an *m* uttered with only partial lip-closure. *Trills* or 'rolled' consonants are a special variety of open consonants, and are denoted by ɩ; thus ωɩ is the Scotch *r*. All consonants may be pronounced with *tenseness* (ʌ) or 'closeness,' or with *looseness* (v), thus a loose *j* ɷv is equivalent to the vowel ſ (i).

11. By place there are five main classes. (1) *back*, such as ɑ *k*, ⊣ ŋ (as in *sing*). (2) *front*, such as ɷ *j* (in *you*). (3) *point*, such as Ʊ *t*, ɷ *l*. (4) *blade* (formed by the surface of the tongue immediately behind the point), such as s *s*. (5) *lip*, such as ᴅ *p*, ꜰ *m*. Point and blade consonants are included under the general term 'foreward.' Most of these admit also of 'inner' and 'outer' varieties, as in the case of the vowels. Point consonants admit of *inversion* (ᶜ), in which the point of the tongue is turned back, and *protrusion* (ᵓ), in which it is protruded to the lips. Thus Ʊᶜ is an inverted or 'cerebral' *t*. Some consonants are formed by a combination of two positions. Thus ƨ ʃ (as in *she*) is a *blade-point* consonant, > *f* a *lip-teeth* consonant, ∪ *þ* (as in *thin*) a point-teeth consonant, which is really equivalent to 'outer point.' When the point of the tongue is put between the teeth, the sound is called 'interdental.' All consonants are liable to be modified by the back-open ‹ (*x*), front-open ∖ (*j*), point-open ⸜ (*r*), lip-open › (*v*)='outer rounding,' and lip-back-open » (*w*)='inner rounding' positions. ᴄ›=G. *ch* in *auch* is for convenience written ɕ, and ɔ‹=E. *wh* is written ɔ̈. Other combinations are expressed by + between the symbols of the two elements, as in ɑ+ᴅ=*k* and *p* uttered simultaneously, or by means of the *blade-* (ˢ), *stop-* (ǀ), *open* (ǁ), *side-* (ᴴ), *unilateral* (ᵘ), *throat-stop-* (ɂ) modifiers. (*) is used as a general modifier, thus ∪* is any variety of *þ*.

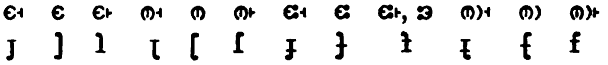
12. A general table of the consonants is given on the following page:—

	Throat	Back	Front	Point	P.-Teeth	Blade	Bl.-point	Lip	L.-Back	L.-Teeth
	VOICELESS.									
Open	• ɹ*h* *Ar.* hha	c x *G.* a*ch*	ᴖ ç *G.* i*ch*	ᴗ r*h* *Icel.* hr	∪ þ *th*in	ʂ s	ƨ ʃ fi*sh*	ɔ ϕ	ɔ ʍ *wh*at	> f
Side	...	ɛ ɭ*h*	ɷ ƚ*h*	ω l*h*	ω˖			ɜ		
Shut	x *Glot. stop*	ɑ k	ᴖ c *Hung.* ty	ʊ t	ʊ˖ *F.* t.	ʊɩ, ʂ|	ƨ|	ᴅ p		
Nasal	...	⅃ ŋ*h*	ʟ ñ*h*	ℸ n*h* *Icel.* hn	ℸ˖			ᴦ m*h*		
	VOICED.									
Open	• ɹ *Ar.* ain	є ȝ G. sa*g*en	ɷ j *y*ou	ω r	ψ ð *th*en	ʂ z	ƨ ʒ rou*ge*	ɜ β *South G.* w	ɜ w	> v
Side	...	ɛ ɫ *Russ.* pa*l*ka	ɷ ƚ *Ital.* gl	ω l	ω˖			ɜ		
Shut	...	ɑ g	ᴖ ɟ *Hung.* gy	ʊ d	ʊ˖	ʊɩ, ʂ|	ƨ|	ɵ b		
Nasal	...	⅃ ŋ si*ng*	ʟ ñ *Ital.* gn	ℸ n	ℸ˖			ᴦ m		

13. Each consonant has an inherent pitch of its own. The following are the pitches of the chief open breath consonants, beginning with the lowest:



14. There is a close relation between consonants and vowels. In many open voiced consonants there is no audible friction, and such 'vowellike' or 'liquid' consonants have quite the effect of vowels. These are ɛ ʒ, ⱷ *j*, ɜ *w*; ɷ *r*, ɷ *l* and the nasals. But ɛ and ⱷ can also be buzzed. The two closest vowels ſ (i) and ł (u) approximate so closely to the consonants ⱷ and ɜ respectively, that it is often difficult to draw the line. When devocalized these vowels cannot be separated from ∩ and ɜ. The following are the most important of the relations between individual consonants and vowels:



ɷ *r* may also be weakened into a kind of vowel; in fact, the E. *r* in *very* may be considered as an unsyllabic vowel.

15. The acoustic relations between consonants and vowels may be seen by comparing the tables of pitches. They generally agree with the organic relations. Observe that *s* and *i* are acoustically similar.

SYNTHESIS.

16. **Quantity.** For general purposes it is enough to distinguish three degrees of quantity or length: *long* (ˑ), *half-long* (˙), and *short* (.), the last being generally left unmarked. In practice the distinction of long and short is generally enough. Long vowels are doubled in the Romic notation.

17. **Force.** Loudness and stress (accent) depend on the force with which the breath is expelled (generally from the

lungs). In a single breath-impulse, as in the vowel *aa*, we can have three kinds of force:

level	]•=
increasing	]•<
diminishing	]•>

The tendency in language is to utter with diminishing force.

18. The influence of force on the synthesis of speech is very important, for the sense of unity and separation depends mainly on it. *Continuity* of force gives a sense of *unity*, as in]•>,]•<>, *discontinuity*, as in]•>>, that of *separation*, the]• being broken up into two syllables. Hence, every syllable (vowel-group) must be uttered with a single impulse of breath, as it would otherwise be split up into two. In language the tendency is against uttering two successive syllables with the same force.

19. The comparative force with which the separate syllables of a sound-group (word, clause, or sentence) are uttered is called *stress* (accent). There are three main degrees of stress: *strong* (·), *half-strong* or 'medium' (:), and *weak* (ˑ), the last being generally left unmarked. Weak stress is also marked by (-). In practice it is often sufficient to mark the strong stress only. The stress-marks are put before the element on which the stress begins. The tendency in language is to alternate strong (or medium) and weak stress. Thus, if such a group as *kalana* is stressed on the first syllable, the second is generally weak, the third medium or, at any rate, slightly stronger than the second: ·ɑ]ˑω]:ɜ]. But in rapid speech such a word might also be pronounced ·ɑ]ˑω]ˑɜ], with a single impulse of breath. The answer to the question, Where does the syllable begin? is, that if it has a distinct stress (strong or medium) its beginning corresponds with the beginning of the stress. If, on the other hand, the syllable is weak, it is often difficult to settle where it begins. Hence it is possible to alter the syllable division by shifting the stress from one element to another. Thus *at all* ought strictly to be pronounced ʅʊ·ɟɪω, but in actual speech the second syllable begins on the *t*: ʅ·ʊɟɪω.

20. The distinction between long and double consonants also depends on stress and syllabification: in ·Ɉωɪ:Ɉ the consonant is long, in ·Ɉω:ωɈ or ·Ɉω(·)ωɈ it is double. Double consonants cannot occur finally or isolated.

21. A sound which can form a syllable by itself is called *syllabic*. Syllabicness implies an appreciable duration and force. The distinction between syllabic and non-syllabic is generally parallel to that between vowel and consonant. But those 'vowellike' or 'liquid' voiced consonants which are unaccompanied by buzz are often also syllabic. These are ω *r*, ω *l* and the nasals. Even voiceless consonants can be syllabic, as in ɒsɪʊ *pst*, where the *s* is syllabically equivalent to a vowel by virtue of its length and stress, the unsyllabic ɒ and ʊ being comparatively momentary and stressless. A syllabic consonant is denoted by]: ɒʅʊω] = 'battle.'

22. A vowel, on the other hand, can lose its syllabicness, especially in combination with another vowel, with which it then forms a *diphthong*. These diphthongic or 'glide-' vowels are written consonant size in VS, being, from a syllabic point of view, consonantal vowels, as in Ɉɪ *ai*, where the group is uttered with one impulse of diminishing force, ɪɈ *ia*, which implies increasing force, the latter diphthong being almost equivalent to ɷɈ *ja*. Ɉɪ is called a 'rising,' ɪɈ a 'falling' diphthong. Ɉɪɪ with the second element lengthened ought to be considered a dissyllable, but it has the effect of a diphthong if the ɪɪ is kept stressless.

23. Glides. In pronouncing any sound-combination, such as ɑɪ *ki*, we not only have the two sounds ɑ and ɪ, but also the 'glide,' or sound produced in passing from the one position to the other, which is implied by the juxtaposition of the symbols. The glide is called the 'off-glide' of ɑ, the 'on-glide' of ɪ. If the transition is made slowly, the glide becomes so distinct that it becomes necessary to write it separately. Thus ɈɷɈ *aja* may be developed into full ɈɪɷɈ, ɈɪɷɈ *aija*. Glideness and nonsyllabicness generally go together, but it is often difficult to draw the line between gliding and fixed configuration, especially in the consonants. Gliding quality is marked), when necessary, as in ϖυ)ω˥ɾ˅= 'try,' where υ and ω together have the same length as the single ω in ϖω˥ɾ˅='dry.'

24. *Initial and Final Vowel-glides.* Vowels may be begun and finished in various ways:

(*a*) The glottis is gradually narrowed, passing through the various positions for breath and whisper till voice is produced. This gives the 'gradual' beginning •]ɫ.

(*b*) The breath is kept back till the glottis is closed for voice, which begins at once without any introductory breath. This is the 'clear' beginning ']ɫ.

25. In both these cases the stress begins on the vowel. If it is thrown on to the preceding glides, they are at once recognized as independant elements, •]ɫ becoming ∘]ɫ *haa*, with the ordinary 'aspirate,' while ']ɫ becomes x]ɫ, with the glottal stop. ∘ is generally modified by the following vowel, whose configuration it partly anticipates. It is, therefore, the voiceless glide vowel-vowel corresponding to the vowel which follows, and is then written ♀. ♀ſ, ♀ɫ *hi*, *hu* are, in fact, equivalent to ɾ:ſ, ɫ:ɫ, being almost equivalent to weaker forms of ɑſ, ɔɫ *jhi*, *whu*.

26. Vowels are finished analogously:

(*a*) by a gradual opening of the glottis, the final glide passing through whisper to breath, giving the 'gradual' ending ſ•.

(*b*) by a cessation of expiration while the glottis is still closed for voice, giving the 'clear' ending ſ'. If uttered with stress these endings become respectively ſ∘ or ſ♀ and ſx.

27. Consonant-glides. All consonants consist of three elements, (1) the consonant itself, (2) the on-glide, and (3) the off-glide. Each of these elements may be either breathed or voiced, and may be modified in various ways. The off-glides of stops are the most important.

28. The following are the combinations, as regards breath and voice:

INITIAL.	MEDIAL.	FINAL.
ɑ•]	]ɑ•]	]ɑ•
ɑ']	]ɑ']	]ɑ'
ɑ̵•]	]ɑ̵•]	]ɑ̵•
ɑ̵']	]ɑ̵']	]ɑ̵'

ɑ• is the E. *k* in all positions, ɑ̵• the E. final *g*, as in *egg*, and ɑ̵' the E. medial *g*, as in *eager*. ɑ' is the Middle and South German *k*. E. initial *g*, as in *go*, is often nearly ɑ', but there seems to be a trace of vocality in the stop itself. On-glides after vowels are generally voiced, but are breathed in some languages, as in Icelandic:]'ɑ•,]•ɑ•.

29. All stops, especially when voiceless, postulate a certain compression of the breath behind the stop, so as to produce an audible explosion when the stop is removed. However strong this explosion of a breath-glide, it is not felt as an independent element, unless the initial force is maintained during the formation of the glide itself. In this latter way are formed the Danish *aspirates* ɑ°, etc., as in *komme*.

30. The glides of unstopped consonants are less marked, but the vocality of the consonants themselves is, on the other hand, more distinct than in the case of the stops. **s** *z*, etc., admit of 'gradual' and 'clear' beginnings and endings, analogous to those of the vowels; final *z* in E. has the gradual ending **-ss**ɩ•. After another buzz or voiced stop it is completely whispered in E., as in ɩ[ʊsɩ 'heads.'

31. Consonant-glides may be variously modified by rounding, etc. Thus E. 'cool' is really ɑ•ɔɫɔω. We can also have such a combination as ɑ•ɔ], distinct from ɑɔ] (kʍa), which is equivalent to ɑ°ɔ]. In such cases the rounding is generally begun before the stop is loosened.

32. Glideless Combinations. In speech the general principle is to take the shortest way between two sounds. This often results in combinations which are effected without any glide at all. This is regularly the case in sequences of consonants having the same place and differing only in form. Thus in passing from ɔ *n* to ʊ *d* in ɔʊ all that is done is to close the nasal passage. Similarly, in ʊω *dl* the transition is made by simply opening the side apertures, the tip of the tongue retaining its position. Combinations in which a stop is followed by open consonants formed in the same, or nearly the same, place are effected either with no glide at all, as in ᴅɔ *pφ*, or with a very slight one, as in ᴅ> *pf*. In such combinations as *ts*, *tf* the places of the two consonants are generally approximated as much as possible, so as to get rid of the glide, thus E. *ts* is really ʊɪs or sɪs, E. *ch* ʊƨ+. Even when consonants formed in different places come together, it is possible to combine them without any glide, although in these cases the gliding must be regarded as the normal form. Absence of glide is marked (.). Thus E. *act* is ɿɑ.ʊ, the tip of the tongue being brought into position before the ɑ-contact is loosened, while in French and other languages there would be a breath-glide between the two consonants.

33. Glide-consonants in the special sense of the word are consonants formed without any fixed configuration, however much the transition may be prolonged. The most distinct glide-consonants are the *flaps*, of which the Norwegian 'thick' *l* is an example: an inverted *r* finished off with a momentary contact of the tongue-tip with the inside of the palatal arch, the tongue moving forward all the time.

34. Intonation. Changes of pitch or tone may proceed either by leaps or glides. There are three primary intonations: (1) the *level* (—), (2) the *rising* (´), and (3) the *falling* (`). There are also compound tones, formed by uniting a rise and fall in one syllable: (1) the *compound-rising* (ˇ), (2) the *compound-falling* (ˆ).

35. A level tone can be of any *height*, but it is enough to distinguish high-level (¯) and low-level (ˍ). The gliding tones can also begin at any height—low-rising (ˏ), high-rising (ˊ), etc. They can also be varied indefinitely according to the *interval* through which they pass.

36. Besides the separate intonations of which it is composed, each sentence, or sentence-group, has a general pitch or *key* of its own, which may be high or low. Changes of key may proceed either by leaps or by glides.

NOTATION.

37. The Visible Speech symbols have been fully explained in the preceding sketch. It is, however, convenient to have a more general notation, in which only the broader distinctions of sound are recognized. The following are the vowel-symbols of such a 'Broad Romic' notation, which can, of course, be supplemented by the more exact symbols already given:

a	*as in* f*a*ther.
æ	„ „ m*a*n.
e	=*close* (*or open*) e.
e	=*open* e.
ə	=*any mixed or obscure vowel.*
i	*as in* *i*t.
o	=*close* (*or open*) o.
o, ɔ	=*open* o.
œ	=*close* (*or open*) *Germ.* ö.
œ	=*open* *Germ.* ö.
y	=*Fr.* u.

Length is denoted by doubling.

38. In dealing with dead languages, it is generally most convenient to give their spelling unaltered, except by the addition of diacritics, as in *ā*=(aa), *ę*=open *e*, *ǫ*=open *o*, *ü*=Fr. *u*, *ċ*, *ġ*=Ω, ϖ resp.

SOUND-CHANGE.

39. Before entering on the subject of sound-change, it will be desirable to discuss the general question of **word-division.** The popular division of the elements of speech into sounds ('letters'), syllables, words, and sentences, is not purely phonetic, but also partly graphical and logical, especially as regards word-division. No amount of study of the mere sounds of a sentence will enable us to recognize the words of which it consists. The only division actually made in speech is that into *breath-groups*, due to the organic necessity of taking breath, which breath-groups correspond partially to the logical division into sentences. Within each breath-group there is no more pause than between the syllables of a single word. Thus, to the ear the word 'teller' and the sentence 'tell her' are identical in sound—ɒ[ω˥, and we cannot possibly analyse such a sound-group without knowing its meaning, and even then word-division is a complex problem.

40. At first, all sound-changes are carried out consistently through each breath-group, without regard to word-division. This primitive stage is clearly shown in the Celtic mutations. Thus in Welsh the change of *p* into *b* between vowels is carried out not only in single words such as *aber* from Old Welsh *aper* 'confluence,' but also in such groups as *dy ben* 'thy head'=*dy* **pen.* The result of this and similar influences is that the Welsh word for 'head' appears in four different forms: *pen* ɒ[ℷ, *ben* ɞ[ℷ, *phen* >[ℷ, *mhen* ɼ°[ℷ, according to the original ending of the word preceding it. Now the logical side of language tends to rebel against such a multiplicity of forms, and in most languages we might predict that that form which is used at the beginning of a breath-group, viz. *pen*, would gradually supplant the three others, *dy ben*, for instance, becoming **dy pen.* In Welsh, however, these mutations were found useful for various grammatical distinctions—*fawr* >]ɨω, for instance, being in certain collocations the feminine of *mawr* 'great'—and hence were preserved.

An equally primitive stage is preserved in the Sanskrit sandhi, only here it is generally the end of a word that is modified, as when **látas ca* becomes *tátaç ca* ʊ]ʊ]ɔ ɑ], the beginning of the next word being also modified in some cases, as when *tád çrutvá́* becomes *tác chrutvá́* ʊ]ɑ ɑᵒω]ʊɔ]ᵻ. These changes were no doubt carried out with absolute consistency. But as sandhi was of no use grammatically, it has been discarded in the modern Indian languages, as also generally in the other Arian languages, which in their earliest stages still show traces of it. But even in the present English we have such variations as *-ðə mæn*, *-ði əəþ*, *hiə -ðei aa*, *hiər -ij iz*.

41. Natural speech is incessantly changing, both as regards its phonetic and its logical structure. The child learns the sounds of its vernacular language by a process of slow and laborious imitation. This imitation is always defective. If the child has been carelessly taught, or if it suffers from intellectual or organic defects, the divergence of its sounds from that of its parents may be so marked as to make its speech unintelligible to outsiders. But even under the most favourable conditions there is some divergence, for it is impossible for the child to reproduce by mere imitation the exact organic movements of its teachers. Even when the individual has settled down to a definite sound-system of his own, he is still liable to modify his sounds from laziness and carelessness. Even if the changes thus produced in the transmission of a language from one generation to another were imperceptible to the ear, their repetition would be enough to account for the most violent changes, if we only allow time enough.

42. Hence we see that, as a general rule, all sound-change is **gradual**: there are no sudden leaps in the phonetic history of a language. Such a change as the frequent one of *ii* into *ai* presupposes a number of intermediate stages: ʃᵻ, ʃ-ɾ, [ɾ, [ɾ,]ɾ,]ɾ, etc. Hence also there are no simultaneous changes of a sound, only successive ones. Thus we cannot suppose a simultaneous opening and unvoicing of *m*, but only some such series as ꟻ, ɜʃ, ɜ, ɔ.

43. The sound-changes carried out within each language are uniform. This is the result partly of the tendency of the same mis-hearings and mis-reproductions of sounds to repeat themselves spontaneously in the pronunciations of most of the individuals of a community, but mainly of the social development of language, which tends to get rid of those new pronunciations which are in the minority. Even if two different organic tendencies were equally developed —even if one half of the children of a community mispronounced ∪ *þ* as ʊ, the other half as s—there would always be other considerations, such as distinctness, which, however trifling, would be enough to turn the balance.

44. But the consistent carrying-out of a sound-change does not necessarily imply that it is carried out everywhere, regardless of its position in the breath-group, its surroundings, and the influence of synthetic elements: quantity, stress, and intonation. On the contrary, most sound-changes seem to begin under special circumstances, and if they do extend themselves over the whole range of the sound in question, it is only gradually. A change such as that of ϖ *d* into ʊ *t* may begin at the end of a breath-group, and be then extended to the ends of words within a breath-group, as in German, and finally to all the ϖs in the language, as when every Arian *d* become a *t* in Germanic. Another change may begin in unstressed words, enclitics, etc.; thus the E. change of] *a* into the ɩ of *man* is partially carried out in the Swedish *a* in unstrest syllables, which is]⊦.

45. One result of the variation of change according to the stress is the formation of **doublets**, such as E. (kæn) and (kən) = 'can,' the *weak* or unemphatic (kən) being the regular representative of the *strong* (kæn) when unstrest. Here weak coincides with unstrest. But it often happens that an originally strest strong form comes to occur unstrest also; thus the strong (hæv) is used both strest and unstrest, but with a difference of meaning in such a sentence as (-juwl hæv -tə -hæv -jo heə :kat), the weak (-həv, -əv) being used only as an auxiliary. Originally weak forms often come to be strest. Thus (wið) was originally the unstrest form of (wiþ), but it has now supplanted the latter entirely. These changes of usage are partly the result of divergence of meaning between the two members of the pair. Thus (ov) was originally the unstrest form of (ɔf), but the two are now felt as independent words, and *ov* has developed a new weak form (əv) or (ə).

Doublets may arise in other ways as well. Thus in E. *no* when uttered in a deferential or conciliatory tone tends to , when uttered with decision or dogmatism it remains .

46. Sound-changes fall naturally under two main classes, internal and external. *Internal* changes, or sound-changes proper, are due either to the tendencies of the organs of speech themselves, as when (ii) becomes (ai), or to the acoustic qualities of the sounds themselves, as when *f* is substituted for þ by defective imitation. We have, therefore, the subdivisions *organic* and *acoustic*, the latter often running directly counter to the former. *External* changes are quite independent of the nature of the sounds themselves, and are, as their name indicates, due to external causes, generally, but not always, connected with the expression of ideas. Thus, to take a familiar example, the change of *asparagus* into *sparrow-grass* is due entirely to the attempt to substitute familiar for unfamiliar sound-groups, and a significant for an unmeaning whole. External changes are often quite opposed to organic tendencies, but they are essentially connected with acoustic change, for they always imply a certain similarity in sound between the old and the new form. It is, therefore, possible to include acoustic and external under the common head of inorganic, thus substituting *organic* and *inorganic* for internal and external as the primary divisions.

47. Another important distinction is that of isolative and combinative. *Isolative* changes are those which affect a sound without any reference to its surroundings, while *combinative* changes imply two sounds in juxtaposition, which modify each other in various ways.

48. The consideration of sound-changes naturally includes the negative phenomenon of *loss*. The *addition* of a sound is generally only apparent—due to the practical exigencies of phonetic notation. The change of *at* into *hat*, for instance, is merely a case of shifting of force (25).

49. Organic changes fall further under three main heads: (1) *throat*-changes, especially those which produce the important fundamental distinctions of breath and voice; (2) changes of *form* (stop to open, etc.); (3) changes of *place* (back to front, etc.).

INTERNAL ISOLATIVE.

Breath and Voice.

50. The relations of breath and voice in consonants are mainly determined by their surroundings, as when *t* between vowels becomes *d*, and consequently fall under the head of combinative changes. It is, therefore, difficult to determine whether the tendency of consonants, apart from assimilative influences, is towards voice or breath. The only absolutely unmistakeable cases of isolative change between breath and voice are those which run counter to the principle of assimilation, namely those in which a voiced consonant flanked by vowels becomes voiceless, as has happened in the case of the stops, both in the first and second Germanic consonant-shift (OE *etan*=Lt *edere*, Gm *leiten*=OE *lǣdan*), and in that of all consonants in many Middle and South German dialects. Change from voice to breath is easier initially and finally, and is very common in the latter case. In German, Dutch, and Russian all final buzzes and stops are unvoiced, although Dutch still voices final *s* in stressless words such as *is* and *was* when a vowel follows. This is evidently a tradition of the more primitive Sanskrit usage, which devocalizes finally only before a pause or a breath consonant. Liquids are rarely unvoiced, as in Welsh initial *ll*- ω\, *rh*- υʒ°. The evidence is plainly in favour of the natural isolative tendency being to change voice into breath. If we consider that a voice consonant such as *d* is really (t)+(ə), we see that the change of *d* into *t* is really equivalent to dropping a final obscure vowel. The tendency to unvoicing is shown most strongly in the stops. The explanation is that the stops are voiced with greater difficulty than the open consonants, the voiced breath having to be driven into an air-tight chamber, so that a voiced stop cannot be held for any length of time. Liquids and nasals are not often unvoiced, because their audibility depends mainly on their sonorous vocality. But even vowels are occasionally unvoiced, especially the consonant-like highs, when final, especially after a breath stop, as in French *vécu* ɜ[ɑ'f:, Russian *ruki* ωıłɑ'\f:.

51. The intermediate change of voice into whisper is very common. Even English finds it easier than voice in such words as *raged* ω[ɪɯɛɪɔ. In Portuguese final unstrest vowels are often whispered, as in *campo* ɑ'ɪ̯ɪɔƀ.

52. The converse change of breath to voice always seems to be combinative, though it is sometimes extended by analogy to the initial and final positions, as in Danish *skib* 'ship' (now sɑf‹ɔ›), due to the analogy of the medial *b* of *skibe*, etc.

Vowels.

53. **Narrow and Wide.** As regards narrow and wide, short and long vowels follow directly opposite tendencies, short vowels being generally widened, long vowels narrowed, whence the pairs f‹, f (ii, *i*), ł‹, ł (uu, *u*) in Gm, Icelandic, etc., as also in (Northern) English, f and ł being apparently the older sounds of the short vowels. The change of a long wide into a narrow is shown in the Dan. *vide* ɜf‹ɯ\] = MnIcel. ɜf‹ɔ] from older *vita* ɜfɔ], ɜfɔ], and in the history of the E. vowel in *name*. An example of a narrow short vowel is the E.] in *but*.

54. The high, consonant-like vowels f and ł are liable to lose their syllabic value in juxtaposition with other vowels. This means of avoiding hiatus is a regular law of the Romance languages, where such words as *glōria* soon became dissyllabic —ɑω}‹ωɪ], which was practically equivalent to *glōrja*.

55. **Place.** As regards height, short vowels tend to lowering, as in Italian *neve* [from *nivem*, Dutch *schip* sɔıf-ɔ 'ship,' long to raising, as in E. *good*, Dutch *goed* ɔıłɔ from older *gōd* ɑ}‹ɔ, E. *stone* from older (stɔɔn).

56. To this latter rule there seem to be no exceptions. There are, on the other hand, some cases of raising of short

vowels, as in the change of *e* and *o* into *i* and *u* resp. in Gothic. Unstrest short vowels are often raised, as in Portuguese, where unstrest *e* and *o* become I and ɨ resp.; as in *que*, *campo*.

57. The tendency is from back to front. The frequent change of ɨ into f, as in French *lune*, Dutch *zuur* 'sour,' was no doubt through the Ɨ of Norse *hus* and the Ɨ˖ of Swedish *hus*. The equally frequent change of ɿ into ɩ, as in E. *man*, seems on the other hand to have been first to ɿ˖, and then direct into ɩ, which only requires a slight forward shift of the configurative narrowing.

58. But the front ɩ occasionally changes into the back ɿ, as in E. *fast* from OE *fæst* through (fææst), probably in order to avoid confusion with the *e*-sounds.

59. The change from front to mixed is mainly in unstressed vowels, as in the Gm, Dutch, etc. -*e* = ʅ, Portuguese *que* ɑ'I.

60. Rounding. As regards rounding, back and front vowels follow opposite tendencies, back vowels favouring rounding, front unrounding.

The first stage in the rounding of back vowels is forming them with imperfect mouth-opening, the low-back ᴊ and ᴊ being especially liable to this muffling. Indeed, unless pronounced with very open mouth, these sounds are always apt to be mistaken for rounded vowels. But muffled, or even fully front-rounded ᴊ) is still distinct from ɟ = ᴊ›. The rounding of *ā* into some variety of open *ō* is very general in the Germanic languages.

61. The unrounding of back round vowels is rare. We see partial unrounding in the short Swedish *u* = l›, complete in the English *u* in *but* =]. In unstrest syllables the change is commoner, as in OE *boga* from older *bogo*. Unrounding of front vowels is shown in the later OE *fēt* for earlier *fœ̄t*, in MnE *sin* from OE *synn* sfɿ˖, and in the South German pronunciation of *ü* and *ö* as *i* and *e*. Partial unrounding in Swed. *y* = f), f)˖, distinct from French *u* = f. Of the rounding of fronts I have no examples to hand.

62. Examples have already been given of under-rounding (61). Of the other kind of abnormal rounding, nl over-rounding, examples are afforded by the Swedish and Danish ɟ)˖, as in *gå*, 'go,' and }ɪ, as in *sol* 'sun,' which are special Scandinavian modifications of ɟɪ (from *ā*) and }ɪ.

63. Diphthonging. Isolative diphthonging or 'vowel-cleaving' mainly affects long vowels, evidently because of the difficulty of prolonging the same position without change. Cleaving of high vowels, as in the very frequent development of (ai) and (au) out of (ii) and (uu) resp., begins with a slight lowering of the first half of the ſɪ or ſɪ, giving ſ˗ſ or ſ˗ſ, as in Southern E. *me*, which is practically almost equivalent to (ij). łɪ and łɪ, however, are more easily cleft by simply increasing the lip-narrowing towards the end of the vowel, so as to form a consonant, as in the Southern E. *who* ϱłɜ.

64. Mid and low vowels are cleft by a slight raising of the tongue; or, in the case of round vowels, by a progressive narrowing of the lip-opening, which may, of course, be accompanied by a raising of the tongue. Examples are the English [ſ˗ and }ɜ) in *say* and *no*. In the latter the cleaving is effected entirely by the lip-narrowing.

65. All of these are falling diphthongs. Rising clefts are the Italian ſ[, ł} from Latin *ĕ*, *ŏ* through [ɪ, }ɪ, as in *lieve*, *buono* from *levis*, *bonus*. In MnIcel. *ē* is regularly cleft into ɷ[ɪ, as in *mēr* 'me.'

66. But diphthongs may also arise from lowering the second half of a long vowel. In North Welsh all long high vowels are followed by an obscure voice-glide: ſɪɪ, łɪɪ, Iɪɪ, as in *drws*. Such was probably the beginning of the Old German *uo* from *ō*, as in *muot*.

It will be convenient to discuss all the changes of diphthongs under the present head, although some of them fall under that of combinative and acoustic changes.

67. In diphthongs of the (ij)-type there is a tendency to make the cleaving more distinct to the ear by divergence, the first element being lowered and retracted through [, [, l, }, ɟ, etc., or even rounded, as in the Cockney pronunciation of *my* as ꜰɟſ˗. (uw) is diverged by lowering and unrounding—}ɜ, ɟɜ, ɟɜ, and then by fronting as in the Cockney *now* ʇ[ɜ. Diphthongs beginning with a front-round vowel are diverged by backing this front vowel, as in the Danish *öie*, now=}ſ[.

68. While the strest element shows this tendency to diverge, the glide shows the opposite one of approximation, Ɉɾ, for instance, becoming Ɉɾ˕, Ɉc, Ɉɩ, till at last the diphthongic character is almost lost, as in the Cockney ꜰɟ꞉ɪɷ=*mile*, almost indistinguishable from *marle*.

69. If the glide-vowel is fully formed, it often acts on the preceding vowel as in mutation (143), drawing it towards itself, so that ɟɾ, Ɉɨ become ɩɾ, [ɾ, and Ɉɨ resp., as in OIcel. *ei* from *ai*, *ǫu* from *au* in *stein*, *ǫuga* (*auga*).

70. 'Smoothing,' or the levelling of the two elements of a diphthong under a monophthong, is the result of absorption, as when *ai* becomes *ā* in OE *stān* by lowering of the glide, *ei* becomes *ē*, as in the Swed. and Dan. *sten*. This direct absorption is, of course, only possible after considerable convergence of the two elements.

71. Forward smoothing, as in Germanic change of *ei* into *ī* in *wīn*, is only the completion of the mutative influences described above.

72. As cleaving is peculiar to long vowels, it follows that when a diphthong is shortened, as when it stands in an unstrest syllable or before two consonants, it tends to smoothing, as in Icel. *eld* from **eild*.

73. Of course, it is possible to make the glide-element of a diphthong so short that the whole combination can be regarded as the equivalent of a short vowel, as in OE *ea*, *eo*.

74. Another result of the strengthening of the glide is that it sometimes develops into a consonant, as in Mod. Greek *αὐτός* Ɉ>·ʊɈs. This development is the rule in most languages in rising diphthongs, *ia* generally becoming *ja*.

75. **Loss.** Isolative loss of vowels seems to occur only in unstrest syllables. Even here it is possible that the loss is only apparent, being compensated by lengthening of the preceding sound: we may perhaps assume that Middle E. *nāme* became ʖɈ꞉ꜰ꞉ as the first stage of its present monosyllabic form.

76. The dropping of unstrest vowels is generally preceded by various weakenings, generally in the direction of l. Dropping without previous weakening is, however, common in spoken Welsh, as in *agorwch* ɑʄωɪc. But even in Welsh it is the mixed ɪ which is oftenest dropt, as in *yfory* >ʄωɪ.

77. The dropping of unstrest vowels is often dependant on the nature of the resulting consonant-group. Such combinations as *k*(*ə*)*l*, *t*(*ə*)*n*, in which the second element is a vowellike syllabic, are especially liable to contraction, especially when, as in the second instance, the two consonants are formed in the same place. But in Old Icel. we find vowels dropt without any regard to the nature of the resulting consonant-groups, as in *lax* gen. sg. from **laxes* through **lakss*.

78. The contraction of two short vowels into one long, which is a frequent means of avoiding hiatus, as in Sanskrit *atī va*=*ati iva*, implies, of course, only the loss of the independent stress with which the second vowel begins. Where one, or both, of the vowels is long already, the contraction was no doubt at first extra long.

Consonants.

79. **Form.** The opening of stops generally seems to begin between vowels, and is then evidently due, in part at least, to the attempt to assimilate the form of the consonant to that of a vowel. This is confirmed by the fact that it is generally voiced stops that are opened in this way. Thus in Modern Greek *g* has everywhere become ϵ, while *k* continues to be a stop, and so with the other stops, the change having probably begun between vowels, and been then extended to the initial and final occurrences of the voiced stop. In Dutch too *g* has everywhere become ϵɪ or cɪ, while in German initial *g* retains its stopped quality.

80. But voiceless stops are sometimes weakened into open breaths between vowels, as in the regular change of *c* and *t* into *ch* and *th* in Old Irish, as in *athir*. In Danish unstrest *-et* becomes -ɭυʌ, as in *huset*. Here the change was probably direct, but in other cases it may be the result of strengthening the breath-glide (140). The frequent change of *kt*, *pt* into cʊ, >ʊ seems to be partly due to striving after distinctness, as also that of *tt* into *st*, as in Latin *equester*.

81. The change of a nasal into an open consonant is, of course, through a nasalized open consonant; thus the Welsh mutation of *mam* into *fam* ⋟]ꜰ postulates an intermediate ɜʃ]ꜰ, which is nothing but an *m* with the lip-passage open.

82. The change of a stop into a side-consonant is not common, but there are examples in Latin, such as *oleo* by the side of *odor*.

83. Side-consonants are capable of a further weakening into open consonants, as in French *fille, milieu*, where ꝏ has become ɷ, Italian *fiamma* from *flamma*.

84. The change of an open consonant into a vowel is, in the case of *j* and *w*, often almost entirely dependant on stress-shifting and synthesis. In OE *snāw*, for instance, it is impossible to tell whether the *w* really means ɜ or is simply equivalent to ɨ; most probably the latter, but the distinction is very slight.

85. Some consonants, such as E. and Gm *r*, are pronounced with such a complete absence of buzz and with so open a configurative passage that they may be regarded as glide-vowels rather than consonants.

86. These weakened consonants must be carefully distinguished from syllabic consonants. It is true that the unbuzzed vowellikes lend themselves with especial ease to the syllabic function, and that it is possible that the Sanskrit vocalic *r* in *mrtá* really had something of the E. *r* in it, but there is nothing to prevent it from having been a strong trill —at least at first.

87. If the configurative passage of an open breath consonant is progressively enlarged, the acoustic effect of its position becomes more and more indistinct, till at last we hear nothing but mere breath. In modern Irish the old *th*, 'aspirated' *s*, etc., are weakened in this way to mere *h*s. In Sanskrit final *s* becomes a mere breath, as in *áçwah*. Even in E. *I think* often sounds like *I hink*.

88. All these changes are weakenings. The converse change from open to stop is frequent. The open voiced consonants between vowels are especially liable to this change. Indeed such a consonant as ϵ, if pronounced without perceptible buzz, as in MnIcel. *saga* sʃꞏєɟ, has very much the effect of ɑ. The Old Swedish *sagha* has, accordingly, become sɟꞏɑɟ in MnSwedish. ɷ has been stopped in Greek *zugón*=ʊsfɑ}ɿ, Latin *jugum*, and in Italian *già* ʊєɟ from *jam*, all pointing to a preliminary stopping of ɷ into ɑ. In Swedish such a word as *jag*, when emphasized, is often uttered with weak stoppage, so as to be intermediate between ɷɟꞏɑ and ɑɟꞏɑ. The change of ɜ into ɑ through є is seen in the French *garde* from German *warda*, Welsh *gwlad* ɑɷɜɟꞏʊ=OIrish *flaith* (where *f*=older *w*), showing the intermediate stage ɑɜ. A parallel change of the voiceless ɔ is seen in the dialectal Icel. pronunciation of *hvalir* as ɑɜɟꞏɷʃɷ. The stopping of ᴗ, ᴡ is common to most of the Germanic languages, as in Swedish *ting*, German *ding*=E. *thing*, Swed. *du* ʊɪꞏ=E. *thou*.

89. We have, lastly, the trilling of open consonants, especially ɷ and є. The tendency of the dialects of large capitals is in favour of untrilling, as we see by comparing the London with the Edinburgh, the educated North Gm with the provincial and the Dutch *r*. Dutch, on the other hand, not only retains a strong ɷɪ, but also trills its *g*=єɪ, and its c in *schip*= scɪʃ-ɔ. Trilling is no doubt the result of striving after distinctness.

90. Place. *Back to Throat.* We see this change in the Danish *r*=ɵɜ, which is no doubt a later form of the єɪ of the Jutland pronunciation. In Glasgow Scotch *t* in *butter*, etc., is ʊɪ—a *t* with simultaneous glottal stop.

91. *Back to Front.* This change appears to be always combinative.

92. *Front to Back.* Italian *valga* from *valeam* through *ɜɟɷɷɟ and *ɜɟɷɑɟ. So also It. *tengo* from *teneo*.

93. *Forward to Back.* The frequent substitution of єɪ for ɷɪ, as in the Parisian *r*, seems to be mainly imitative. For Russian *l*, see § 104. The change of *s* into c, as in the Old Bulgarian *choditĭ*, seems to be the result of inner rounding and subsequent exaggeration of the back element, as in the change of *w* into *gw* (88). In Armenian we find *sw* developing into a back aspirate stop through c, as in *khuir* 'sister.' The first stage is shown in the Gm *sch*=ƨɜ. In the South Swedish pronunciation of ꙅ in *skjuta*, etc., the inner rounding is very marked, the point of the tongue being lowered, which would soon develop back modification.

94. *Forward to Front.* Spanish ɩ from Latin *nn*, as in *año*. So also in some West-Norwegian dialects *ll* and *nn* become ꝏ and ɩɩ, or approximations to them.

95. *Lip to Lip-teeth.* In the change of *p* into *f*, *w* into *v*, we may always assume an intermediate ɔ, ɘ, the latter being the Middle German *w*. This is partly an acoustic change, > being more distinct than ɔ.

The converse change is shown in the Danish *hav* 'sea' = ꙅ]ɟ›).

96. *Forward to Lip* (*-Teeth*). The frequent change of ᴗ to >, as in a defective pronunciation of *through*, and in Latin *fūmus* = Sanskrit *dhūmás*, seems to be imitative, but may sometimes be through ᴗ).

97. The converse change is shown in that of final *m* into *n*, as in Spanish *Adán*.

98. There are various changes of the forward consonants among themselves. That of (z) into (r) is frequent in Latin, as in *Aurora*, and in Germanic, where it was through ω\ (145). The converse change is shown in the older Parisian Fr *chaise* from *chaire*.

99. Isolative change of s into ꙅ is regular in Gm initial *s* followed by a cons., as in *schwan*, *stein*. In Portuguese *s* final or before a consonant becomes the intermediate ꙅɩ, as in *casas* ɑ']sɪꙅɩ.

100. Inversion is generally the result of the influence of *r*, a sound which always tends that way, especially when trilled—as in Swed. *barn* ɒʝɫʒc. The inverteds are strongly represented in Sanskrit under the name of 'cerebrals,' where they are produced by the influence not only of *r* and ʃ, but of other sounds, even the vowels *i* and *u*. It is possible that inversion may in some languages be the result of exaggerating the distinction between gum-point, such as E. *t*, and teeth-point conss.

101. A peculiar result of inversion is the change of *l* into the Scandinavian 'thick *l*' (33).

102. As regards rounding, back open consonants tend, like back vowels, to rounding, as shown in the history of such words as *draw* from OE *dragan*, *sorrow* from *sorg*. E. *r* is rounded in individual pronunciation. The rounding of *s* and *f* has been treated of above (93).

The tendency of back-round conss. to exaggerate the back element has also been illustrated above (93).

103. The loss of back modification is shown in the frequent change of (w) into (v) through ɜ, as in Gm.

104. The most unstable of the conss., as regards modification without change of place, is *l*, whose position can be combined with that of almost any vowel. In the 'clear' *l* the front of the tongue is somewhat raised in the direction of ꝏ\, which gives the French *l*. In the 'dull' English *l* the front of the tongue is hollowed out. The Dutch *l* is decidedly back-modified or 'guttural,' still more so the Portuguese *l* in *alto*, which is quite ꝏ(. The clear *l* tends to become ꝏ; the dull to become s, as in Russian *palka*.

105. Cleaving. Consonant-cleaving, as when *ll* becomes *dl*, *nn* becomes *dn*, as in MnIcelandic *falla* >]Ʊꝏ], *einn* [ɪƱɜ, is, like vowel-cleaving, the result of the difficulty of prolonging a consonant unchanged. In the West Norwegian dialects the *dl* in *falla* is articulated so lightly that the combination is really half-way between *ll* and *dl*. Another kind of cleaving is shown in the Welsh *nh* in *nhad*=ɜȣ]ɪꝏ, which must once have been simple ɜ]ɪꝏ.

106. Consonant-smoothing is analogous to that of vowels. It is forwards in Danish *binde* ɘſɜl through *ɘſɜɜl, backwards in German *pfeffer* from **pfepfar*.

107. Loss. Consonants are more freely dropped than vowels, as being less sonorous. Thus Germanic initial *j* is dropped everywhere in the Scandinavian languages, as in Icelandic *ār* =*year*. The loss of *h* in Cockney and provincial E. is only apparent, being due simply to a shifting of force (25). The dropping of initial *k* in *know* was preceded by a stage in which it unvoiced the *n*, so that the *k* was only dropped because it had become superfluous for distinctive purposes. Many other consonant-droppings are no doubt due to the same principle of economy of distinction. Final consonants are very easily dropped, being uttered with less force than initial ones (17). The audibility of final stops depends mainly on the off-glide, and if this is suppressed, they become almost inaudible, and this was probably the beginning of that wholesale dropping of final conss. which we see in French. French keeps final conss. before another word beginning with a vowel (liaison), but Old Bulgarian drops all final conss. without exception, nasals alone partially surviving in the nasalization of a preceding vowel, so that every word in the language ends in a vowel. Other languages, such as Greek, allow only certain consonants at the end of a word—mostly vowellikes. Final consonant-groups are often very deficient in sonority, especially stop-groups, such as *kt*, and are consequently lightened by throwing off the last, as in the Cockney pronunciation of *act* as ʅɑɫ; other groups being lightened in various ways, as in Greek *ánax* for **ánakts*. Even polite E. makes *asked* into (aast).

108. Addition. The addition of *d* and *p* in such combinations as *an*(*d*)*ra*, *am*(*p*)*ta*, as also their dropping, is only apparent. In passing from *n* to *r* it is necessary to shut the nose passage, and open the mouth passage simultaneously, and the slightest delay in doing the latter of course converts part of the *r* into a *d*.

109. The addition of hiatus-filling consonants, as in Dutch *zeeën*=S'[ɫɷ]ɿ, is simply due to a slight exaggeration of the glide between the two vowels. Such insertions as that of *r* in the E. *idear of* are, of course, the result of external analogy. Other means of avoiding hiatus are the glottal stop—]x], and the introduction of a breath-glide, as in the occasional French *fléau*=>ꝏ[ɤ}.

An interesting example of consistent hiatus-filling is afforded by Old Bulgarian. In this language, as already stated, every word ends in a vowel. So, in order to get rid of all hiatus, every initial vowel developes an allied consonant before it, *i*- becoming *ji*-, *ŭ*- becoming *vŭ* (from **wŭ*-), etc.

Quantity.

110. There is a general tendency to shortening in unstrest syllables, *-aan*, *-ann* both becoming *-an*. In strest syllables there is a tendency to alternate short and long in vowel + cons. Final *-an* is often lengthened to *-ann*, though the short cons. is kept in many languages, and final *-aann* generally becomes *-aan*. Medially *ana* tends to become *aana*, *aanna* also to become *aana*. The frequent change of *anna* into *ana*, as in Gm *gewinnen*, seems to be the result of the qualitative divergence of short and long vowels: when ʃɩ, ʃ had been separated into ʃɩ, ʃ, the doubling of the (n) in *gewinnen* became superfluous and it was therefore shortened.

111. In the Romance languages stress keeps a final vowel short, as in French *si* sʃ, while in the Germanic languages it lengthens.

112. In many languages the high vowels, especially *i* and *u*, tend to shortness, either resisting lengthening influences, as in E. *son*, *written* from OE *sunu*, *writen*, or else being shortened against the analogy of the other vowels, as in Dutch *lieden* ωʃϖɔ, *voeten* >'ɩʊɔ. The extreme closeness of these vowels seems to make their lengthening difficult.

113. Shifting of quantity often accompanies stress shifting in diphthongs, as in OIcelandic *kjōsa* from **kēosa*.

114. Vowel quantity is often dependant on the influence of the following consonants. Stops, especially voiceless stops, shorten. The shortening influence of *m* in Swedish is very marked. In Welsh *ŋ*, *m*, *l* shorten, often also *n*. *r* lengthens in many languages.

115. Vowellikes and nasals followed by another consonant, especially a voice stop, often lengthen, as in E. *beard*, *wild*, *find*. The lengthening seems to be due to the difficulty of distinguishing the vocality of the vowel from that of the vowellike, (finnd) and (fiind), for instance, having much the same effect on the ear. In some cases the lengthening of the vowel is due to the absorption of a parasite-vowel (159), as in E. (haad) 'hard' from (hard) through (haərd).

116. The distinctions of quantity are utilised differently in different languages. In many languages, such as Russian, French, and the Romance languages generally, the distinction of long and short vowel is not clearly marked, the quantity, especially of stressed vowels, being generally medial. Other languages, such as E., distinguish accurately three degrees of quantity. Again, in such languages as Sanskrit and Hungarian any vowel in any part of the word, whether strest or not, may be long or short; but in other languages quantity is partly dependant on stress and position. In Welsh the last syllable but one is stresst and short, so that *ton* and *tōn* both have plural *tonau* ɒ}ɔ]ɪ. In Swedish such a word as E. *bitter* with a short strest vowel followed by a short cons. is impossible. In E. such a word as German *mann* ꜰ]ɔ, with a short final cons. preceded by a short strest vowel, is equally impossible.

117. The influence of quantity on other changes is very marked, especially as regards vowels. Long vowels tend to narrowness, raising, and cleaving; short vowels to wideness, lowering, and smoothing. It also influences stress, as in Latin (121).

Force.

118. Stress-shifting in diphthongs does not affect those of the (ai)-type, but only when a closer (higher) is followed by an opener (lower) vowel, or a back by a front. Whenever the first element of a falling diphthong by gradual divergence reaches (i) or (u), as when ʅɨ passes through ʃɪ, ʃɹ into ɾɹ, there is a tendency to shift the stress on to the opener and more specifically vocalic second element, a tendency which is no doubt helped by the difficulty of lengthening a high vowel (112) and the ease with which such a vowel passes into a glide and a consonant. The two extremes are therefore the falling (·ai), and the rising (i·a) almost =(ja). Italian *ie*, *uo* were no doubt originally falling diphthongs. (u) is felt as opener than (i), hence (iu) tends to (i·u, ju). In the South Gm dialects *uo* from *ā* through (ɔɔ, oa, ua) still remains a rising diphthong, as also *ie* from *io*.

119. The general tendency of language is to alternate strong and weak strest syllables as much as possible. Hence the tendency to throw forward the stress of a two-syllable enclitic in some languages, as in Old Icelandic, where *þeir ero* becomes *þeir ro.*

120. Some languages, such as French, have practically no independent stress, intonation taking its place.

121. In some languages, such as Sanskrit, Russian, and English, the place of the stress may be on any syllable in the word. In others it is fixed on some one syllable, as in Welsh, where it is regularly on the last but one, and in Icelandic, where it is on the first. In others, again, its place is partly determined by quantity. Thus, in Latin it must be on the last but one if that syllable is long, on the one before that (third from end) if the last but one is long: *mon·ēre, ·regere.*

122. Stress-shifting in different syllables is due partly to such mechanical limitations, partly to external influences, as when a language throws the stress on to the root-syllable. This may often be effected most imperceptibly, by gradually increasing the strength of an orginally only half-strong syllable.

123. It must be remembered that originally stress was due to purely external causes. Here we may observe two opposed tendencies: (1) to emphasize the most important element of a word or group, as in 'a piece of ·bread'; (2) to emphasize the element which modifies the original meaning of the word to which it is added, as in 'to give and ·forgive.' The first tendency leads to putting the stress on the root, the second to putting it on inflections, etc.

124. The influence of stress on sound-changes in general is very important. All the weakening processes, shortening, dropping, assimilation, smoothing of diphthongs, etc., begin in unstrest syllables. Thus Icel. *skǫpuþu* from **skapaþu* shows only approximation to the *u* (mutation) in the strest syllable, but complete assimilation in the second, unstrest syllable. As the beginning of a syllable generally has the strongest stress, initial and medial consonants often show the opposite tendencies of strengthening and weakening, as in Danish *kage* ɑ°ʃ‡ɛ+ʅ =OIcel. *kaka*, where the first *k* is strengthened, the second weakened.

125. The shifting of a cons. from the end of one word to the beginning of another, or vice-versa, as in *nickname* from *an ekename*, *adder* from *a nadder*, is really due to shifting of force. So also is the loss or addition of *h*.

Intonation.

126. Intonation was originally an instinctive means of emphasis, an energetic utterance of a vowel being accompanied by a high tone—level or rising, the unemphatic syllables being uttered in a low tone.

127. Hence the intonation in primitive languages—at least in Sanskrit, Greek, and the other OArian languages—is fixed in each word: it is a *word-intonation*. This fixed intonation still survives in Lithuanian and Swedish. In Swedish, for instance, ɟ›‡ɵ}›‡ uttered with a rising tone is the town *Åbo*, but if uttered with a falling tone on the first syllable and an upward leap on the second, it means 'dweller.' Even in E. *ˊraaðə* and *ˇraaðə* have the contrary meanings of 'a little' and 'very much,' as in answer to the question 'does it rain?'

128. In the more highly developed living Arian languages, on the other hand, the intonation is not bound to any one syllable of a word, but is used to modify the meaning of the sentence as a whole, a rising tone implying doubt, question, incomplete statement, etc., a falling tone certainty, answer, completion, etc. Even in Sanskrit and Greek the word-tone was no doubt modified by these tendencies, as it certainly is, not only in Swedish but also in Chinese—a language in which word-intonation plays an exceptionally important part.

129. Intonation is not necessarily associated with stress, but there is a strong natural connection between them, and the history of the Arian languages shows clearly that in them high tone was accompanied with strong stress, for the weakening and dropping of vowels in unemphatic syllables which is carried to such an extent in parent Arian cannot be explained as due to mere lowering of tone.

130. There is, therefore, no such thing as a change of modulative or 'musical' accent into stress-accent: all that has happened—say in Modern Greek—is that the stress has been kept, while the intonation has been set free.

131. The compound tones are often accompanied by double stress on the intoned vowel (zweigipfliger accent) which seems to cut it into two. This may be, as suggested by Sievers, a cause of diphthonging.

132. The Danish substitution of the glottal stop for the 'simple' intonation of Swedish, as in ꜰ]X7ı *mand* = Sw. *mann* ʹꜰJ7ı, is very remarkable. It is evidently due to an energizing of the intonation. Even in Sw. the simple tone is often energized in such words as *baron*, the vowel being pronounced with a jerk in the middle so that it seems to be divided into two, a falling being at the same time substituted for the rising tone—ɘʃω}›}›7. In some Lithuanian dialects (according to Kurschat) the same thing happens, which in Lettish seems to develop into a full glottal stop, as in Danish.

133. The influence of intonation on sound-change is very slight. It seems, however, that in parent Arian *a* with a high tone became *e*, while a low tone changed it to *o*, evidently because *e* has naturally a high, *o* a low pitch.

134. As regards the relation of intonation to quantity and stress, we may say briefly that emphasis, length, strong stress and high pitch are naturally, though not necessarily, associated.

Transposition.

135. Transposition, as in OE *axian* for *ascian*, MnE *bird*=OE *bridd*, is generally a more or less isolated phenomenon, but is sometimes carried out through a whole group of sounds, as when Greek *z*=ϖs became sϖ in the Attic dialect.

INTERNAL COMBINATIVE.

136. The influence of one sound on another may be either *forwards*, as when *adta* becomes *adda*, or *backwards*, as when *adta* becomes *atta*. It may be either *partial* (subsimilation), as in the Germanic vowel-mutation (*fuss*, *füsse*), or *complete* (assimilation), as when *adta* becomes *atta*.

Breath and Voice.

137. The change of breath stops into voice between vowels is regular in Danish, where, however, the resulting voice stops have been opened, as in *lade* 'let' ɷ]ɨɯ\ɭ, *skibe* sɑ[ɨɜɭ 'ships.' In Sanskrit final stops are always voiced if the next word begins with a vowel, as in *údēti* 'goes out.' The hisses, such as *s*, are not voiced either in Danish or Sanskrit between vowels.

138. Breath and voice assimilation between two consonants is almost universal in language, such combinations as English *kb* in *backboard* being exceptional reactions due to striving after distinctness. In Dutch *bakboord* is pronounced ɒɉɘɒ}ɨɷɪʊ, and when a Dutchman speaks English, he is apt to make *Dutch Jews* into *Dudge Jews*. Sanskrit follows the same laws, even *s* being voiced before voiced conss. and vowels, although in the extant language the resulting *z* has been changed to *r*, or dropped, as in *áçwō dramati*, where *-ō* stands for **-oz*. Even E. has (kæts) against (dogz).

139. It will be seen that the stops are the most sensitive to breath and voice assimilation, while the vowellikes *r* and *l* and the nasals are generally quite independent of them. In Icelandic, however, *lt*, etc., as in *bilt*, becomes ɷʊ.

140. The slight escape of breath which follows breath-stops in such languages as E. is easily developed into an aspirate-glide, as in Danish *kan* ɑ°]ɲ, Sanskrit *kh*, by a slight stress on it, which at the same time relieves the pressure involved in forming an unaspirated ɑ'. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that an aspirate requires greater effort than an ordinary stop: there is simply a shifting of effort from the stop itself to the glide. If an aspirate-glide is held unchanged, it becomes a definite, open consonant corresponding to the preceding stop, giving the combinations known as 'affricates' or 'stop-opens': ɑc, ɷ∩, ɒɔ (ɒ>). *t* developes in this way either into ʊ∪ or ʊs, according as it is a pure point or a blade-modified stop. The glide in the Danish ʊ° in *tale* sounds between *s* and *þ*. When the glide has thus obtained an independent existence as an open consonant, the stop itself is often dropped as superfluous, as in the German *pfeffer* from ɒɪɒɭω through ɒ°ɪɒ°ɭω, ɒɔɪ(ɒ)ɔɭω. The front stop ɷ is peculiarly liable to these developments, its off-glide being very liable to develop into full ∩ because of the difficulty of removing the broad ridge of the tongue quickly enough from the palate. Indeed even ɷ' always suggests *tʃ* to an unaccustomed ear, the glide being so distinct. In Sanskrit the aspirate of *c* ɷ, which is written *ch*, must have been really the stop-open ɷ∩, for it makes a preceding vowel 'long by position.'

The influence of *s* in aspirating an adjoining breath-stop is seen in Sanskrit *sthitás*, *gácchati* ɑɭɷɷ∩ɭʊʃ and Greek *skhízō*. In Danish it has the opposite effect: cp *til* ʊ°ʃω with *stille* sʊ'ʃωɭ. Here the initial *s* seems to take away the stress from the following cons.

141. The two chief kinds of influence of vowel on vowel are *vowel-harmony* and *mutation* (umlaut). Mutation, however, is backward and indirect, implying modification of the intervening consonant, while in vowel-harmony the influence is generally forwards, and the one vowel acts on the other directly without any necessary modification of the intervening consonants, and therefore extends more easily through an indefinite number of syllables. It appears to be partly acoustic. The best example of it is in Finnish. In Finnish the vowels are:

(1) hard: *a*, *o*, *u*.
(2) soft: *ä*, *ö*, *y*.
(3) neutral: *e*, *i*.

In Finnish the root-syllable always comes first and has the chief stress. If the root-syllable has a hard vowel, all the following must have a hard or (more rarely) a neutral vowel; if it has a soft vowel, all the other vowels of the word must be soft or neutral: *muuttumattomuudestansa*, *tyytymättömyydestänsä*. For traces of this in the Arian languages see § 159.

Front-Modification.

142. The influence of *i* and the other front vowels and of *j* on a preceding back cons., especially the stops *k* and *g*, may be seen in any language. Even in E. the *k* in *keen* is a little more forward than in *corn*. In Russian the front vowels ɪ, ɩ (ɩ), and the now silent *ĭ*(=ɪ?), communicate their own front articulation to most preceding consonants, but in various degrees according to the nature of the consonant. ωɪ *r*, ꜱ *s*, > *f*, ꜰ *m*, ᴅ *p* simply arch the tongue into the ɾ-position (=ɷ+), or, in other words, anticipate an ɾ, but without otherwise modifying their original articulations. In such a group as ɪꜰ\ɪ (imi) the *i*-position is maintained unchanged from beginning to end. In such a word as *mirŭ* ꜰ\ɪωɪ a Russian brings the tongue into the ɾ-position simultaneously with the closure of the lips which forms the ꜰ. ɑ *k* becomes ɑ\, as in the old-fashioned E. *kyard*=ɑ+ with simultaneous ꭥ+. c (x) becomes ᴖ (ç). The fronting is carried out most fully with the point nasals and stops ɿ *n*, ᴐ *t*, ϖ *d*, whose place of stoppage is shifted back to the outer front position, both cons. and vowel in ɩ+ɪ, ꭥ+ɪ being apparently formed in the same place, the point of the tongue not being employed at all. The fronted ω *l* was probably once ω+, but it has now become almost the ordinary point consonant, probably because its wide divergence from the back ꜱ in *palka* made further differentiation superfluous. ɛ ʃ and ɛ ʒ have also lost their original front modification, at least in the Moscow pronunciation. The loss of original fronting has been very extensive in Servian and the other South Slavonic languages.

ɷ (j) has exactly the same influence, being itself dropt, as in *ditjá* ϖɪ·ꭥɟ.

143. These fronted consonants again in their turn influence a preceding sound. Thus the ɑ in *šestĭ* ʒ[s\ɑ fronts the preceding s, and this s\ again narrows the preceding vowel (which would otherwise be the wide [̧) into [. ʒ(*o*) and ʃ(*a*) followed by a fronted cons. are advanced towards the mixed positions—ʒ+, ʃ+. The second element of the diphthongs *ei* and *ai* has the same effect—[ɪ, ʃ+ɪ.

144. It is certain that these vowel-changes are due entirely to the direct influence of the immediately following cons., for if that cons. is not fronted by a following cons., as sometimes happens, the vowel remains unmodified, as in *krěpki* ɑωɾ\[̧ɒɑ\ɪ.

145. In these Russian changes we have the key to the Germanic vowel-mutation or 'umlaut.' In most cases the fronting of the conss. which caused the mutation has been afterwards given up, as in E. *end*, which must once have been ʃʅ\ɷ\ɷʒ. But it still survives in such words as E. *bridge*, OE *brycg*, from ɒωɪɷ+ɷʒ+. That the Germanic mutation may be due entirely to cons. influence is shown by the regular Icel. mutation caused by the fronted *r* which arose from *z*, as in *eyra* from **auzō* through ʃɪω\ʃ.

146. It need hardly be said that all vowel-mutation takes place very gradually: that between the f of *brycg* and original ɪ there must have been ɪ+, f, f+.

147. But a front or front-modified cons. may influence a preceding vowel in a different way, nl by exaggerating its on-glide into a diphthongic vowel. Such a group as ʃɾ\ɪ, indeed, always suggests *aimi* to an unaccustomed ear, being really equivalent to ʃ(ɪ+ɾ)ɪ. We see the results of this diphthongic mutation in such forms as Greek *kteínō* from **ktenjō*, French *gloire* from *glōria* through **glōrja*.

148. Forward front influence of vowel on cons. is shown in Gm. *ich* ɪɒ contrasting with *ach* ʃc. This is the opposite of Russian, where *ich* retains the c of *ach*.

149. But in Russian a fronted cons. draws forward a following vowel, so that *sjo* is s\ʒ, sometimes almost s\f. Such a word as French *Sue* is in Russian written *sju* = s\ɪ+. Unstrest *ja* in Russian is often weakened into ɷ[̧ (through *ɷʃ+), as in *jadro* ɷ[̧ɷ·ωʒ.

Back-Influence.

150. Back-influence is shown in the Russian development of ω into s before back-vowels, as in *palka* ɒ]sɑ].

Rounding.

Rounding influence is parallel to front influence, though less extensive and important.

151. In Russian rounded vowels (all of which are back) communicate their back-round quality to preceding consonants. This is most marked with c, which becomes ᴄ before the two round vowels: ᴄɫ, ᴄʃ. In ɾɔɫɾ the *u*-quality is also distinctly heard in the body of the cons. In ɑɔʃ, ɒɔʃ of course only the off-glide is heard, which sounds like a half-suppressed ɜ, so that an unaccustomed ear is apt to hear ɑɔʃ alternately as *ko* and *kwo*. Only back and lip conss. are rounded in this way. In Old Icelandic we have an *u*- and *w*-mutation, as in *mǫnnum* ɾʃɔɔɫɾ from **mannum*, *göra* ɑ\ɩω] from **garwjan* through **gęrwa* ɑɩωɔ(ɜ)]. Diphthongic *u*-mutation is seen in Greek *paŭros* from **parwos*.

152. Forward rounding by a vowel is seen in German *auch* ɟɜᴄ; by a consonant in OE *wudu* from *widu* through *wiodu*.

Nasalizing.

153. Nothing is more common than the nasalizing influence of a nasal on a preceding vowel. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any language is entirely free from this influence. It is common in E., and is often strongly developed in German. There are various degrees of nasality; thus French is stronger than Portuguese nasality, the uvula being lowered more. When the nasality of a vowel is clearly developed, there is a tendency to drop the following nasal consonant as superfluous, whenever this can be done without causing a hiatus, that is, when the nasal cons. is final, or stands before another cons. This was carried out with perfect regularity in Old Bulgarian, as also in French and Portuguese. One result of this is that in all of these languages ɹ is wanting: Port. *longo*=ω}ɩɑƀ.

154. In Portuguese such forms as *boa* ɒ}ɪ from *bona* through *ɒ}ɩɪ are probably due to the analogy of the masc. *bom* ɒ}ɩ: nasals between vowels do not seem to be dropped. On the contrary, whenever a nasal is retained, the tendency is to give up any distinct nasalizing of the preceding vowel. This is the case in French, not only within words, as in *femme* >]ꟻ, but also when two words are run together as in *son enfant* s}ɿ ɟɩ>ɟɩ compared with *son père* s}ɩ ɒ[ɛɩ.

Vowels tend, of course, to lose their nasality even when not followed by a nasal, especially when unstrest. The Old Bulg. nasality has been lost in all the living Slavonic languages except Polish.

155. The following are, therefore, the natural stages of nasality:

(1)]ɿ]ɹɑ]]ɿ]
(2)]ɩɿ]ɩɹɑ]]ɩɿ]
(3)]ɩ]ɩɑ]]ɩɿ]
(4)]ɩ]ɩɑ]]ɿ]
(5)]ɨ]ɨɑ]]ɿ]

156. But before nasality is dropt, it often considerably modifies the quality of the vowel. In the high ʃɩ and ƚɩ the nasality is not very distinct, and there is a tendency to make it more audible by enlarging the oral passage. Hence while *in*, *im* is still ʃɩ in Portuguese *sim*, it has become ɩ̧ɩ in French *vin*. Again, ɟɩ etc. have a deeper pitch than the corresponding un-nasal vowels, and hence there is a tendency to exaggerate the effect by rounding; and when the nasality has been removed, the resulting ɟɨ may follow the rising tendencies of high vowels, and finally become ƚɨ. Thus Germanic **gansi* was borrowed by Old Bulgarian in the form of *gąsĭ* ɑɟɩsʃ, which in Russian has become *gusĭ* ɑƀƚs\, just as **gansi* has passed into (guws) in MnE through *ɑɟɩɨs and OE *gōs*.

157. Forward nasalization appears occasionally in Portuguese, as in *mãe* ꟻɪɩʃɩ from *māter*, an example which also shows that diphthongs may nasalize both their elements, as is always the case in Portuguese. In Russian all (back-) round vowels are nasalized by a preceding nasal, as in *mužĭ* ꜰɘʇɪɛ.

158. Nasalizing of a preceding cons. is seen in the Swedish *hamn* from *havn*, *lugn* ωlɘɹꞫ.

Parasiting.

159. Very important is the development of parasite-vowels before and after certain consonants, especially the vowellike *r* and *l*. It appears, however, to be partly due to acoustic tendencies. The first stage in parasiting (svarabhakti) is seen in such words as E. *bower*, German *bauer* from older *būr*, in which the glide to the ω has been exaggerated into an independent ʅ or ʅ. In the affected pronunciation both of London and of Berlin this mixed vowel is often developed into a full (a). This is no doubt the way in which in French the Low German *knīf* became *canif*. The quality of the parasite is often determined by that of the nearest accented vowel, as in Welsh *aml* ʃꜰʃω, *ochr* ʒcʒω, OE *bur*(*u*)*g*, *byr*(*i*)*g*. Cp § 141.

160. Parasiting implies, of course, a certain difficulty or delay in passing from one cons. to another. Hence it rarely occurs between two conss. formed in the same place, as between *l* or *n* and *t*; here, on the contrary, the tendency is towards absorption of any intervening obscure vowel (77).

161. E. *fear* >ʃʅ(ω) from OE *fēr* shows how parasite-diphthongs begin. Their further development is partly the result of divergence, by which *iə*, *eə* become *ia*, *ea*, partly of the further influence of the vowellike that caused the parasiting. Of these influences rounding is the most marked. In OE *e* before *r* + cons. regularly becomes *eo*, as in *eorþe*, no doubt through **eərþe*. The same influence of *l* is shown in the Tudor E. pronunciation of *salt*, etc., as (sault). In Dutch *zout* 'salt' the *l* has rounded not only the glide but also the *a*, and has then been itself absorbed, as in E. *walk* from Tudor (waulk), etc. We see the same rounding influence of *l* in the E. pronunciation of *children* as (tʃuldrən). This influence of *r* and *l* seems to be acoustic rather than organic—due to imita-

tion of the deep pitch of these consonants when formed with hollowing of the blade of the tongue (104).

162. The influence of *r* is, however, generally more in the direction of backing and lowering than of rounding, as in E. *star* from Middle E. *sterre*.

Other Influences.

163. There are, besides, a variety of less important influences of consonants. Indeed almost every cons. modifies the preceding vowel more or less. Thus in E. the *i* in *fish* has not quite the same sound as in *hiss*.

164. The most important, perhaps, of these minor influences is point modification, by which an ω-position is anticipated in the preceding vowel. The effect is most marked if the ω is inverted. When a vowel has once been modified in this way, the ω itself is often dropt. Thus in the Kentish dialect *sparrow* has become sɒʃᵻ\c through *sɒʃᵻ(\c)ωc. In Swedish *r* followed by point conss. and *s* draws them back to the rim of the palatal arch (half-inverted), the *r* being itself dropt, surviving only as a slight modification of the preceding vowel: *barn* ɘʃᵻɜc, *kors* ɑ·ʒsc.

165. The general influence of conss. on height and narrowness is obscure. In Germanic, nasals raise *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* as in OE *singan*, *sungen*, while in Danish they widen a preceding *i* as in *finde* >ſɜ˩. In Danish back conss. have the same effect, while in early MnE they narrow a preceding *i* (786).

The development of *i* or *e* before initial *s* + cons., as in Spanish *escuela*, Welsh *ysgol* 'school' is no doubt phonetic, *s* and *e* being acoustically allied, because of the highness of their pitch; *s* is indeed acoustically the *i* among conss (15).

There still remain some special influences of cons. on cons.

166. The opening influence of *s* on a following *k* is seen in the Dutch *schip* scɪſᵣɒ from *skip*, and is parallel to the aspirating effect of *s* (140). The later Germanic change of cs into ɑs, as in German *sechs*, is exactly contrary, being probably due to striving after distinctness and definiteness of articulation.

167. Change of place is most frequent in the nasals. The change of (ng, nk) into (ŋg, ŋk) is general. In most languages ɜ never occurs except before a back stop, a natural result of which is that in ɜɑ the superfluous ɑ is often dropt. In Gm *en* in final syllables drops its vowel and follows the place of a preceding cons.: *sagen* sˈ]ɪɑɜ, *lieben* ωſɪɞꟻ.

168. One of the most marked changes of place is that of *kw* into *p*, as in Greek *pénte*, Welsh *pump* ᴅɪꜰᴅ compared with Latin *quinque*, which is apparently against the principle of gradual change. The most probable explanation, however, is that the ɜ was anticipated in the ɑ, first by rounding, and then by simultaneous lip stoppage, the back stoppage being then dropt as superfluous, and, indeed, almost inaudible: ɑɜ, ɑɞɜ, ɑɞıɜ = (ɑ + ᴅ)ɞɜ, ᴅɞɜ, ᴅɜ, ᴅ.

169. We have already traced the fronting of ɑ and ʊ up to the stop-open Ωᴖ (140). This is the Swedish pronunciation of *k* before front vowels, of *kj*, and of *tj*, as in *kind* ΩᴖſƷɪϖ, *tjock* Ωᴖʃɑɪ. But there is a natural tendency to shift the combination forwards towards the more flexible tip of the tongue. Accordingly, in South Swedish we find the stop moved forward to the blade position, the open element being also moved forward, giving ʊɪᴖɪ. The next step is to convert ᴖɪ into ƨ by keeping the point up instead of lowering it, which gives the E. and Italian *ch*, both of which arise from fronted *k*, as in *chose* from OE *cēosan*, *cielo* from *caelum*. Another change of Ωᴖ, in a totally different direction, is effected by dropping the stop, which is done in Norwegian, so that Sw. ΩᴖſƷɪϖ becomes ᴖſƷɪ. So also Sanskrit *çatám* ᴖ]ʊ]ꟻ = Lat. *centum*.

170. ʊƨ itself, whatever its origin, is liable to further changes. If the ʊ becomes pure point, the ƨ naturally becomes s. This has been the case in the Dalecarlian dialect of Swedish, where Ωᴖ becomes (ts). So also *ch* ʊƨ became (ts) in some of the Old French dialects. In Italian *pozzo* from *puteus* through *ᴅ}ʊᴖ}, the *t* was probably only slightly fronted, so that ʊᴖ may have passed almost directly into ʊs.

(tʃ) and (ts), lastly, may drop the first element, giving ʃ—as in the present French and Portuguese pronunciation of *ch*—and *s*, as in the Old Bulgarian *sŭto*=Latin *centum*, where Lithuanian has ʃ—*szìmtas*.

171. The development of the voiced ɑɷ is parallel, except that dropping of the first element is much commoner, even in languages which retain the stop of ɑɒ. Thus in Swedish and English *kind* ɑɒſɔɪɷ and *göra* ɷɪɪɷ], *chin* and *yell* (OE *gellan*) are not parallel, although in Dalecarlian Sw. initial 'soft' *g* becomes dz, parallel to ts from soft *k*. In Italian, too, soft *g* is ɷɛ, parallel to *c*=ʊɛ. So also the later developments (tʃ) and (dʒ) are often unparallel, as in Old Bulgarian, where *člověkŭ*, *bogŭ* have vocatives *člověče* ʊɛɷ}>[ɪʊɛʗ, *bože* ɐ}ɛʗ.

172. In most languages there is a tendency to make sɷ, s\ into ɛ, as in E. *nation* from ME *nāsiūn*.

ACOUSTIC CHANGES.

173. Acoustic changes may be isolative or combinative. Such isolative changes as ᴗ to > and ɷ to ɛɪ, which are probably, in part at least, imitative, have been noticed already (96, 93). The most unmistakeable instances of imitative influence are afforded by certain changes between narrow and wide vowels.

174. If we start from a high-wide vowel, such as ſ, we shall find that the nearest vowel in sound is not ʗ, but the narrow-mid [, while the nearest in sound to ʗ is another narrow vowel, the low ɪ. This agrees with the pitches of these vowels (8), for while ʗ is a whole tone lower than ſ, there is a descent of only a semitone from ſ to [; in fact, the series ſ [ʗ ɪ ʅ forms a descending chromatic scale. It also agrees with the height of the tongue, for the flattening of the tongue in ſ widens the passage more than with ſ but not so much as with [, where the whole body of the tongue is lowered. The same relations exist not only between the front-round, but also between the back-round vowels. The unrounded back vowels may be disregarded here. The following pairs of wide and narrow vowels are, therefore, very similar in sound:—

ſ*i* and [e; [*e* and ɩæ
f*y* and {ə; {*ə* and ɩœ
ƚ*u* and }o; }*o* and ɟɔ

Some phoneticians, such as Jessen, have even gone so far as to maintain that ſ and [are one identical sound, which may be called indifferently 'open *i*' or 'close *e*.' Cp Cooper's vowel-pairs (777). There can be no doubt that the vowels in these pairs interchange in language, and that the change cannot be explained organically, and is, therefore, imitative. The short *e* in *men* is [in Southern, but ɩ in Northern English. Open short *i* in Danish is ſ, but the parallel ƚ has been supplanted by }ɔ, as in *bundet* contrasting with *binde*, which has ſ. The lengthened ſ of OScand. *vita*, which is still ſɫ in Icelandic has become [ɫ in Swedish *veta*, Danish having ſɫ in *vide*.

175. Again, we can lower the pitch of ſ either by rounding or retraction, and in the resulting f and I these modifications balance one another exactly, so that the two vowels have the same pitch, and are very similar in sound. This gives us the following pairs of acoustically similar unrounded mixed and front-round vowels of the same height:—

Iɪ and fy; I*ï* and f*y*
ɭë and {ə; ɭ*ë* and {*ə*
ɪä and ɩœ; ɪ*ä* and ɩ*œ*

The present pronunciation of French *le* with some variety of { or { is probably an example of these changes. A still clearer one is the change of Arian *u* into Old Bulgarian *y*, as in *synŭ*, pronounced sIɔ in Russian. As Old Bulg. expresses Greek *u*=f by *v*, not by *y*, in such words as *mvro*=Greek *múron*, it is tolerably certain that *y* had the same sound in Old Bulg. as in Russian. But it seems certain that *y* was once a round vowel in Russian, for it rounds a preceding cons. just like *u* (151), as in *my* ɼɔIɩ. Hence we may assume that original ƚ became f, as in French, and that this f became I by imitation.

176. Many changes can be accounted for by the striving after greater audibility. Such are the trilling of *r*, the change of the lip ɔ to the lip-teeth >, the exaggeration of the almost inaudible breath nasals into *nh*, etc., in Welsh (105). Others, are, partly at least, the result of exaggerating distinctive features, as when (low) back vowels are rounded, so as to lower their pitch still more.

Of combinative changes, many appear to be partly organic, partly acoustic, such as vowel-harmony (141) and parasiting (159). All cases of divergence, whether in diphthongs (67) or in consonant groups (105) are mainly acoustic, being the result of striving after distinctness.

EXTERNAL CHANGES.

177. External changes seem generally to fall under the head of analogy, or levelling of distinctions.

178. *Formal* analogy is seen in the frequent cases in which an originally independent or shifting stress becomes fixed on one syllable, as when the shifting accent in Greek *póda*, *podós* becomes fixed in *poiména*, *poiménos*, or when the free Russian stress becomes fixed on the last syllable but one in Polish. In the Scandinavian languages *f* between vowels is voiced, while *s* retains its breath sound everywhere; but in E. *s* follows the analogy of the other hisses, and becomes (z) between vowels. So also initial *s* follows the analogy of *v*, and becomes *z* in Dutch. It is, however, often difficult to tell whether such changes are not, partly at least, organic.

179. *Logical* analogy, on the other hand, is entirely independent of organic considerations, often indeed of acoustic resemblance as well, being due to similarity of meaning. Thus, in MnE the pret. *bare* has become *bore*, and in Gm the pret. **schneit* has become *schnitt* because of the analogous meaning of the pret. participles *borne*, *geschnitten*. This analogy is extremely frequent in inflectional and derivative elements, as when the OE plur. *steorran* has become *stars* in MnE by the analogy of the numerous OE plurals in *-as*.

180. Another form of logical analogy is the familiarization of foreign words (volksetymologie), as when *asparagus* becomes *sparrow-grass*, *carbunculus* becomes *karfunkel* in German. But such changes are partly—especially in their beginning—formal, being due to the attempt to substitute familiar for unfamiliar syllables, for it is not only strange sounds that make a difficulty, but also strange combinations, whether in sound-groups such as initial German *ts*-, or in syllables.

181. External influences may be complete, as in *stars*, or partial, as in *bore*, which is still distinguished from *borne* by the *n* of the latter. They may also be one-sided or mutual, the result of a compromise between two forms being called a 'blending.'

182. That conscious modification of one of a pair of homonyms by which such differentiations (scheideformen) as MnE (waind) verb, and (wind) subst. are supposed to be obtained, cannot be maintained as anything but a merely apparent cause of change. All organic changes are carried out without any regard to the logical consequences, as we see in such a sound-group as E. (beər), which stands for four distinct words, the infin. and archaic pret. of a verb, the name of an animal, and the adjective. Of course, if two words which would otherwise become identical diverge under special influences, the chances of their preservation are increased, as when *bear* and *bare* were differentiated as *bear* and *bore*. If, on the other hand, real obscurity results from two words actually running together, one of them is simply discarded for a distinctive one, as when *plough* supplanted the verb *ear*. This is also an example of how a language made up of various dialects—as all languages are which are spoken over an originally diversified linguistic area—can choose the most distinctive forms from these different dialects, for *plough* is a Midland and Northern, not a Southern word. Most differentiations can be explained in this way. Thus *hale* is the Northern, *whole* the Southern descendant of OE *hāl*.

183. But although logical considerations cannot alter the direction of change, they have a great power of retarding it. Every language at any given period is the result of an incessant struggle between the organic tendency to change, and the logical effort to get rid of the resulting ambiguities and complexities. If we consider that the consonant-mutations of Celtic, the sandhi of Sanskrit, the assimilations of Russian, the Germanic umlaut, the Old Bulgarian dropping of final consonants, so far from being mere vagaries of Celtic, Sanskrit, Russian, Germanic, and Old Bulgarian respectively, are tendencies common to *all* speech, we cannot help seeing that the unrestrained working of these tendencies through a few centuries would make any language utterly unfit for the communication of ideas. There are three main results of phonetic change against which logic specially revolts: (1) obscuration of the identity of a word, as when 'head' in Welsh is expressed by ɒ[ɜ, ɘ[ɜ, >[ɜ or ɼ°[ɜ, according to the ending of the preceding word, and when Sanskrit *tam* ʊ]ꟻ = Greek *tón* appears also in the form of ʊ]ɩ, ʊ]ɘ, ʊ]ʟ, ʊ]ɜ, ʊ]ɷɩ, ʊ]ɜɩ, ʊ]ɷɩ according to the beginning of the next word; (2) divergence of formations from the same root, especially inflections, as when in Old Irish we find *toibnim* 'I drive,' *dosennat* 'they drive,' *tafnetar* 'they drove,' *toffund* 'to drive,' all formed in accordance with strict phonetic laws from *do + svand*, these manifold divergencies being mainly due to shifting of stress; (3) levelling of distinctions, mainly through dropping of sounds, of which E. supplies many instances, such as the various meanings of (beər), the loss of adjective inflection, etc. Logic is not only hostile to the confusions that result from sound-change, but also to sound-change itself. If language were wholly rational, if every idea were represented by one unambiguous word, every syllable, every sound of which had a definite logical function, the intellectual would have so complete a control of the mechanical tendencies of language that sound-change would cease altogether. But as language is only partially rational, these two tendencies co-exist, the logical element, however, predominating, at least in real living, spoken languages—not, however, in artificial literary ones. In practice, irregularities such as the OIrish *toibnim*, etc., are allowed to accumulate till they become a strain on the memory, and then the whole system is reformed by selecting certain typical forms under which all divergencies are levelled, as if Irish were to conjugate *toibnim*, **toibnat*, **toibnetar*, **toibnund*. A striking instance of such a reaction in favour of grammatical symmetry is afforded by the Germanic vowel-gradation (ablaut) in *sing sang sung*, *drink drank drunk*, etc. But as internal vowel-change obscures the identity of a word, these forms came afterwards to be regarded as 'irregular,' and have accordingly been greatly curtailed in favour of the 'regular' conjugation *loved*, etc., which is generally unaccompanied with internal change. It will be observed that grammatical regularity is often directly opposed to phonetic regularity: *toibnim*, *dasennat*, etc., are phonetically regular, while the levelling Germanic ablaut is phonetically irregular—to a great extent at least. Hence the symmetry and simplicity of the Sanskrit and Gothic vowel-system, with its three short vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, is no proof of primitiveness, but rather of the contrary. The arresting of ambiguity-causing changes is determined by similar practical considerations. In polysyllabic languages, such as Greek and Old Bulgarian, final consonants could be dropped freely without making the context unintelligible, but in English any loss of final consonants, or, indeed, even so slight a change as that of *d* into *t*, etc., would make the language unintelligible. The tendency to drop final consonants is as strong in E. as ever it was in prehistoric Greek, as anyone may convince himself by listening to the listless, slovenly speech of every-day life. Every time we ask our interlocutors to repeat what they are saying, we are really making a logical revolt against final consonant-weakening or some other organic change. The first Greek, on the other hand, who said *gála* instead of *gálak*(*t*) was not interrupted with a 'what?,' simply because the word was still perfectly intelligible. The extraordinary freedom from assimilative influences (sandhi, etc.) which we observe in the E. consonant-system is also a result of logical necessities. This clearness of our consonant-system enables us, on the other hand, to weaken our unstrest vowels with impunity, while in French the conditions are exactly reversed. We see then that every language is forced to resist *some* phonetic tendencies, while resigning itself more or less completely to others. Hence the necessity of comparing different languages in ascertaining the general laws of sound-change.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

184. We have now surveyed the whole field of sound-change. We have seen that the organic and acoustic laws of change are continually crossed by logical tendencies, as when, for the sake of distinctness, the elements of a diphthong are diverged, instead of following the organic tendency to convergence.

185. The explanation of the logical and acoustic changes is self-evident; not so that of the purely organic. If we survey these as a whole, we perceive two principles of economy:—

(*a*) dropping of superfluous sounds, as when (ŋg) becomes (ŋ);

(*b*) ease of transition from one sound to another, which leads to convergence and assimilation, as when (dn) becomes (nn).

186. It is evident that these principles do not help us to determine the relative ease of articulation of individual sounds, for (ŋ) in (ŋg) is not dropped or modified from the desire of easing a difficult articulation, but simply because it is superfluous. There seems, indeed, reason to doubt whether the inherent ease of an articulation has much to do even with isolative change. As a general rule, all familiar sounds seem easy, all foreign ones difficult and harsh. There can, however, be little doubt that some articulations, such as the trilled point *r*, do offer some difficulty even to a vernacular tongue, and that the back ɛʃ, which in almost every language is substituted for it by individuals, is essentially easier, the uvula being simply lifted up by the back of the tongue so that it vibrates passively. It is also clear that direct isolative changes are from back to front, and from front to foreward, and scarcely ever the reverse way. This seems to be the result of the superior lightness and flexibility of the foreward articulations as compared with those of the heavier root of the tongue. But there are also considerations of distinctness. In the first place, the foreward articulations are more visible, and therefore more easily learnt by direct inspection; and secondly, a far greater variety of sounds can be produced in the fore part of the mouth: if we were to make s, ƨ, ᴗ into back sounds, they would all be merged in the one sound c. This last consideration is so decisive that we are compelled to admit that however probable an organic tendency from back to foreward may be, there is no absolute proof of it.

187. In many cases we can see nothing but a continual fluctuation between two closely allied sounds: we find (ð) becoming (d) in one language, (d) becoming (ð) in another; in Danish (ð) became (d), and now this (d) has returned to nearly its original sound! So the question is, to some extent, one of stability and instability. As regards place, we may say that the front consonants are the most unstable, because they can be shifted either backwards or forwards, and we find, as a matter of fact, that the most unstable consonants are the front stops, ᴖ and ᴖ. ɷ is saved from place-shifting by its vowellike character. The vowel] is very unstable, because it can be modified in the direction either of (o) or of (e). Long vowels are more unstable than short, because the longer the sound, the more temptation there is to modify it. The most stable vowels ought therefore to be the short fronts. We find accordingly that original Ar. short *i* and *e* have been preserved up to the present day in such words as *wit* and *seven*. Compound sounds, such as the rounded vowels, are of course unstable, as shown in the development of short *u* into Swedish lɒ, E.], and in French f from Lat. *ū*.

ORIGIN OF SPEECH-SOUNDS.

188. It used to be generally assumed that primitive speech had a very limited range of sounds; but a little consideration will show that the opposite must have been the case. Language proper, which implies sound-groups (words) symbolizing ideas, and capable of being combined into sentences as freely as ideas are combined into thoughts, was preceded by a period of mixed gesture and imitation. Every object and phenomenon associated in nature with an imitable sound would naturally be named by an imitation of that sound: ɑfɑf—or some such sound-group—meant 'cuckoo' from the beginning. The power of imitation was enormously developed through its use by hunters in decoying wild animals, where, of course, the best imitation would secure the best results. But gesture also helped to develop the power of forming sounds, while at the same time helping to lay the foundation of language proper. When men first expressed the idea of 'teeth,' 'eat,' or 'bite,' it was by pointing to their teeth. If the interlocutor's back was turned, a cry for attention was necessary, which would naturally assume the form of the openest and clearest vowel (a). Sympathetic lingual gesture would then accompany the hand-gesture, which latter would then be dropped as superfluous, so that (ada) or, more emphatically, (ata) would mean 'teeth' or 'tooth' and 'bite' or 'eat,' these different meanings being only gradually differentiated. We see that the primitive uninflected words or 'roots' of language were probably dissyllabic. So also the ideas of 'wind' and 'breath' were expressed by ɔ + vowels, which is both an imitation of the sound of the wind and is at the same time one of the results of the action of breathing itself, 'blowing' being also expressed by ɔ. Now neither ɔ nor ɔ̣ form part of the original Arian sound-system, as known to us by historical evidence. Not only isolated sounds like ɔ were eliminated, but also whole classes of sounds. Primitive man must have expressed 'drinking' by an inbreathed c<, and probably he expressed sensual enjoyment generally, as some of us still do, by an inbreathed voiceless *l*—ω<. These inconvenient inbreathers seem to have been eliminated everywhere in language, but the nearly-related suction-stops or 'clicks' still survive in many primitive languages, as in the South African Bushman and Hottentot, and in some Californian languages. These clicks were no doubt originally (as pointed out to me by Mr. J. Marshall, junr.) food-cries. Another class of sounds which have been eliminated in most languages is that of the throat-consonants or 'true gutturals,' which still survive in Arabic, and also seem to have existed in parent Arian—at any rate, in Sanskrit. But the Sanskrit 'sonant *h*' may be a new formation, like the glottal stop in Danish. Clicks still survive as interjections in English.

ORIGIN OF DIALECTS.

189. Language originates spontaneously in the individual, for the imitative and symbolic instinct is inherent in all intelligent beings, whether men or animals; but, like that of poetry and the arts, its development is social. Where there is free and uniform intercourse between all the members of a community the language will be uniform—that is, uniform in the sense of not splitting into dialects. Of course, every family, and every individual, will have their own peculiarities of speech, but there will be no local concentration of these peculiarities. When the community is too large to permit of uniform communication throughout it, dialects begin. If we suppose a large plain covered with villages of equal size and independence at equal distances, each village communicating directly only with its immediate neighbours, there will in a few generations be a distinctly different dialect in each village, and in course of time the dialects of the most northern, southern, eastern and western villages will become mutually unintelligible to one another and to that of the central village. But there will be no lines of division: the dialects will shade insensibly into one another; the dialect of a village halfway between the most northern and the central village will partake so equally of the characteristics of the northern and central dialects that it will be impossible to assign it to either.

190. This overlapping of dialects—which always happens when there is no definite barrier—is due also to the fact that the separate changes which constitute difference of dialect or language do not follow the same boundary-lines, but cross one another to any extent. Thus in OFrench the distinction between the 'Central French' or Parisian and the Norman dialect is generally fairly definite, but we find South Norman agreeing with its neighbour Parisian in changing Lat. *c* into *ch* (tʃ) before *a*, as in *chier*=Lat. *cārum* against the North Norman *kier*. This particular sound-change has, then, chosen an area of its own, regardless of the areas of the other changes which separate South as well as North Norman from Parisian.

191. But if such a territory is intersected by a range of mountains, a broad river, or any other obstacle to communication, running, say, east and west, then there will be a corresponding line of linguistic division: all the dialects north of the barrier will form a group with features in common distinct from those which unite the southern group of dialects; if the barrier is strong enough, the two nearest villages north and south of it will in time come to speak mutually unintelligible languages. Even the most trifling barrier—a narrow brook or strip of sandy heath—will be enough to mark off two groups of dialects.

192. Complete territorial separation through emigration is a self-evident cause of dialectal divergence; but in such cases there is always the possibility of the divergence having begun before the complete separation.

193. There are other factors which disturb the ideally uniform development of dialects. In real life, certain villages would be sure to gain some kind of ascendancy over those nearest it, and thus one or more centres of dialectal influence would be established; till at last, if centralisation were strong enough, one dialect would be used as a means of expression all over the territory, as is now the case in England. If communication and education were made perfect, the standard dialect would entirely supplant the other dialects, and absolute uniformity of language would prevail.

194. In this way political development also tends to cause definite lines of division, for each linguistic centre swallows up the dialects nearest to it, till it comes in conflict with another centre, the line of division generally, though not necessarily, coinciding with some natural boundary. Hence, if we compare two standard languages of the same family, such as Dutch and German, we are struck by their fundamental difference, and have no hesitation in calling one Low, the other High German. But if we compare the dialects of the two languages, we shall find them shading off into one another by insensible degrees, there being many 'Middle German' dialects which carry out the change of *t* into ℧s, as in *zeit*, but leave initial *p* in its unaltered, Low German stage, as in *pund*, the present standard German being itself a dialect intermediate between High and Low.

195. It need hardly be said that the standard and the local dialects influence one another strongly. Standard E., which is mainly East Midland, has taken words and forms from almost every other dialect; *vat*, for instance, is Southern, *hale* (=*whole*) Northern.

196. Not only dialects influence one another, but also languages, even if they belong to totally distinct families. Thus Finnish is full of archaic Germanic and Lithuanian words, Persian is mixed with Arabic, and so on. Even sounds are borrowed. Thus the southern Bantu languages in Africa have borrowed the clicks from the Hottentots: Zulu has them, but they are wanting even in Bechuana. So also the peculiar 'choke-stops' of Armenian (℧ı, etc.) have been borrowed from the non-Arian languages of the Caucasus. Sanskrit, again, got its inverteds from the Dravidian languages of the South of India. English and Welsh too, with their (þ) and (ð) and their (w), have much in common. There is no limit to the mixture of languages in sounds, inflections, and syntax as well as in vocabulary. But the influence is never equal on both sides. Finnish has borrowed largely from Germanic, but there are very few common Germanic words of Finnish origin. So also the proportion of English words in spoken Welsh is about the same as that of French words in Chaucerian English, but there are very few Welsh words in English. In fact a very intimate mixture of two languages is always a prelude to the complete extinction of the weaker one, and this is why few, if any, of these thoroughly mixed languages become permanently fixed.

197. Dialects are not only local, but social, as in the distinction of polite and vulgar speech, vulgar speech being generally ahead in its development, as in the Cockney and dialectal dropping of (h) in E. There is also the important distinction of the literary and colloquial dialect, the former being mainly a written dialect, consisting of a mixture of living colloquialisms with the colloquialisms of earlier stages of the language, as when in poetry we use the fossilized colloquialism *thou hast* side by side with the living colloquialism *you have*. Of course, when the divergence amounts to unintelligibility, as when an Italian writes Latin, we have two distinct languages, a dead and a living, the latter being still liable to be influenced by the former, these influences spreading even to the vulgar dialect. Such languages as Latin and Sanskrit, when written and spoken by modern scholars and pundits, are commonly stigmatised as 'artificial'; but the artificiality is not in the languages themselves, but in the means by which they are preserved—in the case of Latin by written symbols, in that of Sanskrit by an uninterrupted oral tradition. This preservation of a dead language is, however, never perfect. In the first place, the process of fixing is always at first tentative and inconsistent—even Sanskrit embodying colloquial Prakrit forms—and secondly, it is impossible to fix the pronunciation, as is again clearly shown in the present pronunciation of Sanskrit, in which some of the sounds, such as *sh* and *ç*, are confounded, and others much modified, partly by the influence of the living Gaurian languages, but apparently also by natural development of Sanskrit itself after it had ceased to be a colloquial language.

198. External circumstances not only have an influence on the development of dialects, but they also directly modify the sounds of a language. Climate has some, though a very slight influence. In cold countries there is less disposition to open the mouth widely. Hence that tendency to make *ā* into *ō* which is almost universal in the modern Germanic languages, but is quite absent from the Romance languages. The disposition of the speakers may also influence their pronunciation. The habit of speaking with a constant smile or grin unrounds the vowels, as in the Cockney (nau) = *no*. The refinement and effeminacy of large cities untrills the *r*. Even the caprices of fashion may have their effect, as is shown in the lisping pronunciation of those savages who knock out their front teeth.

199. Not only every language and dialect, but every period of a language has its own laws of change, and its own sound-system, which includes only a few of the possible sounds and their combinations. There is nothing to prevent two closely allied languages or two periods of the same language from following opposite tendencies. A group of languages like the Romance may agree in a dislike to harsh consonant-groups, but this does not prevent Portuguese from consistently dropping its weak *e* in such a word as *vistes* 'ye saw,' which is now colloquially ϶Iƨʊƨɩ. A language may unround all its (y)'s, etc., into (i)'s in one generation, while its (u) is moving in the direction of (y), so that the front-round vowels again come to form part of its vowel-system.

200. This last case also exemplifies the perpetual loss and re-development of a sound. As a general rule, it is the most distinctive sounds which are most quickly restored. There may be periods in any language in which such vowels as *ā*, *ī* or *ū* are eliminated by various changes. Thus in Early Mod. E. there was a period when the *ī* of OE *wīn* had become (ei), while the nearest approach to (ii) was the [ɨ⌐ = OE *wēn*, but (ii) was soon restored by further raising of this *ē*.

201. Languages which are very rich in sounds, such as Sanskrit and Russian, generally owe it to assimilative influence. The difference between a poor and a rich sound-system is merely that the former utters the elements of such a group as 7ɷ] successively, while the latter utters the first two simultaneously—7\] or ɩ], the former class of languages being generally more harmonious than the latter, which often have something 'sloppy' about them. We find, accordingly, that many of the Sanskrit sounds, such as ɜʃ and ɷʃ, occur only in special sandhi-combinations. After what has been said about the richness of primitive sound-systems (188), it need hardly be repeated that extreme simplicity is no proof of the primitiveness of a sound-system, being, as often as not, the result of levelling, as in Gothic, where *e* and *o* were levelled under *i* and *u* respectively, or being only apparent—the result of a defective alphabet, as in the Old Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions. Languages spoken over a diversified linguistic area tend to simplify their sound-systems, as may be seen by comparing German and Italian with any of their dialects, most of which show complex sound-systems.

202. No language has an absolutely symmetrical sound-system, because every sound-system is the result partly of organic, partly of logical influences. The organic tendency is towards analogy and symmetry. Such organic changes as the unrounding of front vowels are generally carried out consistently: if we hear a German say (giitə) instead of *güte*, we expect him to say (ʃeen) instead of *schön*. There is also an organic tendency to carry out a uniform basis of articulation. Thus the English tendency is to flatten and broaden the tongue, which makes the vowels wide, and to hollow the fore part of it in forming such conss. as *l* and *t*, which tends to draw away the tongue from the teeth. If this tendency is exaggerated, it results in a general back-modification, which would end in making our concave *l* into a Russian ɘ. In E. there is also a tendency to keep the mouth half shut, which is partly due to the climate (198), and is the first step in the direction of rounding. A Frenchman, on the contrary, articulates with a convex tongue, either against the teeth, or as near them as possible, and opens his mouth widely. But the carrying out of a uniform basis of articulation would often lead to the loss of distinctive sounds. Thus the dentality of E. *þ* is quite inconsistent with the general character of its sound-system, but the conversion of *þ* into *s* or inner *t* has up to the present been successfully resisted by the logical principle of distinctness. But even without logical influences we find violations of the basis of articulation. Thus in Portuguese *t* and *d* are interdental, but *n* is the E. ɿ˖, and *l* is ω˖(, a sound which would seem to be totally opposed to Romance tendencies.

203. Sound-systems are further characterised by their relation to the three main modifying factors: assimilation, position, and stress. We must distinguish accordingly:

(*a*) *assimilation*-influence. Does the language allow sounds in succession to modify one another, as in Russian, or leave them unmodified, as in E.?

(*b*) *position*-influence. Are the sounds of the language liable to change in certain positions? Has the language 'end-laws'? Does it, for instance, throw off all final conss., or allow only certain conss. to come at the end of a word?

(*c*) *stress*-influence. Does the language modify its sounds (especially its vowels) when unstrest, as in E., or has stress little or no influence on sound-change, as in French?

204. The question now arises, How far can we predict the direction of change in a given language? This will depend on the nature of the sound, and how far it has advanced in a certain direction of change. In the case of such a vowel as ɉ, all we can say is that *if* it changes, it will be either in the direction of ȷ or of ɩ. But if it has already become ɉ˖, we may predict with some confidence that it will become ɩ. So also of ɷ we may predict not only that it is very likely to change, but that it is almost certain to develop into ʊz. But of the less advanced ɑ\ it would be impossible to predict whether it will advance to ɷ or return to ɑ. It would, of course, be impossible to predict such a phenomenon as the Germanic vowel-mutation in a language where the vowels had not begun to influence the preceding conss.

205. Hence, when we see such a phenomenon as vowel-mutation developing in all the Germanic languages after their separation, we are bound to assume that the change was initiated before their separation—that in parent Germanic the front vowels had begun to modify preceding conss. So also when we find Arian *k* developing into two sounds independently in Sanskrit and Slavonic without any assimilative cause in either language, we are forced to assume that in parent Arian *k* had already separated into two such sounds as ɑ› and ɑ\. Of course, such a change as that of *k* into (tʃ) before an *i* in two separate languages proves nothing, for this is the only direction of change possible. It is in practice often difficult to decide what weight to give to parallelism of change, for languages in a similar stage of development often show very striking coincidences which can be proved to be quite independent developments, as we see in comparing the Romance with the Gaurian languages.

206. When we find a high-vowel such as (ii) diphthonged into (ai), we naturally expect to find a parallel change of the other high vowels—we expect to find (uu) becoming (au). In such a case as this we are not likely to be mistaken. But it must be remembered that two such vowels as (ii) and (uu) have nothing whatever in common except their height, and that the natural tendency to diphthonging may in the case of (uu) be counteracted in some unforeseen way by its rounding or back position, so that its diphthonging may either lag behind that of (ii), or never take place at all. We have a clear instance of this want of symmetry in the MnE levelling of *ee* and *ea* under (ii) in *see*, *sea*, while the earlier distinction between *oo* and (*o*)*a* in *moon*, *moan* is still kept up.

SOUND REPRESENTATION.

ORIGIN OF WRITING.

207. Wherever we can trace the history of sound-writing, or writing proper—the art of representing speech-sounds by graphic symbols—we shall find that it was never the result of immediate invention, but was evolved by slow degrees from the more primitive art of picture-writing with hieroglyphs, whose form more or less directly suggests the idea to be expressed, without reference to its sound, as when the sun is represented by a circle. The first step towards sound-writing would be—supposing the language to be written were English—to use the circle as the symbol not only of (san)=

'sol' but also of (san)='filius,' and then of the syllable (san) or (sa), until finally it came to denote the single sound (s), or (s) followed by any vowel.

208. Such is the origin of the Latin alphabet. It was originally an adaptation of one of the Greek alphabets, which in their turn were an adaptation of the Phenician alphabet. The Phenician alphabet itself was a selection from the numerous symbols of the Hieratic writing of the Egyptians, which was a compromise between sound-writing and picture-writing, evolved by the exigencies of practical life out of the older purely hieroglyphic system.

LAWS OF FORM-CHANGE

209. The laws of form-change in writing—whether hieroglyphic or phonetic—bear a striking analogy to those of sound-change: change is always going on, it is gradual, and it follows definite laws.

210. Form-change is always going on, because it is impossible for the human hand to repeat indefinitely the same movement without altering its direction and length. Handwriting varies not only from generation to generation, and between individuals of the same generation, but also in the individual himself, according to speed and care of writing, etc.

211. Form-changes are partly determined by the nature of the material written on and the instrument written with. Thus letters cut on stone or wood will be angular and detached, while writing with a pen will tend to roundness and joining —in short to cursiveness,—writing with a style on wax tablets will have a different character from writing with a nibbed pen on vellum or paper, and so on.

212. The most elementary change is one which we make unconsciously whenever we write; a variation in the relative lengths either of the strokes of which a letter is composed, or of the letters themselves. We see the former change in the development of h out of H, the latter in that of j out of I, and both together in l out of L.

213. In all cursive writing there is a tendency to round off angles, in order to avoid the sudden check and consequent waste of force and time caused by an angle, as we see in comparing E with e. In a stronger form this tendency leads to slurring or degradation, which is generally accompanied with shortening, as in the second element of r compared with R. The tendency of degradation is, of course, to reduce originally distinct letters to one form, as we see in the confusion of *þ* and *y* in *y*^{e}, etc. Of course, if any element of a letter is superfluous for purposes of distinction, there is a tendency to drop it altogether, as in b from B, where the upper loop of the latter has been discarded. The opposite phenomenon of exaggeration of an originally subordinate element of a letter, which is at the same time lengthened, is seen in the development of the side-stroke of G and Q into the lower circle of g and the upright stem of q respectively, and very strikingly in the development of the Black Letter or Gothic alphabet, in which originally merely accidental and ornamental tags have been exaggerated so as to obscure the original elements of the letters. These changes are, of course, due partly to the organic tendency to variation, but also to the striving after distinctness. While there is a general tendency to round off angles, as in C from <, there is a tendency not only to keep acute angles, as in our w compared with U, but also to turn sharp curves into angles, as in the development of ſ out of s.

214. In writing with a nibbed pen the down strokes are thick, the upstrokes are thin—a peculiarity which still attests the origin of our printing letters from quill- or reed-written ones. Hence the tendency to employ the thicker and distincter down-strokes as much as possible. It is easiest to thicken a down-stroke when it is more or less perpendicular, and as variations of slope are inconvenient in many other ways, all but perpendicular down-strokes are eliminated as much as possible, or oblique strokes are made upright, as in q from Q. Oblique strokes are often got rid of even at the cost of an angle or break, as in d from ∂. In y, x, and some others, the slopes were kept for the sake of symmetry of form, and distinctiveness.

215. The above are isolative changes. But there are also combinative ones. In writing, the instinct which rebels against angles tends also to eliminate breaks as much as possible: in all swift and easy writing the letters of a word are not only formed individually without breaks, but the whole word is written, as far as possible, without lifting up the pen. It may happen, as in the case of our script *x*, that a letter may have a break in it, and yet be joined without a break to the preceding and following letter. This peculiarity was strongly developed in the Old Roman cursive hands, as is seen in the Ravenna papyri, the result being that the shapes of individual letters varied according to their position and combinations. We see the results of this system in the Arabic alphabet, where many letters have three different forms—initial, medial, and final. Even in the modern Latin alphabet we have—or had, till lately—the distinction of initial and final s and medial ſ.

216. The final result of unchecked organic changes would be to make writing unintelligible. This actually happened in the case of the Arabic script. The difficulty was met by the adoption of diacritics: the letters which had run together were differentiated by the addition of dots, as many as three being sometimes placed on one letter. So also in the Middle-Age Latin alphabet *ni* had become confused with *m* and so on, so that the *i* had to be marked with a diacritic—a clumsy device which we are still forced to keep up.

217. But the logical reaction generally begins long before cursive writing has reached the Arabic stage. The first step is to detach the letters, selecting from the various cursive forms those which are the simplest and most compact—involving fewest breaks—and the most distinctive. A good specimen of such a detached cursive is afforded by the imperial Chancery hand of the Romans. The reaction against slurring leads to detaching the strokes even of separate letters. Thus we find the top stroke of ʒ from G, which was originally an exaggerated flattening of the top curve, completely detached in the oldest Roman cursive writing, and so with many other letters. One of the most effective means of securing simplicity and distinctiveness, is by utilizing projection above and below the line, which developed itself spontaneously in the Roman capital writing, and after much fluctuation settled down into the usage of our present minuscule or lower-case alphabet, in which, for instance, i j l represent distinctions what were once almost entirely dependant on projection.

ALPHABETS.

218. The angular and detached letters of the Roman lapidary alphabet were, however, modified differently for different purposes. The old alphabet was used for writing books long after a fully developed cursive had come into use for the ordinary purposes of life, this cursive itself being nothing but a degradation of the book alphabet. In the 'uncial' alphabet A, D, E, M are rounded off in the direction of a, ∂, e, m, and certain letters project above and below the line. The cursive writing itself split up into a variety of forms, as in the alphabet of the wax tablets, the Ravenna papyri, and the detached 'half-cursive' Chancery hand. About the fourth century all these alphabets existed side by side—as they still do in such forms as A a *a*—and modified each other in various ways. A special development of a very old Roman cursive—or rather of a degraded capital writing—artificially modified and systematised, was the Roman shorthand—the 'Tironian Notes.' The chief influence of the Tironian notes was on the Middle-Age system of contractions, which, again, has in some cases permanently influenced the alphabets of modern Europe, the Spanish tilde in *año*, for instance, being nothing but the old *m*-contraction (¯), itself probably a degraded M written over the line. But the history of the later alphabets is, in the main, one of an incessant action and reaction of the detached and formal book hands and the cursives on one another, which latter were only exceptionally employed in writing books.

219. When the Roman empire broke up, separate national handwritings sprang up in the different provinces in the same way as Latin split up into separate languages. A very marked variety of minuscule was developed among the christianized Celts of Britain, being mainly a compromise between uncial and cursive. This alphabet, which is still preserved almost unchanged in Ireland, was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, who afterwards adopted þ and ƿ (w) from their own Runic alphabet—at first in their original angular forms—instead of *th* and *u*(*u*). They also modified ꝺ into ð to express the sound ʋ, which was probably suggested by the use of crossed *d* (as of other crossed letters) in contractions.

220. By the time of Alfred the English hand had developed a character of its own, the uncial writing having been abandoned in favour of the minuscule, from which—at least in its book form—many of the older cursive elements were eliminated.

221. The chief subsequent changes were in the tags with which the strokes were generally finished off in British writing. After about 950 there is a general tendency to curve inwards the lower ends of upright strokes in such letters as *i*, *n*, *m*, *h*. About 1050 the ends of low stems are curved outwards in such letters as ꞃ, ꞅ, þ, while *ƿ* retained its older straight stem. Sometimes these low stems were finished off with a cross-stroke or 'serif,' as in our printing letters. Earlier in the century they began to wave and lengthen the top tags of *i*, *n*, *h*, etc. *y* occurs dotted in the very oldest writings, but the dot was afterwards generally dropped, and not restored till about 1000. This, and other changes, were partly due to the influence of the French hand, which towards 1000 began to be generally used in writing Latin. In the earlier charters the Latin and English portions are all in the British hand, but after 1000 the Latin is in the French, the English portions (boundaries, etc.) in the national hand.

222. This French hand—the 'Caroline minuscule'—was developed in France at the beginning of the ninth century by a reform of the earlier Merovingian cursive. It is practically almost identical with our present Roman lower-case printing letters, which were modelled on it. It dots the *y*, leaving the *i* undotted, and prefers ſ to *s*. The stems of the letters are only slightly tagged. Its characteristic letters, as compared with the English hand, are *r*, *f*, *g*. The upright *d* and the high ſ occur in the older English writing, but in Alfred's time they had been generally supplanted by ꝺ and ꞅ, so that their reappearance in Latin writings of this period must be ascribed to French influence.

223. In the first hand of the Peterborough Chronicle, which ends at 1124, *s* and *d* still retain their English forms, though the French *d* is occasionally used. The high ſ appears beside ꞅ not only in this Chronicle, but also in other E. mss even of the first half of the 11th century. After 1124, the Peterborough Chronicle is written in a variety of hands down to 1154, and in this portion the French forms of *f*, *g* etc appear for the first time in English words, side by side with the British forms. Here also occurs the French *w*, formed by interlacing two *v*'s, but only in French names.

224. Henceforth writing in England follows the general European development. Exaggeration of the tags and stem-bending increase, and in the course of the 14th century the letters become more and more angular, resulting in the crabbed and interlaced forms of the Gothic or Black Letter and German alphabets. Then the Humanists restored the minuscule of the 12th century. Both types of writing—the Latin and Gothic—were finally fixed by the invention of printing. The influence of the Middle-Age cursives is shown in our Italic alphabet. We still keep the old Roman capitals unchanged, but only for special purposes of ornament and distinction.

NEW LETTERS.

225. Every alphabet is liable to the demand for new symbols either through sound-change in the language which is written in it, or through its application to some other language. If the change of any sound is carried out regularly in a language, the symbol is generally kept also, however much the sound may have altered, as we see in French *u*=f, Italian *g* before *e*=ϖɛ etc. If, however, a sound splits up into two different ones with a corresponding difference of meaning, as in German *gute*, *güte*=older *guoto*, *guotī*, the want of a new symbol makes itself felt. Again, in adapting such an alphabet as the Roman to a new language, the letters will be assigned to their nearest equivalents, minute differences being disregarded, as when Latin *f* was used to denote ɜ in Old Irish. Often, however, new distinctions have to be made, as between *l* and ω in Welsh, or totally new sounds have to be symbolized. This is effected in various ways:

(*a*) By assigning new values to superfluous letters, as when the Greeks made the Phenician O into a vowel-symbol, there being no Greek sound answering to the throat-consonant ● it stood for in Phenician. In this case the change of value, though considerable, is by no means arbitrary. Even the change by which E, originally the aspirate *he*, was made into a front vowel, and the later one by which H, originally the throat *h'eth* ●ɪ, came to represent first *h* and then *ē*, can be explained by the names of these letters, both of which begin with *e* modified by a mere breath-glide, or what would easily be weakened into it. No doubt there may be cases of arbitrary assignments of values, but they are certainly rare.

(*b*) By utilizing originally unmeaning variations. Thus, up to the 16th century *v* was simply another way of writing *u*, and *j* of *i*: in the 15th century *v* and *j* were ornamental varieties which were especially used at the beginning of words, and so naturally came to be regarded as consonant symbols. So also the French ç is only a variety of a descending *z*. In OIcelandic consonant capitals were utilized as double letters, as in *maNa* = *manna*.

(*c*) By digraphs, such as the *th*, *ps* with which the Romans transcribed the Greek *θ*, *ψ*. Both of these, however, were compound sounds Ʊ°, ɒs, so the digraphs are really expansions of contractions. But when the Romans expressed Greek initial *r* by *rh* in *rhetor* etc, they were using two letters to express one simple sound, the *h* being here a breath-modifier, as if we were to express ʊ by ω: in Visible Speech. Of course, when *th* and *ph* in Latin became simple ∪ and ɔ, *h* came to be regarded as an open-modifier. *h* afterwards came to be a general, almost arbitrary, modifier, to show not only opening and unvoicing, but also fronting, as in Provençal and Portuguese *lh*

=ɷ, vowel-length, as in German *ohne* and E. *ah*—a usage which was already developed in Umbrian and Oscan—while in Italian *gh* it was added to show that *g* kept its original back articulation. **Doublings** are a special form of digraphs. In vowels it is a common method of indicating length, as also with conss. Some languages which have no double conss. use cons.-doubling as a 'strengthener' or arbitrary modifier. Thus in Spanish *ll*=ɷ, in Welsh=ω, where also *dd*=ɣ, *ff*=>, *f* keeping its old British value of ⋗. Greek *gg*=ɹɑ is an example of what may be called a compound doubling. **Trigraphs** also occur, as in Gm *sch*, Swedish *skj*=E. *sh*.

(*d*) By **ligatures**, such as *æ* and *œ*=*ae*, *oe*, which in Latin were originally diphthongs]ɾ˖, }ɾ˖, but were afterwards simplified to ɭ‣ and {‣ resp. Our w is a consonant-ligature, which preserves an extinct form of the vowel *u*.

(*e*) By **diacritics**. One way in which diacritics may be developed is by writing one letter above another, which was a natural device to save space, especially at the end of a line, and would easily be utilized phonetically, as in the German *ü*, originally *uͤ*, where the *e* is a front-modifier. So also in Swedish *å*=ɟ‣) the *o* is a rounder. As we see, such an overwritten letter soon gets degraded into mere dots or strokes. Special contraction-marks were also utilized as diacritics, as we see in the Spanish *ñ* and OE *đ*. Another way in which diacritics develop is by degradation of a ligature-letter, as in *ę* from *æ*, where the tail is a degraded *a*.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SOUND AND SYMBOL.

226. All writing which has once emerged from the hieroglyphic stage is at first purely phonetic, as far as its defective means will allow. But as the association between sound and symbol is almost entirely arbitrary, there is always a tendency for the symbol to lag behind the changes of the sound.

227. One result of this is the retention of **superfluous** symbols, as when we write *q* instead of *c* or *k* in the combination *qu*, this *q* having originally represented the Semitic inner ɑ˧.

The worst form of superfluity is writing 'silent' letters, as in the E. *know*.

228. The opposite of superfluity is **ambiguity**, by which one symbol has to represent more than one sound. To some extent, this defect is inherent in all sound-notation: even in Visible Speech we often omit the minuter glide-symbols etc, and in speaking of a practical alphabet we should hardly characterize it as unphonetic because it neglected—as most of them do—to mark even such necessary elements as vowel-quantity and stress. If an orthography makes a consistently phonetic use of the materials it has: if it restricts every individual symbol to one distinctive sound (which may include slight varieties, such as ſ, ſ˗ in E. *pity*), and does not continue to write silent letters, we call it 'phonetic.' If, for instance, in E. the vowels in *it*, *see*, *set*, *say*, were invariably expressed by *i*, *ii*, *e*, *ee* we should say that E. spelling was, so far, phonetic, even if we admitted that the long vowels were really diphthongs. If we found these vowels written respectively *i*, *ee* *e*, *ai* as invariably as on the other system, we should say that English was 'half-phonetic,' or phonetic on an unphonetic basis, for it is evidently unphonetic and irrational to make *ee* the long of *i*. But when we find such a vowel as that in *see* expressed also by *e*, *ea*, *i*, we must call English spelling simply unphonetic. It would be a rhetorical exaggeration to call it wholly unphonetic as long as such a symbol as *ee*, together with many of the consonants, retains its present uniform value.

229. We see, then, that unphoneticness is mainly the result of the retention of originally phonetic spellings after they have become unphonetic through sound-change. It is, therefore, the result of tradition. Where there is no traditional spelling handed down, as when such a language as Old English was first written in Latin letters, spelling can hardly help being phonetic; where, on the other hand, there is a large literature, and, perhaps, a class of professional scribes, the influence of the traditional orthography become stronger and stronger, till, at last, the invention of printing and the growth of the newspaper press make changes of spelling as inconvenient as they were formerly easy. The ideal of a printer's orthography is one which is absolutely uniform over the whole territory of the language, and absolutely unchangeable. Such an orthography as that of the present English is, consequently, one in which there is no longer any living correspondence between sound and symbol—it is, in intention at least, wholly unphonetic: it is preserved by graphic, not phonetic, tradition.

230. But unphoneticness has its practical limits. A purely hieroglyphic writing, though cumbrous, would not overtax the average intelligence, but an absolutely unphonetic degradation of an originally phonetic system—one in which the separate letters had become phonetically unmeaning—could not be mastered even by the most retentive memory. Hence a phonetic reaction becomes inevitable sooner or later. In the early Middle Ages, when the multiplicity of dialects and the fewness of books made a uniform and fixed orthography impossible, the spelling was periodically readjusted in accordance with the changes of pronunciation. Thus, when in German *hūs* had developed into the fully diphthongic (haus) they wrote it *haus*. This was easy enough as long as the phonetic tradition of the values of the Roman letters was kept up, and as long as the alphabet itself was preserved in its integrity; but when such a ligature as *æ* had been degraded into *ę*, and then by the carelessness and haste of scribes had been levelled under *e* together with *oe*, and Latin *c* and *g* had come to represent two different sounds each—all this happening in Old French orthography—the phonetic tradition was broken, and spelling could only be half phonetic.

231. The influence of Latin spelling in the Romance languages—due, of course, to the continuity of the languages themselves—is shown not only in the retention of 'soft' *c* and *g*, but also in the later French 'etymological' spellings by which *dette* was made into *debte* with a 'silent' *b*, after Latin *debitum*. It is, however, doubtful whether this was done with any etymological intention—at least at first. Scribes who were continually copying texts written in an endless mixture of dialects would naturally seek refuge in the comparative uniformity of the Latin spelling they were taught to reverence, and so would half unconsciously modify their unsettled French in the direction of the fixed Latin spelling. No doubt the pedants of the Renascence did attempt to 'reform' spelling on etymological grounds, and occasionally with success, but nearly all the modifications of spelling that have been made in Europe since the introduction of printing have been phonetic, such as the dropping of silent *e*, the distinction between *oa* and *oo* in E. The reason why comparatively so few of the ceaseless attempts at similar reforms have succeeded, is that the early spelling reformers had not enough scientific knowledge and experience to grapple with the great changes in pronunciation and the corruption of the Roman alphabet.

NORMALIZING.

232. When we contrast the regularity of modern spelling with the irregularity of that of the Middle Ages, in which the same word may be spelt in half-a-dozen different ways on the same page, we are apt to assume that the older usage reflects the freedom of nature, the modern regularity being purely artificial. But we soon find that such varieties as ME *cume*, *kume*, *come* all mean exactly the same thing, and that where there are real underlying distinctions of sound, they are due to mixture of dialect—a mixture which, however, is often only apparent: the result of a scribe copying a ms written in another dialect which he only partially transliterates into his own. Another source of confusion is copying an older ms in an archaic spelling, which spelling, as a general rule, is neither retained nor discarded consistently, the result being more or less of an anachronism.

233. The remedy for this confusion is *normalizing*, which takes one definite dialect, and selects one definite spelling for each sound, the result being a more or less absolutely uniform orthography, of which the ME Ormulum is one remarkable example, classical Sanskrit another. Normalizing has nothing to do with fixity of orthography. As we see, Sanskrit orthography was stereotyped together with the language itself, while Orm's spellings perished with their author. The present E. spelling, again, though fixed, is not perfectly normalized. Thus we denote the (ou) from OE *ā* by *o* + *e* in *stone*, but by *oa* in *moan*, although these two words have always had the same vowel from the beginning, and so on.

SYNTHESIS.

234. A normalized spelling on a rigorously phonetic basis will, of course, ignore such non-phonetic considerations as word-division, and will reproduce all the modifications which words undergo in different surroundings, as in the Sanskrit sandhi. It ought also to preserve the distinction between such doublets as (ðæt) and (ðət). But in practice this is seldom done, it being found more convenient to write the emphatic form everywhere. The scribe, too, in writing has to pronounce each word to himself detached, and therefore in its emphatic form and free from such influences as sandhi and consonant-mutation. Of course, where variations in the form of a word are associated with marked divergencies of meaning, as in the Celtic mutations and such pairs as E. *one*, *a*(*n*), *off*, *of*, they are recognized in writing.

235. This leads also to a general disregard of synthesis. Sanskrit denotes vowel-quantity everywhere, Greek only in some of the vowels which have distinct signs for the longs. In Latin the quantity is marked only by a diacritic which is generally omitted. Intonation is marked in Vedic Sanskrit and in some of the pre-classical Brahmanas. It was not marked in Greek till the Alexandrian philologists devised a scheme of accentuation for the benefit of foreigners. In modern languages quantity is often marked by doubling, as in Dutch, and less regularly in German and E., and stress by an acute accent, as in Spanish; this acute being primarily a mark of high or rising intonation, which was however—in Greek at least—combined with stress. Our punctuation-marks seem to have been originally modulative, and a comma is still more or less equivalent to (ʹ), though punctuation is now mainly logical.

236. Word-division is disregarded in Sanskrit, though not in most Eastern languages. It was generally disregarded in Greek and Latin, the division between words being marked—whenever it was marked—not by spaces, but by a point. In the early Middle Ages subordinate words—especially prepositions—were generally run on to the following noun etc to which they belonged. The grouping of subordinate words round their centre was carried to a great extent in Old Irish, where, for instance, *indfhirsin* was written for *ind fhir sin* 'of-the man this,' 'of this man.'

INTERPRETATION OF SYMBOLS.

237. The one essential difference between the phonetic study of living and of dead languages, is that the former are accessible to direct observation. But it is easy to exaggerate the importance of this difference. Even in studying living languages we are forced to rely mainly on the observations of others, for no one can master more than a limited number of languages, and it is only the observations of a native that can be perfectly relied on, so that the statement of an old Sanskrit phonetician that, for instance, his *w* was formed by the lips and teeth is really worth more than an unphonetic German's analysis of E. *w* into *u* + *w*, or an Englishman's statement that South German *w* is between *w* and *v*.

238. The first means of determining the sounds of dead languages is, therefore, the direct statements of phoneticians, grammarians and others about them, whether in the form of simple description or of correction of assumed errors or vulgarisms. The results thus obtained may be supplemented by comparison with the sounds of other languages, and by phonetic transcriptions.

239. Then we have the indirect evidence of the spelling, which is often as reliable as—if not more so than—the former. Such forms as *ú*, *å* are, indeed, self-interpreting, and many others, such as *th*, *nj*, though ambiguous in themselves, are often interpreted with certainty when taken in connection with other evidence, and with the history of the language and the general laws of sound-change. The very fluctuations are often instructive. Indeed, when we find the elements of a digraph liable to constant variation and transposition, we may be sure that this digraph is intended to represent one simple sound lying between its two elements, especially if it alternates with a single letter. Thus when we find the same sound written *eo*, *oe*, *o* in ME, we may assume that it is meant to indicate some variety of {. The loss of a letter is, of course, often conclusive, as when OE *hl* becomes simple *l* in ME. So also are confusions, as when Late Mercian confuses *y* and *i*.

240. The introduction of a new system of spelling often throws fresh light on a language, for each orthography brings out phonetic features of its own. Thus the distinction of back and front *c* in OE becomes quite clear in the Frenchified spelling of the 13th century, in which the latter is written *ch*.

241. The third great criterion is afforded by **metre.** The evidence varies, of course, according to the nature of the metre. Latin verse enables us to determine with certainty the vowel-quantity, and OE and ME metre does the same to some extent. MnE metre enables us to determine the word-stress and to eliminate silent *e*'s with considerable accuracy. The *ornaments* of verse—vowel-assonance, rhyme, and alliteration—also throw their own light on pronunciation. Here, however, we must be on our guard against those traditional influences which result in 'printer's rhymes.' Rhymes in the infancy of the art are generally more or less imperfect, and even Italian never got so far as to separate close and open *e* and *o* in rhyme, as Middle High German did. These imperfect rhymes—which may be printer's rhymes at the same time—such as *love* : *prove*, are really 'consonantal assonances.' Rhyme is especially valuable in reconstructing the dialect of the author of a poem, when it has been hopelessly disguised, as is often the case, by being copied from one dialect into another. Thus a Scotch poem, even if transliterated completely into Southern English, would still betray its origin by such a rhyme as *home* : *name* = Scotch *hame* : *name*.

ARIAN SOUNDS.

242. The following is a classification of the chief Arian languages according to their relationship.

(*a*) **East-Arian** or Asiatic:
  (1) Sanskrit. (2) Iranian (Zend and Old Persian).

(*b*) **West-Arian** or European:
  (3) Greek.
  (4) Latin. (5) Celtic.
  (6) Slavonic (Old Bulgarian).
  (7) Baltic (Lithuanian and Lettish). (8) Germanic.

243. It will be observed that Gk and Lt have nothing in common except that they are both West-Arian, that Celtic is most closely allied to Lt, and Gmc to Baltic, Gmc lying geographically between Baltic and Celtic.

244. The development of these languages seems to have been the result rather of a gradual divergence than of an abrupt separation, although no doubt the latter process may often have hastened the divergence. Indeed, if all the Ar. languages had been preserved, we should probably find it difficult to draw any definite line between the different groups. As it is, Armenian seems to be really a link between Iranian and Slavonic, and therefore between Asiatic and European, and Albanian may turn out to be a similar link between Gk and Lt.

245. By comparing the separate languages in their oldest forms, and collecting those resemblances which could not have developed independently, and must therefore be due to community of origin, we are able to reconstruct parent Ar. with some certainty—at least in its main features. It was a highly inflectional language, complex and yet symmetrical in structure, with a rich sound-system, which, as regards the vowels, is very faithfully reflected in the oldest Gk, the general structure of the language being otherwise best represented by the oldest Vedic Sk. It bore a striking resemblance to MnE in its extreme sensibility to stress-influence.

246. But parent Arian shows distinct traces of an earlier pre-inflectional stage, in which sentences were made up of indeclinable words or 'roots,' whose relations to one another were expressed partly by position, partly by the addition of shortened words which by degrees became incorporated into the preceding root-word, 'inflection' being the result. The development of inflection implies complete subordination of one word to another; but it is possible for two words to be indissolubly joined together, each retaining its full individuality, as in *hand-made*. Such compounds as *hásta-krta* 'hand-made' in Sk, *kheiro-poíētos* in Gk are, in fact, nothing else but fragments of pre-inflectional sentences, as is shown still more clearly in the Sk copulative compounds, such as *ahō-rātrám* 'a day and night,' which in some cases even take an independent accent on each member. Inflection in all languages is developed mainly in connection with other words in a sentence, and words forming sentences by themselves never developed inflection at all; hence we have pre-inflectional words in vocatives and imperatives, such as Sk *dḗva* 'god!' *bháva* 'be!' It will be observed that some at least of these roots were dissyllabic. It is probable that the Ar. monosyllabic roots which we see in Sk *vā́k*=Gk *óps* contrasted with *áçvas*=Gk *híppos*, are really unemphatic forms, which originally existed side by side with the fuller emphatic ones.

247. The development of the Ar. vowel-system cannot be understood without a knowledge of Ar. accentuation. That the free accent of Vedic Sk should be, in the main, that of parent Ar. is in itself very probable, and is made certain by Verner's law (315), which explains certain irregularities in the Germanic consonant-shift by the position of the accent in Sk, showing that parent Gmc and Vedic Sk must have had a practically identical system of accentuation which can only be the result of common origin.

248. There are three accents in Sk: *udātta* (raised)='acute,' *anudātta* (unraised)='grave,' and *svarita*='circumflex.' The acute is the emphatic accent, and was either a rising or a high level tone. The syllable immediately following an acute is always circumflex—that is, probably a falling glide-tone—unless it is itself followed by an acute, in which case it is grave: *tḗnà* but *tḗna tḗ.* Every syllable before an acute or after a circumflex is grave: *ahám, bhávàmi.* The acute was no doubt accompanied by stress, for the frequent dropping of grave vowels can only be explained as the result of want of stress.

249. In parent Ar. every vowel had a different form under the different accents. The result was a variety of vowel-series, each with the three stages, *strong*, *medium*, and *weak*. The most important of these is the *e-o* series, which is evidently a modification of original *a*. Under the acute accent *a* became *e* (through ɩ), under the circumflex it became *o* (through ɟ), and under the grave it was dropped altogether. The first two changes, which are evidently acoustic (133), are shown in Gk *híppos* (where *i* is a later modification of *e*), Lt *eqvus* (older *eqvos*) = Sk *áçvas* from Ar. **écwòs* ′ɩɑɔɟs\` (pre-Arian **ácwàs*). It will be seen that Sk opposes a uniform *a* to the Gk, Lt (and general European) *e, o.* But that this is only a comparatively late levelling in Sk itself is proved by a variety of facts. Thus Ar. *k* ɑɒ become *c* ɑ in Sk before Sk *a*=Ar. and European *e*, as in *ca*=Lt *que* (Ar. **ke*), but not before Sk *a*=Ar. *o.* European *o* in open syllables, as in Gk *gónu* 'knee,' *phóros* 'tribute,' is represented in Sk by *ā*, as in *jā́nu* ɷɟ·ɿɩ, *bhā́ra* ɘɵɟ·ɷɟ; European *o* followed by two conss. being represented in Sk by short *a*, as in *dadárça* ɷɟɷɟɷɑɟ 'I saw' = Gk *dédorka.* This seems to show that the circumflex had the power of lengthening a vowel under certain conditions (when followed in parent Ar. by a vowel with a grave accent?), the short European *o* in *gónu* being due to some analogical influence. But we find also an European *ō* in the *e*-series, as in Gk *phṓr* 'thief,' connected with *phérō*, *klṓps* 'thief,' connected with *kléptō* 'steal.'

250. Under the grave accent the vowel is dropped entirely. Thus Sk *kárōmi* 'make' (*a*=Ar. *e*) has the past passive participle *krtá.* So also *kálpāmi* 'arrange' has partic. *klptá.* In the other languages these syllabic liquids have been resolved into non-syllabic *r* and *l* accompanied by a distinct vowel. Thus Gk *dérkomai* 'see' has aorist *édrakon*=Sk *ádrçam*. The original syllabic nasals have not been preserved even in Sk. Thus Ar. **tntó* 'stretched' appears in Sk as *tatá*, in Gk as *tatós*, in Lt as *tentus*.

251. Words with the diphthong *ei* in their strong stage, such as Gk *eîmi* 'I go,' Sk *émi*, show simple *i* in weak forms such as the plur. *ímen* 'we go' (with shifting of the Arian accent) =Sk *imás*. It is evident that the treatment of the diphthongic vowel is perfectly parallel to that of the liquids, *ei* being equivalent to *ej*, which is parallel to *er* and *el*. So also the strong *eu* is weakened to *u* by dropping the *e*, as in Gk *pustós* 'known,' pres. *peúthomai*.

252. The reduction of *er* to *r*, of *ei* to *i* was, of course, a gradual process, and there must have been many intermediate stages. When we find Gmc *sunu* 'son' contrasting with Sk *sūnú*, Gk *bíos* 'life' with Sk *jīvá* 'alive,' it is natural to suppose that the long vowels really represent an older stage of weakening than the short ones. It is probable that *sunú* and *sūnú* etc existed side by side in parent Ar., the latter being, perhaps, the more emphatic form. This suggests a similar coexistence of *r* and *r̄* (long syllabic *r*), and when we find Sk *pūrṇá* ɒfɨωɜcʃ 'full' (literally 'filled') with *ūr* instead of the *r* of *krtá*, and Gk *strōtós* 'strewn' with *rō* instead of *ra*, we cannot help inferring Ar. **pr̄nó*, **stṝtó*.

253. When *e* is flanked by unvowellike consonants, especially stops, it is generally kept in the weak stage; thus in Gk the weak *skeptós* 'seen' has the same vowel as the present *sképtomai*. But it is also dropt, as in the Gk aorist infin. *ptésthai*, pres. *pétomai* 'fly,' Sk *ásmi* (Ar. **ésmi*), plur. *smási*. The *e* was probably dropt everywhere at first, and then restored by the analogy of the strong forms. Perhaps, however, such weak forms as **skpt-* and *skept-* may have existed side by side parallel to *sunú* and *sūnú* etc.

254. In Sk many words ending in a cons. show accent-shift in inflection, thus *vā́k* 'voice' has acc. *vā́cam*, gen. *vācás*, *émi* 'I go' has plur. *imás* 'we go.' So also in Gk *óps*=Sk *vāk* has acc. *ópa*, gen. *opós*. There is no shifting of accent in the inflection of such words as *áçvas*, *híppos*, but there is every reason to believe that the later uniformity is not original. When we find strong *eu* in an unaccented syllable in Gk *leukós*, gen. *leukoû* 'white,' and, conversely, weak *r* accented in Sk *vŕka* 'wolf,' we see that in the Gk word the original change **leúkos*, gen. **lukéso* has been levelled by a compromise between the vowel of the nom. and the accent of the gen. In Sk, on the contrary, the accent of the nom. **vérkos* has been associated with the vowel of the gen. **vrkéso*. Gmc **wulfa* (OE *wulf*) points also to Ar. **wŕko*. The Zend *vehrka*, again, preserves the vowel of the nom. So also OE *swefn* 'sleep' and Gk *húpnos* point to Ar. **swépnos*, **supnéso*, *we* being weakened into *u* in the same way as *eu* (=*ew*) in *peúthomai*.

255. The following are the main types of the *e*-series in their three stages:

strong	*medium*	*weak*
ek	ok, ōk	ek, k
er	or, ōr	r̄, r
en	on, ōn	n̄, n
ei	oi, ōi	ī, i
eu	ou, ōu	ū, u

256. The other series are less clear. The *a*-series has *a* in the strong stage, as in Gk *ágō* 'drive,' Lt *agō*, OIcel. *aka*, Sk *ájāmi*=Ar. **ájō*, Gk *aíthō* 'set fire to,' OE *ād* (from Gmc **aida*) 'fire,' Gk *haúō* 'dry.' The weak stage is quite parallel to that of the *e*-series: Sk *jmán* 'path,' Gk pass. ptc. *epaktós*, the former representing the 'short-weak' (as in *ptésthai*) the latter the 'long-weak' stage (as in Sk *skeptós*); *iddhá* 'burnt,' 'pure,' Gk *itharós*, OE *īdel* 'idle' (originally 'pure,' 'empty'), the latter being parallel to Sk *jīvá*.

257. The *o*-series is represented only by a few words, such as Gk *ózei* 'smells,' Lt *olō*, Gk *anoígō* 'open,' *kroúō* 'strike.' These examples represent the strong stage. The long-weak stage is shown in Gk *optéon* 'to be seen,' *antikrú* 'against' (literally 'striking against'), the short-weak stage in the variant *antikrú*.

258. Some words have the long vowels *ā*, *ē* and *ō* in their strong stages, as in the Gk verbs *phāmí* 'speak,' *hístāmi* 'stand,' *títhēmi* 'place,' *dídōmi* 'give.' In all these series the short-weak stage drops the vowel altogether, as in Sk *dēvátta* = **dēva-dta* 'god-given,' pres. Sk *dádāmi* = Gk *dídōmi*. The long-weak stage has *i* in Sk, *a* in European, as in the prt. pass. ptcc. Sk *sthitá*, Gk *statós* from *hístāmi*, Gk *phamén* 'we speak,' Lt *datus* 'given.' This European *a* = Sk *i* may point to an Ar. *ə* ʅ.

259. In many cases the long vowels appear to be lengthenings of short vowels in the *e*, *a*, *o*-series. Thus the *ē* of Lt *pēs* 'foot,' the *ō* of (Doric) Gk *pōs*, Gothic *fōtu* appear to be lengthenings of strong *e* and medium *o* respectively (cp Lt *pedēs*, Gk *pódes*). So also the *ā* and *ō* of Gk *stratāgós* 'army-leader,' *ódōde* 'smelt' belongs to the *a* and *o*-series respectively.

260. Where *ō* appears in the *ā* and *ē*-series, as in Gmc **stōla* (OE *stōl*) 'stool' (+ Gk *hístāmi*), it may represent the medium stage of these series, being the result of circumflexing. Indeed, Gk *bōmós* 'altar' stands in the same relation to *bâma* 'step' as *kormós* 'log' does to *kérma* 'anything cut small.' So also Gk *rhḗgnūmi* 'break' perfect *érrhōga* is quite parallel to *leípō* 'leave' perf. *léloipa*.

261. Whatever its origin, the Ar. vowel-system must have had somewhat the following form:

a, ə (?)	i	u	**ā**	ī	ū
	e	o		ē	ō
ai	ei	oi	**āi**	ēi	ōi
au	eu	ou	**āu**	ēu	ōu

262. These vowels are represented as follows in Sanskrit, Gk, Lt, and Gmc:

Ar.	a	i	e	u	o	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō
Sk	a	i	a	u	a	ā	ī	ā	ū	ā
Gk	a	i	e	u	o	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō
Lt	a	i	e	u	o	ā	ī	ē	ū	ō
Gmc	a	i	e	u	a	ō	ī	ē	ū	ō

In OBg *a* is represented by *o*, *i* by *ĭ* ь, *u* by *ŭ* ъ, *ū* by *ȳ* ы, *ō* by *ā*. In Lith. *o* is represented by *a*, and *ā* by *ō*—both as in Gmc—and *ō* by *ů* (=*ooa*).

Ar.	ai	ei	oi	au	eu	ou
Sk	ē, ay	ē, ay	ē, ay	ō, av	ō, av	ō, av
Gk	ai	ei	oi	au	eu	ou
Lt	ae	ī	ī	au	ū	ū
Gmc	ai	ī	ai	au	eu	au

Sk *ē*, *ō* appear as *ay* अय, *av* अव before vowels.

263. The correspondence of the long vowel diphthongs is not certain. In Sk the first element of all of them necessarily becomes *ā*. In Gmc it seems to become *a*, so that *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi* are all levelled under *ai*.

264. In OBg all the diphthongs are smoothed, *au* becoming *ū*.

We will now consider the vowels more in detail, giving examples from the different languages.

265. a. Gk *ágō*, Lt *agere*, OIcel. *aka* 'drive.' From the same root Sk *ájras*, Gk *agrós*, Lt *ager*, Goth. *akr*, OE *æcer* 'field.' Gk *aróō*, Lt *arāre*, OBg *orati*, Goth. *arjan*, OE *ęrian* 'plough.' Sk *ápa*, Gk *apó*, Lt *ab*, Goth. *af*, OE *of*.

266. i (weakening of *ei*). Sk *bibhidimá*, Lt *fidimus*, OE *biton* 'we bit.' So also in most of the other verbs in Gmc with *ī* in the present. Sk *vidmá*, Gk *ídmen*, OE *witon* 'we know.' Sk *idám*, Lt *id*, Goth. *ita*, OE *hit* 'it.'

267. e. Sk *bhárāmi*, Gk *phérein*, Lt *ferre*, OE *beran* 'bear.' Sk *mádhu*, Gk *méthu*, OBg *medŭ*, OE *medu* 'mead.' Ar. *e* was probably very open (=ɩ?), as it returns to *a* in Sk.

268. u (weakening of *eu*). Sk *bubudhimá*, OE *budon* 'we announced.' Sk *buddhá*, Gk *pustós*, OE *boden* 'made known.' So also in the other Gmc verbs with *eu* in the pres.

269. o. Sk *aṣṭaú*, Gk *oktṓ*, Lt *octo*, Goth. *ahtau* 'eight.' Lt *nox*, Gk *núx*, Goth. *nahts* 'night.' *o*, the medium stage of *e*, is seen in perfects such as Gk *dédorka*, Sk *dadárça*, Gk pres. *dérkomai*. So also Gmc *a* in *bar* 'bore'=*o*, Sk *babhā́ra* with lengthening (249). Goth. *satjan* 'set'=Sk *sādáyāmi*, from *sed-*. Gk *khórtos*, Lt *hortus*, Goth. *gards* 'yard'; the *e* is seen in Gk *eukherḗs* 'easy to handle.'

270. ā. Sk *tíṣṭhāmi*, Doric Gk *hístāmi* (Attic *hístēmi*), Lt *stāre*, OBg *stati*, Lith. *stōti* 'stand,' OE *stōl* 'stool.' Gk *mā́tēr* Lt *māter*, OE *mōder* 'mother.'

271. ī. Sk *jīvá*, Lt *vīvus* 'alive,' OE *cīþ* 'sprout.' Short *i* in Gk *bíos*, OE *cwic* (266).

272. ē. Sk *dádhāmi*, Gk (Doric and Attic) *títhēmi* 'put.' OBg *děti* 'do,' Goth. *dēds* 'deed.' Gk *híēmi* 'throw,' Lt *sēmen*, Goth. *sēd* 'seed.' As Ar. *ē* returns to *ā* in Sk and in some Gmc languages, it probably had the open sound ɩ·.

273. ū. Zend *srūtō* 'celebrated' (cp Sk *çrutá* 'heard,' Gk *klutós* with short vowel), OE *hlūd* 'loud.'

274. ō. OE *dō* 'do,' *dōm* 'doom,' Gk *thōmós* 'heap,' connected with *títhēmi* 'put.' Gk *mō̂los* 'trouble,' OE *mǣþe* 'weary' (from *mōþ-*).

275. ai. Gk *aíthō* 'burn,' OE *ād* (from **aid*) 'fire.' Gk *laiós* 'left,' Lt *laevus*, OE *slāw* (from **slaiw*) 'weak,' 'slow.'

276. ei. Gk *leípō* 'leave,' Goth. *leihvan* (ei=ī) 'lend.' Gk *steíkhō*, OE *stīgan* 'ascend.' Sk *ḗmi*, Gk *eîmi* 'I go.' Gk *deíknūmi* 'show,' Lt *dīco* 'say,' OHG *zīhan* 'accuse,' MnG *verzeihen* 'pardon.'

277. oi. Gk *oîdos* 'swelling,' Lt *aemidus* 'swelling' adj, Gmc **aitra* (OHG *eitar*, OE *ātor* 'poison'). *oi*, the medium stage of *ei*, appears in Sk *ḗman*, Gk *oîmos* 'path' (cp *ei* in Gk *eîmi* 'I go'). Sk *rirḗca*, Gk *léloipa* 'I left,' Goth. *laihw* 'lent'; Gk *loipós* 'remaining,' Goth. *laiba* 'relic.'

278. au. Gk (Aeolic) *aúōs*, Lt *aurōra* 'dawn,' OIcel. *austr* 'east.' Gk *paúō* 'cease,' Lt *paucus*, Goth. *favai* 'few.'

279. eu. Sk *bṓdhāmi* 'watch,' Gk *peúthomai* 'enquire,' Gmc *beudan* (Goth. *biudan*) 'offer.' Gk *geúō* (=**geúsō*) 'taste,' Goth. *kiusan* 'choose.'

280. ou. Sk perf. *bubhṓda*, Gmc **baude* (Goth. *bauþ*) 'offered' Gk perf. *eilḗloutha* 'came.'

281. Of the diphthongs with the first element long a few examples must suffice. Arian *ēi* is seen in Sk *prā́yas*, Gk *pleíōn* (=**plēíōn*), OIcel. *fleiri* 'more.' Gk *pleîstos* 'most' (*ei*=*ēi*), OIcel. *flestr* (*e*=*ei*=Germanic *ai*). Arian *ēu* is seen in Sk *dyā́us* 'sky,' with which cp Gk *Zeús*. The Ionic Gk *ēṓs* (Attic *héōs*, Eolic *aúōs*) points to Ar. **ā́usōs*. Sk *gaús* plur. *gā́vas* 'cow,' Lt *bōs*, Gmc * *kō* points to Arian *ōu*.

282. The syllabic liquids are represented as follows in the four principal languages:

Ar.	r; l	r̄	n	n̄
Sk	r; l	īr, ūr	·an, a	ā
Gk	ar, al; ra, la	rō, lō	·an, a	ā
Lt	or; ol, ul	rā, lā	en	an
Gmc	or; ol	ar, al, ra	·in, un	an

The forms marked (·) develop only in syllables which in later Ar. came to be accented. Syllabic *m* can hardly be distinguished from *n*.

283. r. Sk *vŕka*, OHG *wolf*. Sk *strtá* 'spread' ptc, Gk *stratós* 'army.' Sk *vrddhá* 'grown,' Gk *blastós* 'sprout.' Sk *hrd-* 'heart,' Lt *cord-*.

284. r̄. Sk *jīrnám* 'ground' ptc, Lt *grānum* 'grain.' Sk *īrmá*, Gmc *arm*. After lip conss. *r̄* becomes *ūr* in Sk as in *pūrviá*, Gk *prṓios* 'foremost,' Goth. *frauja* 'lord.'

285. The different languages vary in the length of the *r*. Thus to Sk *strtá* corresponds Gk *strōtós*, Lt *strātus*, both pointing to Ar. *r̄*. To Lt *grānum* corresponds Gmc *korn* (*or* from *r*), to Sk *pūrṇá* 'filled' OHG *vol*.

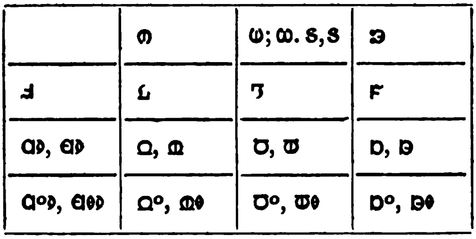
286. **n.** Sk *sánti*, OE *sind* (from * *sinþ*) 'they are.' Sk *tatá*, Gk *tatós*, Lt *tentus*, 'stretched' (cp the Gk pres. *teínō* from * *ténjō*). Sk *çatá*, OE *hund* 'hundred.'

287. **n̄.** Sk *gātá* 'gone' from **gm̃tá* or **gñtá*, Gk *bâthi* 'go'! Sk *ātí* 'duck,' Lt *anas*, OIcel. *ǫnd* (from * *andu*).

CONSONANTS.

288. The following was the Ar. consonant-system :

	back	*front*	*forew.*	*lip*
open		j	r; l. s, z	w
nasal	n	n	n	m
stop	k, g	c, ɟ	t, d	p, b
aspir.	kh, gh	ch, ɟh	th, dh	ph, bh



The back and front nasals occur only before back and front stops (and aspirates) resp. in such combinations as *ng*, *nc*. *z* occurs only before voiced stops in the combinations *zg*, *zdh* etc.

289. The breath aspirates *th* etc were no doubt stops followed by a stressed breath-glide, as they still are in India. The voice aspirates *dh* etc are described by the Sanskrit phoneticians as voiced stops followed by sonant breath, which may mean either a mere emphasizing of the following voice-glide or a distinct guttural croak. In Vedic Sk *ḍ* ɒc between vowels becomes the inverted *ḷ* ωc, and consequently *ḍh* becomes *ḷh*, which is expressed not by a single letter, as is the case with the other aspirates, but by *ḷ*+'sonant *h*,' which in this case could not well have been anything but ɵ. Both classes of aspirates were originally nothing but emphasized stops, whose off-glides were exaggerated.

290. There appear to have been two *j*-sounds, one (ɷ ?) represented by *z* in Gk, as in *zugón*, Sk *yugám* 'yoke,' the other (ɾ ?) being weakened to a mere breath in Gk, as in the pronominal *hós*=Sk *yás*. In Sk the latter *j* in reduplication-syllables becomes *i*- as in *iyắja* perf. of *yaj* 'sacrifice,' instead of *ya*-. So also in Sk some verbs reduplicate with *va*-, such as *vardh* 'grow,' some with *u*-, such as *vac* 'speak,' pointing to an analogous distinction of ɜ and ɨ.

291. The distinction between *r* and *l* certainly existed in Ar. (although in Zend both are represented by *r*, and they are not separated so strictly in Sk as in European), but probably in a different form: it is possible that *r* was represented by trilled, *l* by untrilled *r*.

292. The following table will show the development of the back and front stops in the different languages:

Ar.	k	g	gh	c	ɟ	ɟh
Sk	k, c	g, j	gh, h	ç	j	h
Zend	k, c	g, j	g, j́	s	z	z
Gk	k, p, (t)	g, b, (d)	kh, (th)	k	g	kh
Lt	q, c	g	h, g	c	g	h, g
OBg	k, č, c	g, ž	g, ž	s	z	z
Lith.	k	g, ž	g, ž	sz	ž	ž
Gmc	hw, h (w, g)	kw	gw, (w)	h (g)	k	g

Sk *c*=Ω, *j*=ɷ, *ç*=∩ (or ƨ\ ?), *h*=ɵ. Gk *th*=ʊ°. Lt *q*=ɑɒ, *c*=ɑ. OBg *č*=ʊƨ, *ž*=ɛ. Lith. *ž*=ɛ, *sz*=ƨ.

293. The Ar. breath aspirates *kh*, *th*, *ph* are distinctively preserved only in Sk, having run together with original *gh* etc in Gk. In Gmc they were confounded with Ar. *k*, *t*, *p*, which themselves were aspirated into *kh* etc, passing afterwards into open conss. (313).

GERMANIC SOUNDS.

294. The Old Germanic languages fall into two main divisions:

(*a*) East-Germanic:
  (1) Gothic.
  (2) Scandinavian (Icelandic, Danish, Swedish).
(*b*) West-Germanic:
  (3) Low-German (Old-Saxon, Old-English, Frisian).
  (4) High German.

Within Low German E. and Frisian again form a special group 'Anglo-Frisian.'

295. By a comparison of these languages among themselves and with the other Ar. languages we can reconstruct parent Gmc with some certainty. This pre-historic Gmc language differed from its extant descendants in two important features. It still kept the free Arian accent, often shifting from one syllable to another in different inflections of the same word. Thus in the verbs the pres. and infin. had the accent on the root syllable (*béran*, *bíriþ*), while it was thrown on to the end-syllable in the past partic. (*boraná*), and the 2nd sg. and pl. pret. (*budún*). Nouns in -*i* and -*u* and weak masculines also throw it forward (*gamundí*=OE *gemynd*. *sunú*, *bogó*=OE *boga*). Afterwards the accent was laid uniformly on the first syllable, which was generally, though not always, the root syllable.

296. It also had a complicated inflectional system, the verb having had a number of tenses which in Gothic are reduced to two—present and preterite. One of the most marked characteristics of the Gmc languages is their striving after symmetry and regularity, of which their vowel-gradation in such forms as *sing*, *sang*, *sung*—a system which was built up out of the complicated Ar. vowel-system by a slow process of simplification and analogy—is an example. This may be partly due to the influence of the Ugrian languages, with which the Gmc came into close contact for many centuries, just as the want of symmetry and isolating tendencies of Celtic seem to be due to the influence of a language of the Basque type.

VOWELS.

297. The following is the Gmc vowel-system:

$$\mathrm{a}\begin{cases}\mathrm{i} & \mathrm{u}\\ \mathrm{e} & \mathrm{o}\end{cases}\qquad \bar{\mathrm{a}}\begin{cases}\bar{\mathrm{i}} & \bar{\mathrm{u}}\\ \bar{\text{æ}},\ \bar{\mathrm{e}} & \bar{\mathrm{o}}\end{cases}$$

$$\mathrm{ai}\begin{cases}\mathrm{au}\\ \mathrm{eu}\end{cases}$$

298. a=Ar. *a* (*akr*) and *o* (*naht*, *gard*).

299. i=Ar. *i* (*witan*) and *e*. Ar. *e* became *i* in Gmc before nasal + cons., as in OE *bindan* compared with *helpan*, and before an *i* or *j* in the next syllable, as in OE *biriþ*, *bir*(*e*)*þ* 'bears'=Sk *bhárati*, Ar. *bhéreti*. It is possible that these two *i*'s differed in sound (ɪ and ɪ?). Unaccented *e* seems to have become *i* everywhere in later Gmc.

300. u=Ar. *u* (OE *budon*, *sunu*). Earlier Gmc *o* becomes *u* under the same conditions as *e* becomes *i*, as in OE *bunden* compared with *holpen*, *gylden* (from **gulþīna*) from *gold*.

301. e=Ar. *e* (*beran*). In some words it is Ar. *i* mutated by a following back vowel, as in OE *nest* from **nizdó*.

302. o=Ar. *u* mutated by a following back vowel, as in OE *coren* 'chosen,' Gmc **kozaná* (cp Gk *geúō*). This influence, which is only occasional with Ar. *i*, is regular with *u*. Cp the OE particc. *stigen*, *togen* etc. A following *u*, however, preserves original *u*, as in OE *budun*, *budon* 'they offered' etc. Another main source of Gmc *o* is the development of a parasitic vowel out of the Ar. syllabic liquids (OE *corn*), which before *n* becomes *u* (OE *hund*). Such particc. as OE *boren* point to **brraná*, equivalent to **b̄raná*, with the *r̄* resolved into syllabic *r* + consonantal *r*.

303. ā. There was no pure *ā* in Gmc, as Ar. *ā* became *ō*, but in the combination **anh* J±c from Ar. *ank* the *n* nasalized the preceding vowel, lengthened it, and was then dropped, as in the Goth. preterite *þāhta*, OE *þōhte*, *þohte*, whose *ō* points to earlier nasality.

304. ī = Ar. *ī* (OE *cīþ*) and *ei* (*stīgan*). Nasalized *ī* from **inh* (= Ar. *ink*, *enk*), as in OHG *līhti* 'easy,' 'light' (Sk *langh* 'leap').

305. ū = Ar. *ū* (OE *hlūd*). Nasalized *ū* from **unh* (= Ar. *unk*, older Gmc *onk*), as in OE *þūhte* 'seemed,' pres. *þyncan* from **þunkjan*.

306. ǣ = Ar. *ē* (OE *dǣd*), which probably had the same broad sound ɪ+. In Scandinavian, OSaxon and High German *ǣ* became *ā* (OIcel. *dāþ*, OSaxon *dād*, OHG *tāt*).

307. ē. A vowel of obscure origin in such words as *hēr* 'here'; sometimes the result of contraction.

308. ō = Ar. *ā* (OE *mōder*) and *ō* (*dōm*). *ō* from Ar. *ā* probably had at first a broader sound than original *ō*.

309. ai = Ar. *ai* (*aid*) and *oi* (*aitr*, *laiba*).

310. au = Ar. *au* (*austr*) and *ou* (*baud*).

311. eu = Ar. *eu* (*beudan*).

CONSONANTS.

312. The following was the Gmc consonant-system:

h, ʒ	j	r; l. þ, ð; s, z	w. f, v
n		n	m
k, g		t, d	p, b

h = c, ʒ = є, *f* = ɔ, *v* = э.

313. The most prominent feature of the Gmc as compared with the Ar. consonant-system is the Gmc consonant-shift (Grimm's Law, lautverschiebung), by which the Ar. breath stops (and breath aspirates) become open conss., while the voice stops are unvoiced, and the voiced aspirates become simple voiced stops; the following being, for example, the correspondence of the point series:

Ar.	t, th	d	dh
Gmc	þ	t	d

Sk *tuám*, Gk *tú*, Lt *tu*=Goth. *þu* 'thou.' Sk *phēna*=OE *fām* 'foam.' Sk *ádmi*, Gk *édō*, Lt *edō*=OE *etan* 'eat.' Sk *mádhu*, Gk *méthu*=OE *medu* 'mead.'

314. Of these changes that of *d* into *t* was evidently more or less direct (through whisper). That of *t* to *þ* cannot have been by direct opening (as in OIrish *athir*=Gk *patér*), for in that case Ar. *d* would have become *ð*; it must, therefore, have been through the aspirate ʊo, Ar. *t* and *th* thus running together. *dh* in the cognates shows two lines of development. In Gk the glide is unvoiced and the resulting ϖo naturally becomes ʊo. In Zend, Slavonic, Baltic and Celtic the glide is simply dropped, *dh* becoming *d*. It seems natural to assume that Gmc followed the same course as its neighbours. As regards the order of the changes, it is clear that *dh* could not have become *d* till Ar. *d* had become *t*, and that this latter change could not have taken place till Ar. *t* itself had been modified—otherwise some two of the three must have run together. The changes must, therefore, have begun with that of *t* into *þ* through *th*, *d* then taking the place of Ar. *t*, and, lastly, *dh* taking that of Ar. *d*.

This general scheme is, however, modified in detail by other laws.

315. The most important of these is Verner's Law, by which original Gmc *h*, *þ*, *f* (from Ar. *k*, *t*, *p*) became *ʒ*, *ð*, *v* in syllables which in Ar. were unaccented, *s* becoming *z* under the same circumstances. *ʒ*, *ð*, *v* afterwards were stopped into *g*, *d*, *b*, and *z* became *r* through ɷ\. The *g*, *d*, *b* which arise in this way are called 'weak,' to distinguish them from the strong *g* etc from Ar. *gh*. Hence the so-called 'grammatical change' by which **téuhan* (OE *tēon*) 'pull,' **séuþan* (OE *sēoþan*) 'boil,' **kéusan* (OE *cēosan*) 'choose' **hafjan* 'raise' have their past particc. **toʒaná* (OE *togen*), **soðaná* (OE *soden*), **kozaná* (OE *coren*), **havaná* (OE *hafen*). In these examples the unaccented syllable containing the breath open cons. is separated by an intervening syllable from the accented one. If the cons. is in contact with the accented vowel, the rule is that the breath open is preserved if the accented vowel precedes, as in **téuhan*, **brōþar* (OE *brōþor*) = Sk *bhrā́tā*, voiced if the accented vowel follows, as in **faðér* (OE *fæder*) = Sk *pitā́*, **toʒó* (OE *toga*) 'leader.' As this weakening is due to the voicing influence of the surrounding vowel, it does not extend to the beginning of words.

316. The next exception is Paul and Kluge's Law, by which early Gmc *gg*, *dd*, *bb*, became *kk*, *tt*, *pp*, as in OE *smocc* (early Gmc **smuggá*) compared with *smūgan* 'creep.' These double voiced stops arose from Ar. *-kn*, *-ghn* with the accent on the following vowel, the weak *n* being assimilated to the preceding consonant; if, on the other hand, the accent is on the preceding vowel, the *n* is preserved. The change of Ar. *-ln* into Gmc *ll* follows the same law: cp OIcel. *ǫln* 'ell' from Ar. **ólnō* (Lt *ulnus*) with *full* from Ar. **prnó* through Gmc **folná*, **follá*; so also OE *wulle* from Ar. *wlnṓ*. In the case of the stops + *n* the order of the changes was as follows:

Ar.	ákna	ághna	akná	aghná	(agná)
Gmc	áhna	ág̣na	ahṇá	agná	akná
			aʒná		
			ag̣ná		
			aggá	aggá	
	áhna	ág̣na	akká	akká	akká

Examples are: Goth. *auhns* 'oven' from **úknos* (Sk *ukhā* 'pot'), OE *swefn* 'sleep' from **swépno*. OE *liccian* (cp Goth. *laigōn* 'lick') from **lijhná-* (Gk *likhneúō*, OBg *lizati*) through **ligná*, **liggá*; OE *smocc* from **smukná* (OBg *smykati sę* 'creep') through **smuʒná*, **smugná*, **smuggá*; OE *hoppian* 'hop' from **kupná* (OBg *kypěti*) through **huvná*, **hubná*, **hubbá*. OE *locc* 'lock of hair' from **lugná* 'bent' (Gk *lugóō* 'bend') through **lukná*, **lukká*. After long vowels and diphthongs these double conss. were shortened.

317. Some consonant-combinations show special developments. Ar. *sk*, *st*, *sp* remain unchanged, as in OE *fisc* = Lt *piscis*, *steorra* = Gk *astér*, Lt *stella*, *spīwan* = Lt *spuō*. Ar. *zd* becomes *st*, as in OE *nest* = Sk *nīḍá* (from **nizdá*, from

**ni-s*(*e*)*dó* 'sitting-down'), Lt *nīdus*. Ar. *zgh*, *zdh* become *zg*, *zd*, as in OE *mearg* (Gmc **mazga*) = OBg *mozgŭ*, Sk *majjá* 'marrow,' Goth. *mizdō* (OE *meord*) = Gk *misthós*, Sk *mīḍhá* 'reward.'

318. Ar. *kt*, *pt* becomes *ht*, *ft* (through ɑ°℧, ɒ°℧), as in Goth. *ahtau* = Gk *oktṓ*, *haft* 'captive' = Lt *captus*. Ar. *tt* (*tth*) becomes regularly *ss* (through ℧°℧, ℧∪℧, ∪∪), as in OE *gewiss* 'certain' = Gk *istós* from Ar. **wittó* (from **widtó*), sometimes *st* by analogical and other influences, as in OE *wāst* 'thou knowest,' Goth. *vaist* (Gmc **waiss*), Gk *oîstha*, Sk *vḗttha*, this *wāst* etc owing its *t* to the analogy of Gmc *maht* 'thou mightest' etc. This *ss* was shortened in Gmc after a long vowel or diphthong, as in **haisi* (OE *hǣs*) 'command' from **haissi*, **haitti* (cp Goth. *haitan* 'command'). So also OE *mōs* 'food' from **mōssa*, **mōtta* (cp Goth. *mat* 'food').

319. The variation between *k* and *g* etc in such forms as OE *sūcan*, *sūgan* 'suck,' *wīcing* 'pirate,' *wīg* 'war,' is often due to the influence of a lost nasal in Ar. In Ar. a nasal voiced a preceding breath stop under conditions which have not yet been determined (perhaps originally only when the syllable containing the stop was unaccented), as in Sk *rgmín* 'singing' (*rc* 'song'), Gk *mígnūmi* 'mix' (Sk *miçrá* 'mixed'), Lt *mendax* 'mendacious' (*mentīrī* vb), whence in Gmc a parallel alternation of *h* (*ʒ*) with *k* etc. The probability of nasal influence in the case of *wīcing* is confirmed by the cognate Lt *vincere*.

320. The development of the Ar. back stops shows some peculiarities. The original representatives of Ar. *k* (*kh*), *g*, *gh* in Gmc are *hw*, *kw*, *gw* with the original Ar. rounding. But in an early stage of Gmc, in which Ar. *o* was still preserved as well as Ar. *ō*, *u*, *ū*, the *w* was dropped before these round vowels, while it was kept before *a*, *i*, *e*. Thus Gmc **hawwan* (OE *hēawan*) 'hew' corresponds to Ar. **kow*- (Lt *cūdo*, OBg *kovą*), **kō* 'cow' (OE *cū*) to Ar. **gō* (Sk *gáus*, Lt *bōs*), but **hwīlō* 'time' (OE *hwīl*) to Lt *quiētus*, OBg *počiti* 'rest,' OIcel. *hvass* 'sharp' (from **hvattá*) to Lt *catus*, Goth. *kvēn* 'woman' to Ar. **gēni* (Sk *jāni*). The *w* is not developed initially before a cons.: OE *hlāf* 'bread' (Gmc *hlaibá*) = Lith. *klḗpas*. In weak Gmc syllables (315) *hw* becomes *gw*, which drops its *w* before original *o* and *u*, as above, for example in Goth. *fairguni* (*ai* = Gmc *e*) = Lith. *Perkúnas* (accent originally on the *e*). The *w* was, of course, kept before original *a*, *i*, *e*, but here the *g* was dropt in accordance with Siever's Law, by which every *gw*—whether from Ar. *k* or *gh*—becomes *w* in weak Gmc syllables, as in Goth. *naus* 'corpse' from **na*(*g*)*wís*, Gk *nékus*, Goth. *mavi* 'maid' from **ma*(*g*)*wí*, with which compare Goth. *magus* 'boy' from **mag*(*w*)*ús* = Ar. *maghú*. The resulting alternation of *g* and *w* in different inflections of the same word according as the cons. was followed by an *i* or an *u* etc, was afterwards levelled in most cases, but has left traces in such forms as OE *gesewen*, *gesegen* 'seen' (infin. *sēon* from **seh*(*w*)*on*).

321. *h* was afterwards weakened to a breath initially, as in OE *hēr*, *hlūd*, and between vowels, as in OHG *zehan*, *sehan*, where it was afterwards dropped: MnG (tseen, zeen), OE *tēn*, *gesēon*. *h* preserved its old sound finally, as in OHG *sah*, *naht*, OE *geseah*, *nieht*.

322. The following is the correspondence of the Gmc to the Ar. consonants, starting, for the sake of convenience, from the later Gmc development:—

h = Ar. *k* (OE *hēawan*), *c* (OE *feoh*, Gmc **fehu* 'property' = Sk *páçu*), *kh* (Goth. *haban* 'have' = Lt *habēre*), *ht* = Ar. *kt*.

j = Ar. *j* (Goth. *juk* 'yoke' = Sk *yugám*). There seems also to have been a Gmc *jj*, which appears in Goth. as *ddj* (= ɷɷ?), in OIcel. as *ggj* ɘ\ɘ\, as in *tvaddjē*, *tvęggja* = OE *twǣgea* 'of two.'

r = Ar. *r* (OE *reht* = Lt *rectus*).

l = Ar. *l* (OE *lang* = Lt *longus*).

þ = Ar. *t* (Goth. *þu* = Lt *tú*), *th* (OE *fǣþa* 'troop,' Gmc **fánþjo* compared with Sk *pánthan* 'road').

s = Ar. *s* (OE *nosu* = Lt *nāsus*). *s*(*s*) = Ar. *tt* (OE *gewiss*).

z = weak Ar. *s* (**kozaná*, Lt *gustāre*). *zg*, *zd* = Ar. *zgh*, *zdh*.

w = Ar. *w* (OE *wāt* = Sk *véda*), weak Ar. *k*, *gh* (Goth. *naus*, *mavi*). There seems also to have been a Gmc *ww*, represented in Goth. by *ggv* (= ɞɞ?), in OIcel. by *gg*(*v*), as in *triggv*, *trygg* = OE *trēowe* 'faithful,' OIcel. *hǫggva* = **haggwa* = OE *hēawan* = **hauwan* 'hew' (Gmc **hawwan*).

f = Ar. *p* (OE *fæder*), *ph* (OE *fām*). *ft* = Ar. *pt*.

n = Ar. ŋ, *n* (OE *lang*, *nosu*).

m = Ar. *m* (OE *medu*).

k = Ar. *g* (OE *cēosan*), ɟ (OE *corn* = Sk *jīrṇá*, OBg *zrĭno*). *kk* = weak Ar. *kn*, *gn*, *ghn*.

g = Ar. *gh* (Goth. *gast* 'stranger' = Lt *hostis*, OBg *gostĭ*), ɟ*h* (OE *gold* = OBg *ȥlato*), weak Ar. *k* (*toganá*), weak Ar. *kh* (OE *nægl* 'nail' = Sk *nakha*).

t = Ar. *d* (OE *etan*). *st* = Ar. *st*, *zd* (OE *steorra*, *nest*). *ht*, *ft* = Ar. *kt*, *pt*. *tt* = weak Ar. *tn*, *dn*, *dhn*.

d = Ar. *dh* (OE *medu*), weak Ar. *t* (OE *soden*).

p = Ar. *b* (OE *sæp* 'sap' = Sk *sabar*). *pp* = weak Ar. *pn*, *bn*, *bhn*.

b = Ar. *bh* (OE *beran*), weak Ar. *p* (**habaná*).

323. The change of Gmc *ʒ*, *ð*, *v*, *z* into *g*, *d*, *b*, *r*, as in the OHG participles *zogan* (*zokan*), *sodan* (*sotan*), *haban* (*hapan*), *koran* is apparently common West Gmc.

324. Final Gmc *z* is always dropped in WGmc, as in OE *wē* (Goth. *veis*, Gmc **wiz*), *mā* 'more,' Goth. *mais* = Gmc **maiz* (cp Goth. *maiza*).

325. Another WGmc change is the doubling of conss. before *j*, which was then dropped in OHG and OE, but kept in Old Saxon. Examples are OSaxon *willio* (Goth. *vilja*), *leggian* (Goth. *lagjan*), *biddian* (Goth. *bidjan*), *settian* (Goth. *satjan*), *skeppian* (Goth. *skapjan*) = OE *willa*, *lęcgan*, *biddan*, *sęttan*, *scęppan*. This doubling is in OSaxon and OE confined to conss. which are preceded by a short vowel; but the evidence of OHG forms such as *leitten* from older **leitjen* (Gmc **laidjan*) = OSaxon *lędan*, OE *lædan*, shows that it must once have been carried out, though soon dropped in OSaxon and OE. *-rj-* seems to have developed into *rrj* in OHG (*hōrren* = Goth. *hausjan* 'hear'), but in the other languages a parasitic vowel seems to have developed itself between the *r* and the *j*, which prevented the doubling, as in

OE *hęre*, gen. *hęriges*=Goth. *harji* 'army,' *hęrian*=Goth. *hazjan* 'praise.'

HIGH GERMAN CONSONANT-SHIFT.

326. The second, or High German, consonant-shift is an independent, and much later phenomenon. The first shift was probably completed (or nearly so) some centuries before our era, the second did not begin till probably at least five centuries after it. It was a gradual process, which began in the highlands of Southern Germany, being carried out most completely in the Alemannic and Bavarian dialects, and gradually spread northward to the Frankish dialects—along the Rhine even beyond Cologne—resulting in various compromises between High and Low German, included under the common name of 'Middle-German,' to which group Modern High German belongs.

327. The following are the changes which constitute the second shift:—

Gmc	k	g, ʒ	h	t	d, ð	þ	p	b	f	v
OHG	ch, hh	k	h	z, zz	t	d	ph, ff	p	v	b

ch=ɑc, c. *z*=ʊs. *zz*=s+s+. *ph*=ɒ°.

328. The first change was the aspiration of *k*, *t*, *p* into *kh*, afterwards written *ch*, **th*, *ph*, also written *pf*, pointing to affrication (140), which in the case of *z* was carried out completely in all the dialects. After a vowel all the affricates lost their stop, the second element being doubled by way of compensation, although the doubling is simplified finally, in accordance with the general rule of OHG spelling. Hence OE *macian*, *ic*, *open*, *scip* appear in OHG as *mahhōn*, *ih*, *offan*, *skif*. In one OFrankish text Gmc *t* between vowels is written *zss*, after a vowel at the end of a word *zs*, as in *wazssar*, *dhazs*= OE *wæter*, *þæt*; the other OHG mss writing *zz*, *z*: *wazzar*, *daz*. In MnG this weakened *z* has become *s*—*wasser* (vasər), *dass* (das)—but in MHG it never rhymes on *s*, from which it was no doubt distinguished by its dentality—s+. Initially, and after conss, and when doubled (both by Gmc and West Gmc doubling) *k*, *t*, *p* remain affricates: *khorn*, *chorn*=OE *corn*, *werch*=*weorc*, *we(c)chen*=*weccan*; *phenning*=*pęning*, *helphan*=*helpan*, *ske(p)phen*=*scęppan*. In the above-mentioned Frankish text the strong affricate of *t* is written *z*, that of *tt* being expressed by *tz* between vowels, by *z* finally: *zit*=OE *tīd*, *holz*=*holt*, *setzan* ʊʊs=*sęttan*, *scaz*=*scætt*. In the other texts they write *zz* in *sezzan* as in *wazzar* etc.

329. In the combinations *sk*, *st*, *sp*, *tr*, *ht*, *ft* the stops are not shifted: *fisk*=OE *fisc*, *stein*=*stān*, *tretan*=*tredan*, *fehtan*=*feohtan*.

330. The change of *g* etc into *k* etc, as in *kiporan*=OE *geboren*, is confined to a few of the most southern dialects. *g* etc probably had their present South Gm pronunciation ɑ' etc. WGmc *gg* etc, on the other hand, are regularly unvoiced: *hrucki*=OE *hrycg*, *petti*=*będ**d*.

331. Gmc *þ* was first voiced and then stopped, becoming *d*, as in *dorn*, *erda*=OE *þorn*, *eorþe*. The intermediate ʋ is written *th* and *dh*, rarely with the OE *ð*.

332. Gmc *f* was no doubt voiced like *þ*, but having become a lip-teeth instead of a simple lip cons., it was not stopped. The resulting ɜ is expressed by *f* in the oldest texts, in accordance with OE usage, afterwards by the Romance *u*, *v*: *fater* (*vater*)=OE *fæder*, *fluot*=*flōd*, *grāvo*=*gerǣfa*. In some late texts *v* is written initially after a preceding voiced sound, *f* after a breath: *tu váhest*, *íh fáhe*, showing that *v* really meant ɜ.

333. Gmc *v*, being a lip-cons., was easily stopped, becoming *b*, as in *haban* (OE *hafen*, Gmc **havaná*) ptc of *heffen* (Goth. *hafjan*, OE *hębban*) 'lift.' This *b* is sometimes written *p* in the southern dialects.

RUNES.

GERMANIC.

The consideration of the national Germanic alphabet—the Runic—has been deferred to the present place because its development cannot be understood without reference to the Gmc consonant-system.

334. The oldest—common Gmc—Runic alphabet of 24 letters is preserved in inscriptions going back to about the third century A.D. The order and values of its letters are as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ᚠ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᚨ	ᚱ	ᚲ	ᚷ	ᚹ :	ᚺ	ᚾ	ᛁ	ᛃ	ᛇ	ᛈ	ᛉ	ᛊ :
f	u	þ	a	r	k	g	w	h	n	i	j	eu	p	z	s

17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
ᛏ	ᛒ	ᛖ	ᛗ	ᛚ	ᛜ	ᛟ	ᛞ
t	b	e	m	l	ŋ	o	d

335. As regards the origin of the runes, there can be no doubt that they are taken either from the Greek or the Latin alphabet.

336. The changes of shape in the runes are the result of the material on which they were carved, nl slabs of beechwood. The first result of this was the substitution of **angles** for curves: whether we derive the runic *b* and *k* from the later Latin curved or the earlier Latin and Greek angular forms, the result would necessarily be the same. So also with *s*. The second main change was the elimination of **horizontal** lines, as shown in the *t*; this was to avoid cutting along the grain of the wood, which causes splintering and indistinctness. Convenience of cutting led to the substitution of perpendicular for sloping strokes, as in the *a*, and also to inversion of some of the letters, as we see in the *u*. So also *l* would have assumed the form it has, whether it was taken from the Greek-Latin 𐌋 or the exclusively Greek ᛚ. Finally, we have the principle of **compactness**: the side-strokes are never allowed to rise or descend beyond the top or bottom of the main stem. Thus, as the side-strokes of F could not be bent downwards without confusion with ᚨ *a*, they had to be moved lower down so that they could be turned up without projecting above the top level of the main stroke. We now see that the most refractory letter was E. By turning it on its side they got two upright stems, and by simplifying the two other strokes into a broken line—by which at the same time they got rid of the horizontal stroke—they evolved the runic ᛖ. Other changes were made to differentiate letters that would otherwise be confounded, as in the case of ᛖ *e* and ᛞ *m*, ᚺ *h* and ᚾ *n*. We see from ᚦ *th*=Greek-Latin D that the main stem might be lengthened. Hence there is no necessity for identifying ᛟ *o* with the Greek omega: it may just as well be a modification of the angular equivalent of the Greek-Latin O, which would, besides, have been liable to confusion with one of the forms of the ŋ-rune ᛜ which is exactly that of an angular ◇.

337. The fifteenth rune ᛉ occurs only in the very oldest Scandinavian inscriptions, where it is the regular symbol of that front-modified *r* which stands for Gmc *z*, as in the nom. sg ᚷᚨᛊᛏᛁᛉ *gastir*=Lt *hostis*, original *r* being represented by ᚱ, as in ᚺᛟᚱᚾᚨ *horna*. The ᛉ—which has the form ✱ (possibly only an ornamental variety) in one alphabet—seems to point to the old Greek-Italian I rather than the late Latin Z.

338. We may now turn to the new letters. ᛜ ŋ is clearly a reduplication of ᚲ *k*, and ᛃ *j* of ᛁ *i* (possibly of ᚲ). ᚹ *w* is probably a modification of runic ᚢ *u*.

339. ᚷ *g* and ᛞ *d* appear to be reduplications of ᚲ *k* and Greek-Latin D respectively. Another view is that they are the Greek X *kh* and ⊗ *th* resp.; but it is difficult to see how these letters could have been applied to Gmc sounds which at that time were either Ar. *gh*, *dh* or else some modification of them—one would rather expect them to be applied to the Gmc representatives of Ar. *kh*, *k*, *th*, *t*. The use of Greek-Latin D to express *þ* seems to point to a stage in which ᛏ expressed both *t* and *þ*, ᚦ both *d* and *ð*—that is, when Verner's Law had begun to work, as is further shown by the existence of a runic *z*. When *dh* became simple *d*, a new sign was made by first doubling and then joining back to back two ᚦs, so that the old ᚦ ᚦ came to have the exclusive value *ð*, which was afterwards made to include that of *þ*, in order to avoid the greater ambiguity of ↑ = both *t* and *þ*. The value of OE *ð* was in later times extended in the same way, so that it stood for the breath as well as the voiced sound. The runic X *g* was probably formed, on the analogy of ᛞ, by a modification of ᚲ, which, in the runic alphabet as in the Latin, seems to have been originally the only back cons.

340. The value of runic ᚠ *f* does not prove conclusively that the runic alphabet must be of Latin origin, for in Greek itself such spellings as ϜHE = *ϝέ* from Ar. **swe* through **swhe*, show that the digamma must often have had the sound of ɔ.

341. The evidence of the forms of the letters is strongly in favour of the Latin origin, but chronological arguments show that the runes must have been borrowed several centuries before our era, at a time when the Germanic tribes could not have been influenced by the Romans, for otherwise sufficient time would not be allowed for their divergence from their original forms. On the whole the most probable theory seems to be that the runes are of indirect Greek origin, and that they were adopted by the Goths from some non-Germanic tribe of central Russia about the third century B.C.

OLD-ENGLISH.

342. The following changes of form and value occur in the OE runes. As the sound *a* became *æ* very generally in OE, ᚨ naturally took the latter value, a new sign for *a* being formed by a slight modification— ᚪ *a*. The name of ᚨ was **ansús*, which in OE by regular sound-change becomes *ōs*; hence ᚨ with a slight modification—ᚩ—became the symbol of *o*, *ō*, keeping the place of the old ᚨ, which with its new value was relegated to the end of the alphabet. The name of the original *o*-rune was *ōþil*, which in OE became *ǣþil*; hence ᛟ assumed the value *æ*, *ǣ*. A sign for *y* was made by combining *u* and *i* into ᚣ. The diphthong ᛠ *ea* (or *eo*?) is of obscure origin. Of the conss. ᛄ *j* was disused because ɷ had been stopped into ɷ, and as *g* before front vowels had become ɷ, the rune ᚷ *gefu* became the symbol of original *j* as well as of *g*. The pure back ɑ was then provided with a special symbol by modifying X into ᚸ *gār*. In the OE runes *k* is represented by ᚳ *cēn* in various forms, and by ᛤ, which is evidently a modification of the *gār*-rune, and probably stands for the back ɑ as distinguished from ɒ, of which *cēn* appears to be the proper symbol.

343. The following is the correspondence of the OE and Gmc runes to the original Greek or Latin forms.

Gk-Lt	*Runic*		*OE*	*OE Names*
F	ᚠ	f		feoh
V	ᚢ	u		ūr
ᚦ	ᚦ	þ		þorn
A	ᚨ	a	æ	æsc
R	ᚱ	r		ræd
<	< (OE ᚳ)	k	ɒ	cēn
<< ?	X	g	ɷ	gefu
V ?	ᚹ	w		wœ̄n
H	ᚺ	h		hægl
N	ᚾ	n		nēd
I	I	i		īs
II ?	ᛃ	j	—	gēr (*Gmc* *jǣra)
?	ᛇ	eu	—	eoh (*Gmc* *ehu)
?	ᛈ	p	—	peorþ
I	ᛉ	z	—	eolh (*Gmc* *elhaz)
ᛊ, S	ᛊ	s		sigel
T	ᛏ	t		tīr
ᛒ	ᛒ	b		beorc
E	M	e		eh ?
M	ᛗ	m		mann
ᛚ, L	ᛚ	l		lagu
<<	ᛜ	ng		ing
O	ᛟ	o	œ	œ̄þel (*Gmc* *ōþila)
ᚦᚦ ?	ᛞ	d		dæg

Additional OE runes:

ᚪ	a	āc
ᚩ	o	ōs
ᚣ	y	ȳr
ᛠ	ea	ēar
ᚸ	e	gār
ᛡ	ɑ	—

OLD-ENGLISH SOUNDS.

DIALECTS AND TEXTS.

344. There were four chief dialects of OE: (1) *Northumbrian* (North.), (2) *Mercian* (Merc.), corresponding to the later Midland, (3) *West-Saxon* (WS), (4) *Kentish* (Kt). North. and Merc. together form the *Anglian* group. Kt represents the dialect of the Jutes, WS that of the Saxons; together they form the *Southern* group.

345. The oldest dated ms containing OE words is a Kt charter of 679, but some of the Runic inscriptions are probably older. At the end of the 9th cent. a great revival of prose literature in WS took place under Alfred, and henceforth WS becomes the official language of the laws and charters, although the local dialects are still represented in more or less unsophisticated texts. The OE texts up to 900 preserved in contemporary mss, with the exception of Alfred's works and the Chronicle, together with the Runic inscriptions, are given in my Oldest English Texts (OET).

346. North. extended from the Humber to the Forth. Early North. (eNorth.) from 700 or earlier to 800 or somewhat later is scantily represented by Runic inscriptions, short poems and proper names, all printed in OET. Late North. (lNorth.) of the latter half of the 10th cent. is represented by the interlinear gloss in the Durham Gospels (Du.) and the Durham Ritual (Rit.), both of which are quite free both from WS and Scandinavian influence. There are no North. characters.

347. Mercian extended from the Thames northward. eMerc. is represented (partly at least) by the Corpus glossary (Cp), and in a very pure and consistent form by the Vespasian Psalter (VP), which is probably (as also Cp?) West-Mercian, and by some WMerc. charters. lMerc. (South Yorkshire) is represented by the interlinear gloss in the Rushworth ms of the Gospel of Matthew (Ru.), the gloss on the other gospels being a copy of Du. The language of the later Merc. charters is greatly mixed with WS.

348. WS occupied the whole district south of the Thames, with the exception of Kent, and apparently of Surrey, whose dialect seems to be nearly Kt. WS seems also to have spread up the valley of the Severn, and so encroached on the Merc. dialect. The oldest document of WS is a charter of 778, followed by one of 847. There are very few eWS charters. The most important eWS texts are Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care (Past.), and of Orosius (Or.), together with the Parker text of the Chronicle (PChr), all preserved in contemporary mss. lWS is represented most purely in Ælfric's Homilies (ÆfcH).

349. eKt is represented (partly at least) by the Epinal and Erfurt glossaries (Ep., Ef.), the former probably written at the beginning of the 8th cent., and by numerous charters in an apparently pure dialect. lKt is represented by a few charters and by glosses on the Proverbs of Solomon (Kgl).

350. Very little is known of the East-Anglian dialects of Norfolk and Suffolk, although there are a few late Suffolk charters. The East-Anglian dialects (perhaps including that of Essex) seem to have had some features in common with Kt (which may be partly the result of common WS influence), forming with it a special South-Eastern group.

351. Most of the lWS mss which are copies of earlier ones show a mixture of forms of different periods: they never retain the older forms consistently, and hardly ever carry out their own spellings consistently. There is also a considerable mixture of dialect. This is especially the case in the poetical texts, which are mostly 10th and 11th cent. copies of Anglian originals.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

352. The Anglo-Saxons brought with them to England their national runic alphabet. On their conversion to christianity they adopted the Latin alphabet in its British form. At first the Latin and the Runic alphabet continued to be used side by side, the one in writing, the other in inscriptions, without influencing one another. In the oldest mss we find *w* expressed by *u*(*u*), *þ* by *th*, and it is not till the 9th century that these digraphs are generally superseded by the more convenient ƿ and þ of the Runic alphabet. Some of the inscriptions show a mixture of Roman uncials and runes.

353. The OE alphabet consisted of the following letters, those in () being only occasionally used: *a*, *æ*, *e*, (*ę*), *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*; *b*, *c*, *d*, *ð*, *f*, *g*, *h*, (*k*), *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, (*qu*), *r*, *s*, *t*, *þ*, *w*, *x*, (*z*).

354. In determining the values of the letters in OE we must be guided by the traditional pronunciation of Latin, remembering, however, that the pronunciation learnt by the Anglo-Saxons was more archaic than that of the Continent. The evidence of such Welsh loan-words as *cwyr* from Lt *cēra* shows that the Celts pronounced Lt *c* as ɑ everywhere, and it is to Celtic tradition we must ascribe such OE spellings as *Cent*=our *Kent*, while in the OHG of the 8th cent. *c* before front vowels was used to express (ts), as in *cit*=*zīt*. *z* still had its original value of (dz), as shown by the spelling *ladzarus* =*Lazarus* in Past. OE spelling is also very archaic in its retention of *y* in its original value of Greek *u* f, while in OHG it had been confounded with *i*, and almost entirely disused. *y*=f survives to the present day in Swed. and Dan., having been introduced into Scandinavia by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Lastly may be noted the separation of *ae*, *oe* and *e*, which on the Continent were soon levelled under simple *e*. Here, again, the Scandinavian languages show English influence. *oe* is always written in two letters, but *ae* is contracted into *æ*, especially in WS, the earlier texts writing indifferently *ae*, *æ*, *ę* (in which the tag is a shortened *a*), and—by omission of the tag of *ę*—*e*. In VP *e* is regularly written for short *æ*, and *æ*, *ae*, *ę* are reserved for *ǣ*. In Kt, both early and late, *e* is freely used both for *æ* and *ǣ*. In this book the *ę* of the mss is printed *æ*, to avoid confusion with the normalized *ę* parallel to *ǫ*.

355. There is, however, a good deal of uncertainty about OE pronunciation, owing especially to the defects of their consonant-symbols, *g*, for instance, being a very ambiguous letter. Here we must be guided by comparison with the cognates, and with the ME and MnE forms, as also by the laws and analogies of OE itself, and the variations of its spellings.

STRESS (METRE)[1].

356. As quantity and stress are as essential elements of metre as time and barring are of music, it follows that the metres of a dead language ought to be, or at least may be, sure guides to its quantity and stress.

But in practice it is impossible fully to harmonize the natural quantity and stress of a language with the artificial quantity and stress of metre: one or other must go to the wall. Thus, our present verse is based mainly on the natural stress of the language, each strong stress marking the beginning of a foot (bar). But the stress-groups of ordinary speech amount to nothing more than prose: to make these stress-groups into metrical feet it is necessary to have them of equal (or proportionate) length, and in English verse we lengthen or shorten syllables without scruple in order to make the feet of the requisite length. In Greek and Latin, on the contrary, the language itself supplied the quantities, and the division into feet (barring) was effected by an artificial metrical stress (ictus), which completely overrode the natural stress of the language. It was natural in Greek and Latin to found metre on the quantities rather than the stresses of the language partly because stress was probably not very prominent, but mainly because of the strictness and clearness of the distinctions of quantity and their entire independence of position and accent. In English these conditions are so imperfectly fulfilled that it is almost impossible to reproduce in it even so simple a metre as the Greek hexameter. In some languages, especially those which have no marked distinctions of stress (and quantity) the natural language supplies nothing but the number of syllables, which is strictly adhered to, such a variation as *āaa* for *āā* (as in the hexameter) not being allowed. We have then three varieties of metres, if we class them according to their linguistic basis : (1) *stress*-metre, (2) *quantity*-metre, (3) *syllable*-metre.

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[1] Rieger: Die alt- und angelsächsische verskunst.

357. There are, of course, endless compromises possible. Even in Greek there can be no doubt that the natural quantities were often forced in metre; and in English the best poets are influenced by an unconscious respect for the natural quantities of the language.

358. Old-English verse is a remarkable instance of such a compromise. In it the number of syllables is perfectly indifferent, as long as they do not interfere with the other conditions. Quantity is rigorously observed within certain limits, but the main element is the natural stress of the language, both word- and sentence-stress, whose laws are observed with great strictness. Alliteration is indissolubly connected with stress. Each full (long) verse has four stresses, and is divided by the caesura into two half (short) verses, bound together by alliteration: one or two accented syllables in the first half verse and one in the second beginning with any vowels (generally different) or the same consonant, the last alliterative syllable being always the last but one:

þācōm *i*nngān | *ea*ldor þegna,
*d*ǣdcēne monn | *d*ōmege weorþod.

359. The alliterating syllable must not only be the stressed one of the word it belongs to, but this word must also have the strongest stress of any in the half verse. We know by the written accents of OHG mss that in all syntactical combinations of nouns (subst. or adj.) the first member of the group had the main stress, the verb being regularly subordinated to the noun, and the metrical laws show the same principle was followed in OE also. Thus in such a line as

*s*unu Bēanstānes | *s*ōþe gelǣste

sunu necessarily takes the alliteration because it precedes *Bēanstānes*, and such a line as *Bēanstānes sunu sōþe gelǣste* would be impossible, because then *Bēanstānes* would take the chief stress and alliteration, while, on the other hand, it would be quite regular if some verb were substituted for *Bēanstānes*. So also in such groups as *·þēoden :mǣre*, *·mǣre :þēoden* 'famous prince,' *·ēaran :twā*, *·twēgen :fēt*, *·þēoden :Hrōþgār*, *·wordum :wīs*, *·hand and :rand* 'hand and shield.' Quantitative, half-pronominal adjectives, such as *fela*, *manig*, *eall* form an exception: *:ealles ·manncynnes.*

360. Pronouns are generally subordinated to verbs as well as to nouns, often also to prepositions: *nǣnig heora ·þohte*, *·of hiera ·æþelum.* Emphatic pronouns, such as *self*, *ōþer*, *ǣlc*, *ǣgþer* are, however, treated like nouns. Even unemphatic personals and demonstratives (articles) sometimes take the full stress from a noun or another pron.: *·uncer twēga* 'us two,' *þū ·mē sealdest*, *on ·þǣm dæge ·þisses līfes.*

361. Adverbs are treated like nouns when they form a sort of compound with a following noun or verb: *·wīde gesīene*, *·feorran cumen*, *·inn gān*, *·bī standan.* If the adv. follows the verb, it generally loses its stress: *·wlītan þurh*, *:fēhþ ōþer tō.* In other cases adverbs, especially quantitative and intensive (cp the corresponding adjj., § 359) do not generally take the stress: *micle ·lēofre*, *ful ·þicclīce*, *nealles ·swǣslīce* 'not pleasantly.' Other adverbs, such as *hū*, *swā*, *þǣr*, *þonne* sometimes take the stress from the verb, but often not: *þanon hē ge·sohte*, *hū ·lamp ēow?*

362. A finite verb is generally subordinated to an infinitive, participle or finite verb dependant on itself, just as if they were nouns: *gē mōton ·gangan*, *·bīdan wolde*, *ēow hēt ·sęcgan*, *hēr sindon ge·fęrede*, *cwǣdon þæt hē ·wǣre.*

363. The fundamental principle of OE sentence-stress evidently was to stress the modifying, attributive word, which was generally put before the word modified.

Composition-stress.

364. In composition the same principle is evident: the modifying word comes first, and takes the stress, as in *·heofon-rīce*, *·heard-ęcg* 'hard of edge,' *·sōþ-fæst*, *·eorþ-lic*, where the unstressed second element has had its vowel shortened (Goth. *-leik*).

Abstract (verbal) substantives compounded with inseparable particles throw the stress on to the particle in the same way, as in *·and-swaru*; and the analogy of Sk makes it probable that this was also the parent Ar. accent. The corresponding verbs take the stress on the root, the particle being often weakened, so that we have in OE such pairs as:

·and-giet 'intelligence'	on·gietan
·æf-þunca 'grudge'	of·þyncan
·or-þanc 'device'	ā·þęncan
·ūþ-gang 'escape'	oþ·gangan
·bī-gęng 'worship'	be·gangan

Substantives corresponding to verbs with separable prefixes (361) take the stress on the particle in the same way, thus to the separable compound verb *·inn-gān* corresponds the inseparable compound subst. *·inn-gang*.

365. The different treatment of substt and verbs is due to the fact that *andgiet* etc were true compounds already in parent Gmc, while in *on·gietan* as well as *inn-gān* there was only a loose collocation of the two elements, so that the accent could be put either on the particle or verb, according as the one or the other was more emphatic. In Sk there is no such thing as inseparable verb-composition. In a normal Sk independent sentence the verb is put at the end and has no accent, which is taken by the preceding particle, as in *ápa gacchati* 'he goes away,' while in a dependant sentence the particle yields its stress to the verb, as in *yṓ 'pa gácchati* 'who goes away.' The former corresponds to the OE *·inn-gān*, the latter to *·wlītan þurh*, *on·gietan*. Such compounds as *ongietan* did not become inseparable till the prefix had lost its independent meaning, as also, in many cases, its independence of form.

366. The same stressing of the root-word is common in compounds of prep. + subst. or adverb, such as *tō·dæg*, *of·dūne*, *tō·gædre*, *be·foran*, where we have similar weakenings of the first element, *ofdūne* becoming *adūne*, and even *dūne* in *dūnestīgan*, *be-ūtan* becoming *būtan*, etc.

QUANTITY.

Metre[1].

367. The line quoted above

þā cōm inn-gān | ealdor þegna

is an example of the quantitative element in OE verse in its simplest form :

āā̆ āā̆ | āā̆ āā̆

While the quantity of the unstrest syllables is indifferent, the substitution of such a word as *cy̆ning* for *ealdor* would spoil the verse : it would be too short.

368. Such a half-verse as *cyning on corþre* is, on the other hand, correct, because *ăā̆ā̆* is metrically equivalent to *āā̆*.

369. The number of unaccented syllables between the stresses may be increased even to three, as in *ǣrest gesohte*, *sægde sē þe cūþe*. But such a half-verse as **ǣresta sohte* would be impossible, because when a long strest syllable is followed by a medial syllable, this medial syllable takes a secondary stress, and the verse becomes too heavy.

370. The following are the five main types of the second half-verse, which is more regular in its structure than the first (note that the quantity of weak and half-strong syllables, and of strong syllables at the end of a verse is indifferent) :

(*a*) āa āa :	ealdor þegna
(*b*) -a(a) āa a :	siþþan ǣrest wearþ
(*c*) -a(a) ā āa :	ond heaþowǣdum
(*d*) ā ā·aa :	fēond manncynnes
(*e*) ā·aa a :	Sūþdęna folc

371. It will be observed that the truncation of the second foot of (*b*) and of the first of (*c*) is made up by the initial weak syllables—the 'auftakt,' while (*d*) and (*e*) are weighted by the additional half-stress, whose quantity is indifferent. Similarly in (*a*) if the second half of the first foot is a half-strest syllable, the following stress-syllable may be short, as in *·wyrd :oft nęreþ*, *ā·a aa* being felt as of equal weight with *āa āa*.

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[1] Sievers : Zur rhythmik des germanischen allitterationsverses (Paul und Braunes Beiträge, x).

372. In (*c*) the immediate succession of two long stress-syllables as in *gebūn hæfdon* is generally avoided, either by resolving the first stress into two short syllables, as in the example above, or else by having the next stress-syllable short, as in *on land Dęna*. Here there is no compensation elsewhere in the verse.

373. In the first half-verse the same types re-appear, but with certain licenses in the introduction of half-strong and weak syllables, which are often associated with double alliteration.

Orthography.

374. The metre enables us to settle the quantity of accented vowels with certainty in many cases, but in many it fails. It tells us nothing about the quantity of unstrest vowels (for the fact that such a word as *bindere* takes a secondary stress on its second syllable has nothing to do with the length of that syllable), or of vowels followed by more than one cons. It therefore becomes necessary to examine the ms evidence.

375. Doubling of long vowels is common in the oldest mss, and occurs throughout the OE period. It is often confined to monosyllables, as in *aa* 'ever.'

376. In VP the short *æ* is written *e*, as in *cester*, *hefde*, *bec*, *ǣ* being written *ae* (*æ*, *ę*), as in *dael*, *dæl*, *dęlan*. The diphthong *ei* having become simple *ē*, this sound is sometimes exprest by *ei*, as in *eil*, *deid*=*ēl*, *dēd* in Cp, *feing* Du. In WS *ig* is used to express *ī*, as in *astigge* in the Past., *wiggend*, and in the later *hig*=*hī*, etc.

377. There are a few **accents** in Cp, and in the 10th cent. they become common, though there is no ms which accents fully. VP has a few doublings, but no accents. Accents and doubling are sometimes combined: *wíif*, *wiíf* OET, *áá* BlH. Sometimes two accents are written on one vowel (as in a charter of 997). The OE accent is the 'apex' of the Latin inscriptions. According to the general principles of British calligraphy it is generally finished off (like the straight final stroke of many letters) with a tag, which has misled most German editors into printing it as a circumflex. It is often difficult to know what vowel it is put on, but as there can be no doubt that it was written upwards, we must assume that it is meant to be over the letter where it begins. But it often begins distinctly on a preceding or following cons., and is sometimes even shifted on to the vowel of another syllable: *béganum*, *begánum* Leechd., *wærán*, *aþás* Or. In the first instance, however, the accentuation may be intentional (cp 381).

378. As the older editors omit the accents, while Kemble and the Germans normalize, and Thorpe sophisticates the ms evidence, it is difficult to get at it. Thorpe's Chronicle is, however, reliable. So also are the Cambridge ed. of the Gospels, Cockayne's Leechdoms, Godwin's Guþlac, the Blickling Homilies (BlH), and my own OET, Past., and Or.

379. The accuracy of the mss differs greatly. The best is the (Lauderdale) Or., which has hardly more than two undoubted errors. PChr has nothing doubtful down to 937 (except *wég*). Both mss, however, accent sparingly, and confine their accents to a few words, such as the pret. *fór*. The Cambridge ms of ÆfcH printed by Thorpe (but not *as* printed by him) is fairly good, as also the WS Gospel of Mtt. The Past. accents freely, but often very inaccurately: it would be easy to prove from this text that every vowel in the language was long; if, however, we disregard every case in which a word is accented only once, most of the anomalies disappear. In the following details a single occurrence of a doubled vowel, or of an accent in Or. has been considered authoritative, but, as a rule, no quotations have been made from the accented words of the other texts unless the word (or some inflection etc of it) occurs at least twice in the same ms. Wherever an isolated form is quoted from these texts, it is enclosed in ().

380. In some cases it seems doubtful whether the accent was not meant to indicate something else than quantity.

neoþoúard, *edúaelle* in Cp, together with *úuiltún* (OET), seem to show that *ú*, *úu* were used for consonantal *u*, *uu*=*w*. Cp *íus*=Lt *jus* in the Leechd. Such accentuations as *fátu* (twice on one page in Past.), *ópene* (Past.), *cýning* (Chr), *gecúron* (Chr), *ahrédde* (ÆfcH) cannot possibly indicate length, which would be against metre and the whole history of the language, and if they mean anything at all, it must be stress, which the scribe confused with quantity.

381. But there are many accents which cannot be anything but the result of pure carelessness. The accents not being required by the reader (I myself being able to read an unaccented quite as fluently as an accented text), came to be regarded as ornaments, without which the page had a bare look, and were consequently partly written mechanically, partly dashed in almost at random. Sometimes, of course, quantity-marks are a help, as in the case of *God* and *gōd*, which latter is often written *good*, *gód* in the homilies, the striving after distinction being evident in such a collocation as *godes good* in BlH. Hence when a scribe deliberately writes *God* with an accent, as happens once in the Or. and several times in ÆfcH, we can only ascribe it to careless neglect of the context. So also when we find in Guþl. *ic wríte* subj. pret. followed by the correct pres. *ic wríte*. A very puzzling feature of some later texts, such as two mss of the Leechd., is their accentuation of inflectional syllables: *bogás*, *wærán*, *buterán*, *namán*, *sylfán*, *drincán*, *gehwædúm*, *langúm*, *wearmúm*, *wundúm*, *nemnéð*. But this is probably merely the result of dashing in the accents after the page has been written, the accent being meant for the preceding syllable. It often happens that the accents get worse in the middle of a ms. Thus in Past. they seem more careless after pp. 70–80, and in the WS Luke there is a marked change for the worse after cap. 12.

382. The results of metrical and accentual evidence can often be confirmed by that of ME, especially as shown in Orm's spelling, and MnE.

383. The lengthening of final strest vowels is proved by the accents: *ué*, *geé*, *ðú* Du.; *hí* Ru.; *hé*, *hí* ÆfcH; *hé*, *þé*, *mé*, *þú*, *hí*, *hig* Mtt. In Mtt the emphatic pronominal *sē* is often accented: *þis ys sé be þam þe gecweden ys..; sé ðe towyrpð..; sé byð..; sé þe segð.* The article *se* is not accented in Mtt, and rarely elsewhere. There is no accentual authority for a distinction between *nē* 'neither' and *ne* 'not,' *né* occurring only sporadically in both senses—oftenest in that of 'not.'

384. There is unmistakable evidence of lengthening before single conss. in subordinate monosyllabic words:

óf (prep. and adv.) Past., Or., Chr.

ón (prep. and adv.) Past., Or., Du., ÆfcH. Also *án* in Or.

ác (conj.) BlH, Leechd. Orm has *acc.*

ǽt prp. VP. *ðǽt* VP. *gíet* Past. *gýt*, *gít* ÆfcH; *gýt* often elsewhere.

For other words the evidence is not so full:

ís (OET), Past. (often), and elsewhere. *hís* Chr. *þǽs* Chr. Pronominal *þés* in Mtt.

hím Or.

íc Ct. *méc* Du.

hít (OET). *hwǽt* ÆfcH.

385. Lengthening in the following prefixes seems to fall under the same head:

ór-wene ÆfcH, *órsorgnesse* Past.

án-syn Mtt.

ún-asecgendlic, *úngemetlic*, *únmiltsung* Or. *ún-* Du., ÆfcH, Mtt, Guþl.

wánn-spedig Or. = *wan-*.

fórdón in Or. is more doubtful.

386. If the lengthenings of *on* and of *un-* etc are parallel, we should expect to find the prefix *a-* (which was probably short at an earlier period) lengthened in the same way as *swā* etc. That this was the case is proved by the accents: *árede* etc OET, *ásendan* etc Or., Past., Ru., ÆfcH, Guþl. (not in Du.?). The later weakenings of *on* and *of* seem to have been lengthened by the analogy of this older *ā-*: (*áweg*, *ámang*, *ádune*) = *onweg*, *ongemang*, *ofdūne* Chr. *tóbræc* PChr shows that the older prefix *ti-* was levelled under the prp. *tō*.

387. There are similar lengthenings in strong words also:

boor, *goor* Cp. *foor* (?) Ep. *wér* 'man' Past.

wél Past.

paat=*pæþ* Cp.
loob Cp, *lóf* Past. (often), ÆfcH, and elsewhere. *loff* in O.
fraam, *haam* Ep.
bét(*t*) compar., *lótwrencas*, *andgít*(*e*) Past.

388. These lengthenings seem to be the result of analogy: *un-*, for instance, becoming *ūn-* because there are several common words ending in *-ūn* (*dūn*, *tūn* etc), but only rare and doubtful ones in *-un* (*geþun*, *gestun*, *gemun*). *on*, again, is the only word in *-on*, except *þon* and *hwon*, which are practically mere variants of *þǣm* and *hwǣm*, and are frequently written *þan*, *hwan* (there are, of course, many words in *-ǫn*=*-an*, such as *gemǫn*, *swǫn*). *wer* and *wel* are almost the only words in *-el* and *-er* (except the imperatives *ber*, *stel*, which would follow the analogy of *beran*, *stelan*), there being also very few in *-ęr*, and none in *-ęl*. The only words in *-of* are *of*, *hof*, *lof*, while there are many in *ō* (*hōf* sb, prt, *behōf*, *hrōf*, *glōf* etc). The only words in *-or* are *bor*, *gor*, *spor*, *dor*, the last two being probably long as well as the others. *get* 'yet' is almost the only word in *-et* besides (*and*)*get* and *set*. The only word in *ęt* is *bęt*, where the analogy of meaning of *bētan* may have helped the lengthening. Short monosyllables seem to be altogether in a minority in OE.

389. The original short vowels were no doubt preserved (1) in inflections: *lóf*, *lofes*, *lofu*; (2) when the word was unemphatic.

390. *sooc* in Ep. for the normal *socc* of Cp and *buuc* in Cp =*bucc* 'buccula' of Ep. look like a confusion between consonant- and vowel-length. So also *ic ánn* Ct, *món*, *mónn*, *mán*, *mánn*, *mén*, Past., *món* Or., *mán*, *món* Chr. Many of these last are the impersonal *man* 'one,' which was weak, and probably had a short *n*, and therefore falls under the same head as *on*. *he ongít*(*t*) Past. (*ðís*, *ðiss*) Past.

391. (*aríssas*, *wácc*, *écce*, *unródt*=*unrōt*, *bídtende*=*bītende*) in Du. show the confusion still more clearly: here the quantity is indicated twice over. In (*línin*, *línnen*) the later history of the words seems to show that there was real doubling of the cons., as in *áttor* etc below.

392. Accentuation of short syllables followed by an unstrest syllable is mostly sporadic (380). But not in the following cases:

hérian ÆfcH.

híne ÆfcH often. Analogy of *hí*?

háfenleast, *hǽfene* ÆfcH. *ófen* Mtt. *ófer* Past. (cp *únder* Past.).

(*lósad*, *gelósas*) Du.

wǽtere John; analogy of *wǽt*? or confusion with **wættre*? *ic éte* (*étan*, *étað*, *ét*) Mark, and similarly in Du.

fǽder Guþl.

393. *w* lengthens in the WS *-īw*: *híw* Æfc, *níwe* Æfc, Mtt, Luke.

394. *g* seems to have a lengthening influence:

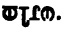
dǽg ÆfcH, Luke and elsewhere.

wég Past., very often.

hóga, *hógian* ÆfcH.

geslégen, *hrǽgel* Guþl.

écgum Chr.

So also in the verbal endings: *fæstnaagið* Du., *wuniggendum* BlH (*gelacnígan*), *geendigéan*, *maníanne* (*ðoncíað*) Past. Here, however, the lengthening may be partly compensatory. The lengthening in *dæg* etc seems to be explained by Æfc's spellings *dæig*, *weig*, the accent really indicating the glide: .

395. The lengthenings before vowellikes + cons. ('group-lengthenings') are important:

r: **rþ**: *fórþ* Guþl.

rn: *árn* ÆfcH, Mark, Luke. *berérn* Du. *ýrnan* Leechd. *hórne* Leechd. *þórn* Ct, Guþl.

rt: *éart* BlH. *Pórt* Chr.

rd: *héardige* Leechd. *-géard* Chr. *fýrd*, *fírd* Chr. *wúrdan* Chr. *órde* Verc. *wórd* ÆfcH, Du., Luke. *gewórden* Luke. *broord* Ef. is probably an error of the German scribe. (*wýrd*, *forwýrd*) BlH.

l: **ll**: *wælle*, *fael* [not in *helle*, *sellan*, etc.] VP. *aalle* (*álle*) Du.

lf: *cælf* VP.

lm: *cwælman* VP.

lt: *gemæltan* VP.

ld: *ældo*, *onhældan* VP. *haaldum* = *ealdum*, *áld*, *sáld*, Du. *góld* Ru.

n: nn: *oferwánn*, *ongánn* ÆfcH. [But cp § 390.]

nc: (*sténnc*, *sténco*) Du. *tosténcte* ÆfcH. *ínc* Mark. *dríncan* Leechd.

ng: (*onfeingon*, *geféng*) Du. [*feng* very frequent in Or.; never accented.] *spráng*, *gestrángian* ÆfcH. *ængel* only once in VP; *engel* frequent in VP.

nd: *ánda* ÆfcH; *hánd* Or., Luke; *hónd*, *lónd* Du.; *bewánd*, *fándian* ÆfcH. *sýnd* Luke; *wínd* Or., Luke, BlH. *énde* Du., Luke; *geéndod* ÆfcH; *séndan* Mtt. *húnd* 'hundred' Du.; *gebúnden* ÆfcH; *aþúnden* Leechd.; *Lúndenbyrig* Chr.; *gemýnd* elsewhere.

mp: *belámp* ÆfcH; *gelámp* Guþl.

mb: *lámb* ÆfcH, John.

396. We may sum up by saying that these lengthenings were absent from the earliest WS, but fully developed in later WS and Anglian, those before *l*- being early Mercian as well in most cases.

397. Long vowels are kept before **sc** and **st**:

flæsc VP.

gaast, *gást* Du., *gást* ÆfcH. *mǽst* Or., *maaste* Du. *mæst*, *ðræstan* VP. *wéste*(*ne*) Mark. *dúst* Leechd. Hence lengthening in *Críst* ÆfcH.

398. Lastly, we have isolated lengthenings before

sn: *ésne* Du.

fn: *stéfne* (*stéfen*), Luke.

ft: *éft* Chr.

fd: *hǽfde* Guþl.

x: *fóxes* Leechd. *betwúx* ÆfcH.

399. Length seems to have been kept in such words as *āttor*, to judge from (*geǽttraþ*, *góddra*, *góddre*, *hlúddre*) in ÆfcH. *úp* Past, *úpahebban* Or., appears as *úpp* ÆfcH, *úp*(*p*) Mtt, the *p* being doubled by the analogy of *uppan*. The older form was no doubt *ūp*, the later *upp*, the spelling *úpp* being a confusion.

400. Compensatory lengthening is seen in *swýra* Leechd., *fíra* Verc., *hool* Ep. = *holh*, *hóles* Ct; and where an *h* has been dropped after the *r* and *l*, it is confirmed by the metre, which, however, shows that the lengthening was constant only in those words in which the original *h* was followed by a vowel:

fīras (*firiho* gpl OSaxon), *swīora*, *ōnettan*=**onhaitjan*, *ōretta*=**urhaitja*. The short vowel in such a form as *feores*, which the metre shows to have existed side by side with the normal *fēores*, is explained by the influence of the uninflected *feorh*. The metre also shows *þyrel*, *þȳrel*, due to an older alternation **þȳrel*, **þyrles* from **þyrhil*, **þyrhles*.

401. The dropping of *g* (chiefly in lWS) before *l*, *n*, *d* lengthens the preceding vowel:

iil Past.

rén Or., ÆfcH. *gén* Verc. *ongén* Mtt. *befrínende*, *befrán* ÆfcH. *þén* Mtt, Luke.

gesǽd, *beléd* Or. *sǽde*, *léde* ÆfcH, Luke. *brǽd* Guþl.

402. When, in inflection, derivation, or composition, another cons. is added to a cons. preceded by a long vowel, the length of the vowel seems to be generally kept:

hérsumian Du. *ríxian* Chr. *gítsung* Past.

to dónne Past., ÆfcH.

wífman Or.

wíngeard Mtt.

hǽt (=*hǣtt*, *hātep*), *scýt* (=*scēotep*) Or. *lǽt* (=*lǣdep*, *lǣtep*) ÆfcH. *gemétte* Mtt. *fætt* VP. *hérde* Du. *lǽrde*, *férde* Luke. *geheende* Cp. *geflýmde* Chr. *geécde* Du. *afédde* Or. *lædde* VP. *lǽdde* Guþl. *dóndum* BlH. *wísdom* Or., Past., Luke.

403. Shortening before cons.-groups is uncertain, the evidence being, of course, purely negative. I have not met with any accents before *ht* in such words as *brohte*, *sohte*, *geþoht*, nor in the forms *minne*, *þinne* from *mīn*, *þīn*. VP, however, has *næht*, *mæhtun*.

404. Weakening of stress in composition only occasionally shortens. *-dōm* and *-hād* seem to have always kept their long vowels: *-dóm* Or., Verc., *-doom* Past.; *-hád* Past., ÆfcH. *-lic* and *-red* (in proper names; cp § 450) are very rarely accented. The shortness of *-lic* is proved by the frequent *-lec*, and by the metre, which, however, often shows *ī*, especially in the adverbial *-līce*. The pronoun *ūs* is accented in Du., Past., and ÆfcH.

405. The vowels of inflectional and derivative syllables appear to have been shortened throughout, as shown by their interchange with one another and weakening into *e*.

406. Lengthening of *æ* in strong preterites: *brǽc*, *wrǽc*, *sǽt*, *bǽd* Or., *sǽt* Chr., *gebǽr* ÆfcH, together with *genám* ÆfcH, seems to be due to the influence of the plurals *brǽcon*, *námon* etc. *wæs* was probably protected from this lengthening by its want of stress and difference of cons. (pl *wǽron*), but Chr. has *wǽs*. *étt*, *ét* in Du. shows original lengthening (OIcel. *āt*).

407. The accentuation of the diphthongs calls for some remarks. In Or., Du., ÆfcH *ēa*, *ēo* are often accented, *ea*, *eo* hardly ever, but other mss confuse them more or less. On the whole, the intention seems to be to put the accent on the first element: *éa*, *éo*. In ÆfcH both elements are sometimes accented: *éá*, *léóf*. In Or. *íe* 'river' alternates with *ié*, and in ÆfcH *íu* 'formerly' with *iú*.

408. Foreign words appear to have had their strest vowels long, the metre showing *Sātan*, *Ādam*, *Ēve*, *Īsac*, *Dāvid*, *Māria* etc. In ÆfcH, however, we find *Adám*, *María*. BlH has *Ádám*. In these words every prominent syllable was probably strest pretty evenly.

Consonant-quantity.

409. In OE metre such a word as *winne* is exactly equivalent to *wīne*, *wine* 'friend' being equivalent only to a monosyllable such as *wīn* or *wynn*. Again, two such words as *in* the prp and *inn* the sb and adv are kept strictly apart by the double *n*; for, although *inn* is often written *in*, the *n* of the prp *in* is never doubled, except in very late mss verging on ME, where the distinction of quantity in final conss. was lost. Finally, of course, the distinction could only have been purely quantitative: ſɜ, ſɜꞏ, but between vowels it was probably syllabic, the second cons. beginning a new syllable: ɘſɜ[, ɘſɜ-ɜ]ɜ, as in the MnE *pen-knife*; such, at least, is the pronunciation of MnIcel., Swedish and Italian. In eWS final cons. length is preserved after long as well as short vowels, as in *bebīett* 'commands'; but in lWS it seems to be shortened in such cases: *bebȳt*. lWS also shows a tendency to shorten conss. medially in unstrest syllables, as in the gen. *wēstenes*, gen. fem. *ōþere* = eWS *wēstennes*, *ōþerre*. Shortening of doubling before another cons., as in the acc. masc. *ealne*, *midne* = *eallne*, *middne*, may be only a graphic abbreviation, as it certainly is finally in *eal*, *bed* etc=*eall*, *będd*, gen. *ealles*, *będdes*. The doubling of *g* is usually written *cg* (551), and this is scarcely ever shortened.

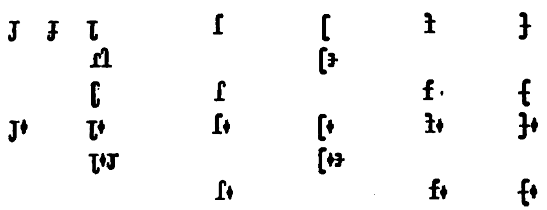
410. OE cons.-doubling is partly Ar. and Gmc (316), partly WGmc (325), partly the result of special OE developments. The oldest of these last is the doubling of the breath-stops *c*, *t*, *p* together with *h* before *r* and *l*, alternating however with retention of the single cons.: *bit*(*t*)*er*, *æppel* from Gmc **bitra* (Goth *baitr*), **apla*, North. *tæhher* (=WS *tēar*) from Gmc **tahra*. The variation between double and single conss. not only in different dialects but in the same text seems to point to an original inflection **bit*(*o*)*r* (cp *otr* Ep.= the later *otor*, *ottor* in Cp), *bittres* etc, the development of the parasite-vowel preventing the doubling in the uninflected form. Doubling of *t* and *d* after long vowels, as in *ǣttor* (*atr* in Ep.) 'poison', *nǣddre*, *fōddor* seems to be later. In lWS doubling after a long vowel before the *r* of the compar. is very common: *rīccra*, *dēoppra*, whence, by analogy, the adv *dēoppor*.

411. Other doublings are the result of syncopation and assimilation, as in *lǣdde*, *lǣtt* prt and 3 prs of *lǣdan*, from **lǣdede*, *lǣdeþ*.

VOWELS.

412. The following is the OE vowel-system in its normal eWS form:

a	ǫ	æ	i	e	u	o
		ea		eo		
		ę	ie		y	œ
ā		ǣ	ī	ē	ū	ō
		ēa		ēo		
			īe		ȳ	œ



The changes by which the OE vowel-system developed out of the Gmc are partly isolative, but mainly combinative.

a, æ, ǫ

413. The most important of the isolative changes is that of Gmc *a* ȷ into *æ* ɭ, which is common OE in such words as *wæs*, *æcer*, *fæder*=Goth. *vas*, *akr*, *fadar*. When an *a*, *o* or *u* follows, WS generally has *a*, thus *dæg* has pl *dagas*, dat. pl *dagum*. So also in *hafoc* 'hawk'. But in the oldest texts we find such forms as *hæbuc* (Ef.), *hebuc* (Ep.), where *e*=ɭ (354), the later Cp showing *habuc*. So also Ep. has *besu* and *bæso* against the *baso* of the Leiden gl. and WS. Ef., again, has *hæra* against the *hara* of Ep. and Cp.

414. As we see, *æ* is sometimes written *e* in the oldes texts. This spelling is regular in VP, where *æ* is kept for *ǣ*; it is common also in Kt.

415. Gmc *a* does not change to *æ* before nasals. Ep. always writes *a*: *gimang*, *ganot*, *hand*, *scamu*. Cp sometimes writes *a*, but generally *o*: *onga*, *hond*, *scomo*. VP writes *ǫ* invariably. eNorth. generally and lNorth. always write *o*, *a* appearing only in the oldest texts. eWS writes *a* and *o* promiscuously, although the rarer words seem to favour *a*, the commoner *o*. lWS writes *a* only. Early and late Kt write *a* and *o* promiscuously. We may sum up by saying that the Anglian dialects favour *o*, the Southern *a*. The *a* before nasals was at first no doubt simply ȷʃ, which was afterwards rounded, the nasality being gradually lost, giving ɉ—original Gmc *o*, as in *corn*, being }—just as Gmc ȷ·ʃ became OE *ō* (458). It is possible that the fluctuation between *a* and *o* in the earlier period is purely graphic, ɉ lying between ȷ and }, and therefore capable of being expressed either by *a* or *o*.

416. In unemphatic words, such as *on*, *þone*, *þonne*, the *o* is regularly preserved even in lWS, which also separates the unstrest *on-* in *onginnan* from the strest *an-* in *anginn*, eWS *ǫnginn*. In these unemphatic words the *ǫ* no doubt became *o*=}, which in lMerc. sometimes becomes *u*, as in *ollung*=*ǫndlǫng*.

417. In lKt the *o* of *on* etc becomes *a*: *an*, *þane*, *þanne*, *anginnan*. So also the *-on* of inflections becomes *-an* in lKt, as in *wǣran*=*wǣron*, earlier *wǣrun*.

418. Unstrest Gmc *a* often becomes *o* under the influence of a lip cons. Regularly in *of* as a prp and unstrest prefix, contrasting with the strest *æf-* in *æfþunca* (364). *w* has the same influence in *erfe-word* (VP), *tō-word* (VP)=WS *ierfe-weard*, *tōweard*, WS *hlāford* from **hlāf-w*(*e*)*ard*, WS *Ōs-wold*, *b* in *Grīm-bold*, *p* in *herpoþ*=*hęre-pæþ* 'troop-path'. This *o* is often weakened to *a* (cp § 417): *herpaþ*, *hlafard* (VP). The occasional eWS *was*=*wæs* seems to point to **wos*.

419. As the change of *a* to ɩ is carried out in Frisian—where however the ɩ is written *e*, as in VP and Kt—except before nasals, we may assume that Gmc *a* became *æ* everywhere in Anglo-Frisian, except when nasalized.

420. The apparently anomalous vowels in the preterites *arn*, *barn*, *bærst* and in *gærs* are explained by the *r*-shifting (510): the earlier forms of these words were **rann*, **brann*, **bræst*, *græs*, which last is still preserved in the oldest texts.

i

421. OE *i* is generally Gmc *i*, as in *witan*, *bindan*. Gmc *e* becomes *i* in OE before nasals, as in *niman*, OHG *neman*, OIcel. *nema*. As *ie* had the sound of ſ in WS (474), *i* must have had that of the narrow ſ.

e

422. Answers to Gmc *e*: *beran*, *nest*. As *ę* had the open sound (468), *e* probably had the close sound [.

u

423. Answers to Gmc *u*, as in *sunu*, *gebunden*, and to Gmc *o* before nasals, as in *genumen*=OHG *ginoman*, *þunor*=OHG *donar* (cp § 421). Gmc *o* also becomes *u* in OE after or before a lip cons., as in *wulf*, *full*, *ufan*, *bucca*=OHG *wolf*, *vol*, *obana*, *bocch*. The analogy of *i* makes it probable that the OE *u* had the narrow sound ł.

424. *u* preceded by *w* is often the result of the influence of that cons. on a following *io* from *i* (431, 434), as in *wudu*= older *wiodu*, *widu*. So also in *wuduwe* (*widwe* VP), *wuce* 'week.' *wu-* from *weo-* is frequent in lWS: *swurd*, *swuster*=eWS *sweord*, *sweostor*.

o

425. Answers to Gmc *o*, as in *gecoren*, *gold*, *god*. As *ǫ* had the open sound, *o* probably had the close sound }.

426. *o* preceded by *w* is often a later smoothing of *eo*, as in WS *woruld* from *weoruld* (VP), lNorth. *sword* from *sweord*.

ea, eo

427. These diphthongs are mainly the result of parasiting (159). Gmc *e* before *r*+cons. becomes *eo*, sometimes written *io*: *steorra*, *eorþe*, *iorþe*=OSaxon *sterro*, *ertha*. The undiphthonged forms are still occasionally preserved in the oldest texts: *herth*, *smerwi* in Ep., *Bernhard* in a very old Kt charter. Gmc *a* becomes *ea* under the same conditions: *earm*, *heard*= OSaxon *arm*, *hard*. In the oldest texts we sometimes find this *ea* written *eo*: *weorras*, *seorwum* (Cp), *Georored*, *Uulfheord* (LV). It seems probable, therefore, that the voice-glide between the vowel and the *r* developed into a full glide-*o* in both diphthongs. The later divergence is the result of the difference in the first element. In *eo*=[ɟ the *o* was supported by the close *e*, while in **hæord* from AFrisian **hærd* it was first broadened to ɟ by the influence of the preceding ɩ, and then unrounded, exactly as in the long *ēa* (459). It is probable that the first element of *ea* was always *æ*, *e* being written for convenience. Traces of the original AFrisian forms seem to be preserved in such spellings as *geruuæ* in Ep., *Bernhaerd* in one of the oldest Kt charters, where we also find *hæard*.

428. In the Southern dialects Gmc *a* becomes *ea* before *l*+cons.: *feallan*, *eald*=OSaxon *fallan*, *ald*. AFrisian *æ* in *Ældred* (Kt charter), *wæll* (WS charter of 847). *e* generally remains unchanged before *l*+cons.: *swellan*, *helm*. For the apparent exceptions see § 433.

429. Gmc *a* becomes *ea* before *h*=c, that is, *h* not followed by a vowel (502) in WS and Kt: *geseah*, *eahta*, *weax* (*x*=*hs*). The parallel *eo* from Gmc *e* is constant in WS in *seoh* imper., *feohtan*, but such forms as *reoht*, *cneoht* occur only sporadically in the earliest WS and Kt, which probably had *seox* 'six' also. Original *i* becomes *eo* (*io*) in the same way: *meox* 'dung' from Gmc **mihstu*, *Peohtas* 'Picts'.

430. Another source of *ea*, *eo* is the development of a front glide after the front conss *ċ*, *ġ* (535) in WS, where the *cæ-*, *gæ-* (from Gmc *ka-*, *ga-*) of the other dialects appear as *ċea-*, *ġea-*, as in *ceaster*, *sceaft*, *geaf*=nonWS *cester* (VP), *scæpt* (Ep.), *gæf*. So also *ġo-*, *ġu-* (from Gmc *jo-*, *ju-*) become *ġeo-* in WS, as in *geoc*, *geong*, also written *gioc*, *giong*, *giung* in eWS. The other dialects write *geoc* (as in Du.), *gioc*, *ioc* (as in Ru.), *giung*, *gung*, *iung* (VP). The analogy of *gæf* makes it probable that the non-WS *ge-*, *gi-* mean the same thing as the simple *g* or *i*, nl ɷ. The WS change of the *u* of *giung* into *o* shows, on the other hand, that in WS the glide after the *ġ* must have developed into a full vowel, capable of forming the first element of a diphthong, which at first must have had the stress on its second element, the stress being afterwards thrown back by the analogy of the other *ea*s and *eo*s. This applies also to *geaf*, which must have passed through the stages *ġæf*, *ġjæf*, *ġeǽf*, *ġéæf*.

431. The next main source of these diphthongs is the influence of a following back vowel on AFrisian *æ* and on *i*, *e*, which is most consistently carried out in VP: *fet* (=*fæt*), pl *featu*, gen. pl *feata*, *fearan*, *scip*, pl *sceopu*, *nioman*, *beoru*, pl *beorað*, subj. pres. *ic bere*. These diphthongings are later than those which are due to cons. influence. Ep. still keeps the unmodified vowels in such words as *teru*, *gelu*, *stela* against the *teoru*, *geolu*, *steola* of the later Cp, *geolu* occurring only once in Ep. The development of the parasite-*ea* seems to have been quite parallel to that of the other *ea*, as shown in such spellings as *beosu* in Cp=the *besu* (=*bæsu*) of Ep. It is doubtful whether the influence of *a* is not really due to an older *o*: *beoran* from **beron*. This is probably the case with such words as *steola* at least, for such nominatives as *bogo*= later *boga* are preserved even in Cp.

432. In WS the *eo* in such words as *heorot*, *heofon* is generally preserved, but the simple vowel is often restored, especially in lWS, the alternation of *e-eo*, *i-io* (*eo*) in inflection being especially avoided, except in the earliest texts; hence *scip* generally has pl *scipu*, etc. The *ea* is generally eliminated altogether, except in a few words, in most of which, such as *nearu*, *fealu*, it may be really due to the inflected forms *nearwe*, *fealwe*, where it is parallel to the *ea* of *heard* etc. *ealu* (gen. *ealoþ*) probably owes its *ea* to the analogy of *nearu* etc. For *cearu* etc see § 535.

433. The diphthonging of *e* before *l*+cons. seems to be generally the result of the development of a parasite *u* (or *o*) between the *l* and the cons., which *u* then diphthonged the *e*. This is certainly the case with *heolstor* 'hiding-place' from Gmc **helstro*, for the intermediate forms *helostr*, *helustras* are preserved in Ep., and probably with *seolh* 'seal', and the Anglian *seolf*=eWS *self*. The development of *seolfor* and *meolc* out of Gmc **silovra* and **miluk* is parallel, except that here the vowels after the *l* are original, not parasitic.

434. The diphthongings of *i* and *e* are regularly distinguished as *io* and *eo* resp. in Cp and the other early texts. Thus Cp has *tioludun*, *lioþuwac*, *sionu*, *suiopan* on the one hand, and *weorod*, *beorende*, *feotur* on the other, =WS *tiledon*, *liþuwāc*, *sinu*, *swipan*; *werod*, *berende*, *fetor*. But *io* is written occasionally not only for the vowel-diphthonged *eo*, as in *scriopu* (Cp)=WS *screpe*, but also for the consonant-diphthonged *eo*, as in *iorþan*, *wiorþ*, *Biorn-* (OET). Afterwards *eo* supplants *io* everywhere in WS. The form *hieora*=*hi*(*o*)*ra* occurs once in Or. and in a later Merc. charter, and is evidently the forerunner of the late *hyora* etc, which are apparently Kt. These spellings point to ɪ as the first element of the vowel-diphthonged *io*.

435. The second element of *eo*, *io* is very rarely written *u*, as in *Triumuini* (BH), *Friuþuulf* (LV). More important is its weakening into *a*:

While WS has *eo*, *io* in *eom*, *hiora*, *heora* and other subordinate words, VP has *ea* in *eam*, *heara* and in *þeara* (from **þero*, Gmc **þizō*), to the exclusion of *eo*, except that *heora* occurs twice. So also Du. has both *hiora* and *hiara*, while Ru. has only *hiora*, *heora*. Even in WS *eam* occurs once in Or., and *ea* is fixed in *eart*. The original relation no doubt was that these words had two forms, one emphatic (strong) with *eo*, the other unemphatic (weak) with *ea*, WS tending to generalize the strong, VP the weak forms. The first effect of want of stress was to diminish the rounding of the *o*, and then to unround it completely, as in the development of *ēa* (459). *ea* for *eo* in strong words is only a sporadic irregularity in VP, but in lNorth. it is very common, especially in the vowel-diphthongs: *weala*, *eata*=VP *weola*, *eotan*, WS *wela*, *etan*. The change of *weola* into *weala* is probably due to the analogy of *heora*: *heara* etc. Even WS has *feala* by the side of *fela*, older *fe(o)lu*, the first being perhaps originally a weak form of the two latter. The spelling *ia* for *io*, *eo* is specially eKt: *wiaht*; *wiarald*, *fiah*.

436. The relation of *ea* to *a* is, to a great extent, parallel to that between *eo* and *ea*. In the eKt charters *heard* etc is the regular form when the word is the first part of a compound name, *hard* when it is the second (unstrest) element: *Gudhard*, *Bernhard*. So also the occasional eWS *was* appears to be the unemphatic form of *wæs*—if it is not a weakening of **wos* (418). The *a* of *hard* cannot be anything but a modification of AFrisian **hærd*, and *Bernhærd* actually occurs in one of the eKt charters. The influence of the *r* on strest *æ* was confined to the development of a parasitic *a* (or *ǫ*?) after it, while *r* was able to change unstrest *æ* completely into *a*. *a* for *ea* in strest syllables appears sporadically in Cp: *bisparrade*, *sarwo*, and elsewhere, being especially common in eNorth.; thus CH has *barnum*, *uard*, but no *ea*. The later LV, on the other hand, has regularly *ea*. *a* for *ea* before *l*+cons. is common in eWS and eKt, and universal in Anglian, where it was probably long (395): *all*, *halm*, *ald*, *salt*=eWS, eKt *(e)all* etc. lWS has only *eall* etc, and in lKt *ea* is almost universal. The most probable explanation of the Anglian *hard*, *all* is that they are extensions of originally weak variations of *heard*, *eall*.

437. The relation of *ea* to *a* in vowel-diphthongings is analogous to that in consonant-diphthongings. Just as VP has *heard* but *all*, so also it opposes an *a* in *galan*, *wyrtwalan* etc to the *ea* in *fearan* etc. So also Cp has *wægnfearu* (but weak *a* in *æxfaru*), *onseacan*, *geweada* pl, by the side of *hara*, *gelaþade*, but only *scalu*, *stalu* pl. The other dialects all show *ea* in their early stages side by side with *a*, except that in Ep. there is no *ea* except in *sceaba* etc (535). But in the Kt charters we find such forms as *þeabul*, *ic þeafie*, and in eNorth. *Eafa*, *Eafu*, *Eadu*. In WS we find (with a few doubtful exceptions, and after *sc* etc) only *a* : *fatu*, *fata*, *faran*, as also in lNorth. : *fara* etc.

438. The variations between *ea* and *a* (*æ*), *eo* and *e* hitherto considered are due to independent divergencies, but there are also cases of direct smoothing of *ea* and *eo* (cp the similar treatment of *ēa* and *ēo*, § 462, 465) due to the influence of a following *c* or *g*, and which may therefore be described as '*c*-smoothings.' They form the most marked characteristics of the Anglian dialects. In VP and North. *ea* before *h*, *x*, *ht* becomes *æ* (which in VP = *ǣ*): *gesæh*, *wæxan*, *geþæht*. Cp also has *æ*, as in *wæxit*, *læx*, against the *leax* of Ep., which, however, also has *æ* in *æx*, *æctath*. This *æ* of Ep. is probably the original AFrisian *æ*, which makes it possible that the Anglian *æ* = *ea* may be really original. *Æhcha* in a very early Kt charter is no doubt original; later Kt has *ea*, as in WS. *c*-smoothing can also be transmitted through a preceding vowellike cons.: *ea* before *rc*, *rg* (*rh*) becomes *e* (= *e* or *æ*) in VP, *e* or *æ* in North.: *erc*, *ærc*, *berg* = WS *earc* 'ark', *bearg* 'hog'. Cp generally has *æ*, as in *spærca*, *mærh* 'horse', 'marrow', rarely *ea*, which is general in Ep., although Ep. too has *æ*, but only before *rh*: *færh*, *mærh*, but *mearc*, *bearug*, which last is also the form in Cp.

439. *eo* becomes *e* in Anglian in the same way before *h* and *rc*, *rg*, *rh*: *feh*, *fehtan*, *werc*, *berg*, *berht* = WS *feoh*, *feohtan*, *weorc*, *beorg*, *beorht*. So also regularly not only in Cp, but also in Ep.: *þorgifect*, *uuerc*, *duerg*.

440. *c* and *g* also have an influence in preventing or smoothing vowel-diphthonging. In VP they generate a preceding *æ*: *dǣgas*, *dǣgum*, *cwǣcian*. North. agrees with WS and Kt in having *a* in these forms: *dagas* etc. VP itself has occasionally *a*. Cp has *æ*, *a*, but generally *ea*, while Ep.

generally has *a*. VP fluctuates between *eoc*, *eog* and *ec*, *eg*: it always has *steogun*, and generally *spreocan*, while *wegas* is much commoner than *wegas*. North. agrees with WS: *sprecan*, *wegas*.

441. This *c*-smoothing is by the Germans called 'palatal-umlaut'. The eNorth. *ærigfæræ*=WS *earhfare*, might, indeed, be adduced in support of a front pronunciation, but the *bearug*=*bearg* of Ep. (438) points as conclusively the other way, and it seems most natural to suppose that **bæarg* became *bærg* by absorption of the back vowel *a* into the back-modified *r*, and so with the other words. The spellings *huerb* in Cp, and *acerf* in VP=*hweorf*, *aceorf* seem to point to a similar influence of *f*, which, of course, could only have rounded or backed, not fronted, a preceding cons.

442. The origin of *ea* and *eo*, as also of *ēa* and *ēo*, shows clearly that all the OE diphthongs must originally have had the stress on the first element, and there seems every reason to believe that in most of the dialects they kept it there throughout the OE period. There is, however, unmistakeable ME evidence of a shifting of stress (together, in the case of *ēa* and *ēo*, with a shifting of quantity) in unstrest syllables; Orm's *ȝho* ɔ}ɨ=OE *hēo*, for instance, can only be explained from an OE *heō* through **hjō*. This law of stress-shift in weak diphthongs explains the lNorth. *am*=*eom*: weak *eom* became first *eam* (435), then *eám*, and finally, by dropping the almost inaudible *e*, *am*. So also the *earþ* of VP=WS *eart* appears in Du. as *arþ*. In lWS we find the *eo* of *teoro* 'tar' as the second element of compounds passing through *ea* into *a*: *īfigtearo*, *-taran*. The same tendency to throw forward the stress in weak syllables is shown in the OIcel. shortening of *ero* 'they are' into *ro*, which, of course, presupposes **eró*, *þeir éro* becoming *þeir* (*e*)*ró* in order to avoid the immediate succession of two stresses.

443. In MKt there is clear evidence of stress-shifting in all the diphthongs, whether strong or weak. That this shifting had taken place already in the OE period is proved by the alliteration in the poetical Genesis (text B) and Exodus, which are certainly of Southern, and probably of specially Kt origin. In these poems we find such alliterations as *junge*, *georne* on *ealle*, pointing to a pronunciation *jorne*, *jalle*.

444. In OE *rinnan* and *brinnan* shift the *r* (510) and appear in eWS as *iernan*, *biernan*, lWS *yrnan*, *byrnan*, lKt *irnan*, *birnan*, but in Anglian (VP, Du., Ru.) they appear as *iornan* (*eornan*, *earnan*), *biornan* (*eo*, *ea*) by the analogy of the older *georn* etc. The *eo* in *eom* (for _*im_) is no doubt due to the influence of the pl *eorun*. So also the late dat. pl *heom* for *him* is due to the influence of the gen. pl *heora*, the change being prompted by the desire to distinguish the pl *him* from the sg *him*.

ā

445. Answers to Gmc *ai*: *hlāf*, *stān*, *wāt* 'knows' = Goth. *hlaif*, *stain*, *vait*. The second element of the *ai* was evidently weakened to *e*, and then absorbed. The analogy of the development of Gmc *au* in OE (459) would lead us to expect _*æi_ as the OE equivalent of Gmc *ai*, and this diphthong seems to be preserved in *weilawei* (Cotton ms of Boeth.) for the ordinary *wālāwā* 'alas' (Goth. *vai* 'woe'), elsewhere *wegla* 'euge' with *eg*=*ei* (553).

446. *ā* before *w* answers to Gmc *ǣ* (which otherwise remains in OE): *sāwon* 'they saw', *tāwian* 'prepare' = Goth. *sēhwun*, *tēwa* sb. Often also when a back vowel follows (cp *dæg*, *dagas* etc): *lāgon* (and *lǣgon*) 'they lay' = Goth. *lēgun*, *lācnian* 'cure' = Gmc _*lǣknōn_ (cp OE *lǣce* 'physician' = Goth. *lēkeis*), *slāpan* (and *slǣpan*) = Goth. *slēpan*.

447. In such words as *swā*, *þā* the *ā* answers to Gmc *a* (Goth. *sva*) in accordance with the general law by which all final strest vowels are lengthened (383).

ǣ

448. WS *ǣ* corresponds regularly to Gmc *ǣ*, which is thus preserved unchanged: *fǣr* 'danger', *ǣfen*, *rǣd* 'advice', *slǣpan* = OSaxon *fār*, *āband*, *rād*, *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*.

449. In Kt and Anglian Gmc *ǣ* is represented by *ē*, thus Cp has *fer*, VP has *efen*, *slepan*. There are, however, a few examples of *æ* in the oldest texts: Ep. has *suæ* = Goth. *svē*, *hwær*, *næþl* = WS *nǣdl*, *blæeed* = WS *blǣd* 'blast', in all of which cases Cp has *e*, although in a few other instances it also has *æ*. eNorth. has *suæ*, *gæ*=WS *gēa* (461), *þær*. The eKt charters have *swæ*, *þær*, *wæron*, *-ræd* (in proper names). It seems as if the original *æ* were kept when final and in proximity with *r*. VP has *e* everywhere. Ru. also generally has *e*, but *æ* is not unfrequent, especially before *r* and after *w*: *swæ*, *þær*, *hwær*, *rædan* are the regular forms, while in the verbal forms *wēre*, *wēron* etc *e* is more frequent than *ǣ*. Du. has *suæ* and occasionally *wæron* etc, elsewhere *e*. VP has only *swe*, *þer* etc.

450. The Anglian *ē* is constant in WS in *mēce* 'sword', which, as it occurs only in poetry, may be borrowed from Anglian. The *-red* of *Ælfred* is sometimes written *-ryd*, pointing to **-rid*=OHG *-rit* (frequent in proper names), which has nothing to do with *rǣd*=Goth. *rēd*.

For the mutation-*ǣ* see § 481.

451. In Southern ME shortened *ǣ* is treated like OE *æ*, showing that it must (in WS at least) have had the same sound, only long—ɩ˖. Lengthened *æ* in WS, as in *sǣde* from *sægde* (401), must, of course, have had the same sound. Lengthened *ę*=ɩ˖ or ʃ˖, on the other hand, as in *lede* from *lęgde*, is never written *æ*.

ī

452. Answers to Gmc *ī*: *wīn*, *stīgan*, *gelīc*. It is also the result of dropping Gmc *m* or *n* before a hiss or buzz (531), as in *fīf*, *sīþ* 'journey'=Goth. *fimf*, *sinþ*. This *ī* was, of course, nasalized at first.

ē

453. Was originally a somewhat rare sound in OE. In the non-WS dialects it appears mainly as the representative of Gmc *ǣ* (449), in WS (already in eWS) as an unrounding of *œ̄* (489).

454. The common OE *ē* answers to Gmc *ē* in *hēr*. In *mēd* from Gmc **mezdō* (Goth. *mizdō*), and also in the originally reduplicated preterites such as *slēp*=Goth. *saislēp*, it is probably the result of contraction.

ū

455. Answers to Gmc *ū*: *hūs*, *hlūd*, *ūt*.

456. It is also the result of dropping a Gmc nasal before a hiss, as in *cūþ*, *ūs*=Goth. *kunþ*, *uns*.

457. In such monosyllables as *þū*, *nū* it is the result of lengthening Gmc *u*.

ō

458. Answers to Gmc *ō*, as in *dō*, *dōm*, *mōder*. Also to Gmc *ǣ* before nasals: *mōna*, *mōnaþ*, *cwōmon* 'they came'=Goth. *mēna*, *mēnōþ*, *qēmun*, and to Gmc nasalized *ā*: *þōhte*, *hōn*, *fōn* (cp the ptcc *hangen*, *fangen*). *ō* is further the result of the dropping of Gmc *n* or *m* before a hiss, as in *ōþer*, *gōs*=Goth. *anþar*, *gans*, where we must assume the stages ɟɔ, ɟɫʃ, ɟɫ, }ɫ. The *ǣ* of Gmc **mǣno* passed in OE through the stages ɩɫʃ, ɉɫʃ, ɟɫʃ, running together with the vowel of Gmc *þāhta* in its second stage.

ēa

459. Answers to Gmc *au*, as in *dēaþ*, *hēafod*=Goth. *dauþus*, *haubiþ*. In the oldest texts it is occasionally written *æo*, *eo*, *æa*, as in *genæot* (Cp), *eorisc* (Ep.), *Æodbald*, *Æanfled* (BH), showing that the *a* of Gmc *au* became *æ*, in accordance with the general tendency of the language, the second element being opened, and finally unrounded. It is probable that the first element remained *æ* throughout the OE period; eKt, which often writes *ia* for *ēo*, never uses it to express *ēa*.

460. Sometimes *ēa* is the result of contraction, as in *ēa* from **ahwō* (Goth. *ahva*) 'water' through **æ(h)wu*, **æuwu*, *slēan* from **slæhan* (Goth. *slahan*).

461. *ēa* in WS also results from the combination *ċ* and *ġ*+ Gmc *ǣ* in the same way as *gæf* become *geaf* (430): *scēap*, *gēafon* 'they gave', *gēar*=OSaxon *scāp*, Goth. *gēbun*, *jēr*. The other dialects keep their *ē*=Gmc *ǣ* (449): *scep*, *gefon*, *ger*. *gear*, however, occurs once in eNorth.

462. In Anglian *ēa* is smoothed before *c*, *g* and *h* in the same way as *ea* (438). In the earlier texts the resulting vowel is written *æ*. Thus Cp has *onlæc*, *bæg*, *hæh*, with occasional *geac* etc. So also in eNorth., and in the earlier Kt and Merc. charters. VP and lNorth. have *e*: *ec*, *belec*, *ege*, *beg*, *heh*, *neh*.

ēo

463. Answers to Gmc *eu*, as in *cēosan*, *lēof*, *sēoc*, *dēop* = Goth. *kiusan* etc. Sometimes it is the result of contraction: *sēon* from **sehwan* (Goth. *saihvan*), *þēon* 'flourish' from **þīhan* (*þiendi* in Cp). For *ēo* in *gēomor* see § 543.

464. The original *eu* appears occasionally in the oldest texts: *treuteru*, *steupfædær* (Ep.), *streum*, *greut* (eNorth.).

Other early spellings are *iu*, as in *gliu*, *sniuuiþ* (Ep.), *fliusum* (eNorth.), *ia*, as in *biaþ* pl (Cp, eNorth.), *tiadæ* prt (eNorth.). This last spelling occurs occasionally in VP, as in *biaþ* pl, *gesiaþ* pl, and is common in eKt: *bian* vb, *friand*, *bebiade*. *ie* is occasional in VP: *gesie* vb, *fiend*, *þieda*. The spelling *io* is frequent from the earliest period downward. Thus Ep. has *biouuyrt*, *hriosiþ*, *criopung* by the side of *streo*, *hweol*, *beost*. *io* also occurs occasionally in VP and in eWS, but afterwards *eo* becomes general in WS. *ea* occurs occasionally in the oldest texts, as in *trea*, *weadhōc* (Ep.), also in VP, as in *lea*, *gesean*, *þead*, and is frequent in lNorth.

465. In Anglian *ēo* is smoothed into *ē* before *c*, *g* and *h*. Thus Cp has *thegh* = *þēh* (WS *þēoh*), and VP has *flegan*, *geseh* imper. This *ē* sometimes becomes *ī*, as in *tuigendi* (Cp) = WS *twēogende* 'doubting', *gefrigan* 'free', *fligan* (VP).

466. That the difference between *ea*, *eo* and *ēa*, *ēo* was one of quantity is proved beyond doubt by the accents, the metre, and the whole history of the language. It is certain that the stress was not originally on the second element, for Gmc *au* and *eu* were certainly accented *áu*, *éu*. The length must have been either on the first element, or else distributed over both. The former seems most probable. The lengthening probably began by an exaggeration of the glide between the two elements. Similar lengthenings occur in the OHG of Notker's texts, which write *îe*, *îa*, *îo*, *ûo* against *íu*, *éo*, *óu*, *éu*, the circumflex indicating a long accented vowel, the acute a short accented vowel.

Mutations.

467. The OE mutations are all caused by Gmc *i* or *j*, which even in parent Gmc had probably begun to modify a preceding consonant (142), the influence of the resulting fronted conss. on the preceding vowels being, however, carried out independently in the separate languages. In OE the Gmc *i*, *j* has often been lost, as in *bęnd*, *sęndan* = Goth. *bandi*, *sandjan*. It must be borne in mind that *-e* and *-ian* in OE cause mutation only when they correspond to old *-i*, *-jan*, as in *bęnd*, *nęrian* = Goth. *nasjan*, not when they are modifications of *a* etc, as in WS *giefen* ptc = Anglian *gefen* (Goth. *giban*), *sealfian* = OHG *salbōn*.

ę

468. is the mutation of Gmc *a*, as in *herede* 'praised,' *tellan*, *sendan*, *weccan*, *settan* = Goth. *hazida*, *taljan*, *sandjan*, *vakjan*, *satjan*. As this mutation probably passed through the stage of ʅ before it settled down to ʅ (or ʗ ?), there was a tendency to confuse *ę* with *æ*. The following words, for instance, have *æ* instead of *ę*: *bærnan*, *hærfest*, *læccan*, *gemæcca* = Goth. *brannjan* etc. *ę* itself is often written *æ* in the early texts.

ie

469. appears as the mutation of OE *ea* and *eo* (through *ię*, and *iy*, *iæ*?), that is, of Gmc *a* and *e* before certain consonant-combinations (427): *ierfe* 'inheritance' = Goth. *arbi*, *ieldra*, compar. of *eald*, *nieht*, from **neahti*, Goth. *naht*(*i*); *wierþe* 'worthy,' *hierde* '(shep)herd' (cp *weorþ* 'worth,' *heord* 'herd'). If these words were formed by direct mutation from the Gmc forms, they would appear as *erfe*, *eldra*; *wirþe*, *hirde*, the mutation in the two latter being indeed already Gmc (299). The first two are, in fact, the forms that appear in all the non-WS dialects, except that VP has *æ* (= *ǣ*) instead of *e* before *l*-combinations: *wælle* 'well,' *mæltan*, *ældra*. VP has the Gmc *i* in *afirran* 'remove' (*feorr* 'far'), *birhtu*, *hirtan* 'cherish' (*heorte* 'heart'), but in other words it, in common with the other non-WS dialects shows the unmutated *eo*: *eorre* 'angry' = WS *ierre*, *heorde* = WS *hierde*. The *eo* in these cases seems to be due to the analogy of such words as the adv *eorre* and the subst. *heord*, where the *eo* is regular. *heorde* occurs also in Cp together with *orfeormnisse* (cp *feorm*); *Iurminburg*, *hiordi* in eNorth. eNorth. also has *wiurþit* from *weorþan*. In most cases Cp agrees with Ep. in showing Gmc *i*, as in *gesuirbet*, *birce*, *firgen*. Ep. itself has the WS *ie* in *georwierdid*, *orfiermæ*.

470. There is another WS *ie*, which results, not from mutation, but from the combination *ċe-*, *ġe-* (534, 541), as in *scield*, *giefan*, where VP and the other non-WS texts have the original *e*: *sceld*, *gefan*.

471. WS also shows *ie* for *ę* after *ċ* and *ġ*, as in *ciele* 'chill,' *scieppan*, *giest*=non-WS *cęle*, *scęppan*, *gęst*. The analogy of *cīese* (483) shows that the *ie* in these words is not due to the direct action of the front cons. on the vowel, as in the case of *scield* etc, but that the *ie* is a mutation of prehistoric *ea*, itself the result of dipthonging *æ* after a front cons. (535), so that *ciele* has developed out of **ċeali*, **ċæli*, **kæli*, **kali* (cp the strong vb *calan*). Hence there is no development of *ie* before *ę* followed by a nasal, as in *cennan*, *cempa* from **kannjan*, **kǫnnjan* **kampjo*, **kǫmpjo*, because Gmc *a*+nasal was not fronted in AFrisian and OE (415, 419), and so did not front a preceding back cons.

472. WS also has *ę* instead of *ie* before *ll* from Gmc *lj*, as in *hęll* = Goth. *halja*, *tęllan* = *taljan*. WS has *ie* regularly before Gmc *llj*, as in *fiellan* from *falljan*, *wielle* from **wallja*. lWS *syllan* = Goth. *saljan* points to the WGmc doubling (325) which we would expect in *halja* etc; eWS, however, agrees with Kt and Anglian in the form *sellan*.

473. In WS front *h* before *s* and *t* mutates *eo* into *ie*, as in *siex* 'six' = *seox*, Angl. *sex*, *cnieht* = *cnioht*, Angl. *cneht*. The *eo* of *feohtan* was probably preserved by the analogy of the other verbs in *eo* (*weorþan* etc) of the same conjugation.

474. *ie* was no doubt a diphthong at first, but in the extant WS texts it must have become a monophthong, for it is often written simply *i*, sometimes *y*, which becomes general in lWS: *ierfe*, *irfe*, *yrfe*. The spelling *erfe* is rare in WS mss, and may be due to non-WS scribes. The change from the spelling *ie* to *y* is direct, without any intermediate *i*-period. The evidence of ME shows that this *y* had the same sound as the *y* in *synn*=f. The most probable explanation seems to be that *ie* was first smoothed to wide ſ, which was then rounded to f, in order to make it more distinct from the older *i* = ſ.

y

475. is the mutation of Gmc *u*: *fyllan*, *synn* = Goth. *fulljan*, OSaxon *sundia*, *gylden* = OSaxon *guldīn*.

For lWS *y* = *ie* see 474.

476. In lWS *y* becomes *i* before (front-modified) *c*, *g*, *h*, as in *cicene*, *hricg*, *fliht* = earlier *cycene* 'kitchen,' *hrycg*, *flyht*. In some late mss (not in ÆfcH) *ci-* for *cy-* is common, and *cining* occurs in Du., *ki*(*ni*)*ng* in Ru. together with the regular *cyning*.

477. In the western lWS *i* in weak syllables becomes *y*, probably through ſ, as in *ys*, *hyne*, *hyt*. These forms are confirmed by ME West-Midland texts, which show such spellings as *hus* 'his,' *þuse* 'these,' where *u* = f (595).

478. In lKt *y* becomes *e*, as in *senn*, *gelden*. The same change occurs in the lWS (ÆfcH) *embe* for *ymbe*, and *unnetlic* = *unnyttlic* occurs once in eWS together with a few instances of *embe*. The change seems, therefore, to have begun in weak syllables, whence in lKt it spread to strong words. f was no doubt lowered to {, which underwent the same unrounding as *œ* (479). Hence *y* in lKt is occasionally written for *e*, as in *cyrran* = *cęrran*, WS *cierran*. The change of *y* into *e* is shown also in the Suffolk charters of the end of the 10th cent.: it was probably a general South-eastern change.

œ

479. is the mutation of *o*, as in *œle* 'oil' = Gmc **olja* from Lat. *oleum*, *dœhter* dat. of *dohtor*. As *o* became *u* before *i*, *j* in Gmc (300), the regular mutation of Gmc *o* is *y*, as in *gylden* (Gmc **gulþīna*; **golþa* = OE *gold*); *œ* is the result of the mutation of a foreign *o* (as in *œle*) or of the substitution of *o* for *u* before the mutation began by the analogy of some other form, such as (in the case of *dœhter*) the nom.

480. *œ* = { was unrounded to *ę* [not only in eWS (which preserves only isolated instances of *œ*) but also in VP, which has *ele*, *bledsian* (where the *œ* was shortened from *œ̄*) throughout, the long *œ̄* being always kept in VP.

ǣ

481. is the mutation of *ā* = Gmc *ai* in all the dialects: *hǣlan*, *ǣnig* (*hāl*, *ān* = Goth. *hail*, *ain*).

482. In WS it is also the mutation of Gmc *ǣ*: *lǣce*, *dǣd* = Goth. *lēkeis*, *dēd*(*i*). In the non-WS dialects this *ǣ* follows its original, becoming *ē*: *lēce*, *dēd*.

Ie

483. is the eWS mutation of *ēa* (Gmc *au*) and *ēo* (Gmc *eu*): *hīeran* = Goth. *hausjan*, *gelīefan* = Goth. *galaubjan* (cp *gelēafa* sb); *cīest* 'chooses' (inf. *cēosan*), *onsīen*, *gesīene* = Goth. *anasiun*(*i*) 'visible.' *cīese* from Gmc **kǣsia* (OHG *kāsi*) points to an intermediate OE **ċēasi* (535). In the other dialects this *īe* appears as *ē*: *hēran*, *gesēne*, *cēse* etc. Ep., however, has *unhieri* once, Cp *alieset* once, and *onsien* is the regular spelling in VP, the other words having only *ē* in VP. In many words *ēo* is retained unmutated in VP and the other non-WS dialects, as in *stēoran*, *getrēowe* = WS *stīeran*, *getrīewe* (cp 469).

484. *īe* is also written *i* in eWS, and rarely *e*. In lWS it becomes *ȳ*: *hȳran*, *onsȳn*, *cȳse*.

485. That *īe* must once have been a diphthong in WS is clear from the originally dissyllabic *hīe* 'they,' *sīe* subj., lWS *hȳ*, *sȳ*.

ȳ

486. is the mutation of *ū*: *brȳd* = Goth. *brūþ*(*i*), *cȳþan* 'proclaim' = Goth. *kunþjan* through **cūþjan*, *ontȳnan* 'open' (*tūn* 'enclosure').

For lWS *ȳ* = *īe* see § 484. Before and, in some texts, after *c* and *g* it, as also original *ȳ*, becomes *ī* (cp 476) in lWS: *īcan*, *bīgan*; *cīþan* = eWS *īecan*, *bīegan*; *cȳþan*.

487. In lKt *ȳ* is lowered and unrounded to *ē*: *ontēnan* etc. Hence *y* is sometimes written for *ē*, *ǣ*, as in *lyce*, *lyssa* = *lēce* (WS *lǣce*), *lǣssa*.

œ̄

488. is the mutation of *ō*: *dœ̄man* = Goth. *dōmjan*, *sœ̄can* = Goth. *sōkjan*, *gœ̄s* (from **gansi*) pl of *gōs*.

489. In lWS and lKt *œ̄* is unrounded into *ē*, a change which is already carried out almost completely in eWS as well: *dēman*, *sēcan*, *gēs*.

Weak Vowels.

490. In OE unstrest vowels were regularly shortened, as in *tungena* = Goth. *tuggōnō*. Unstrest *i* and *æ*, which still occur in Ep., were afterwards levelled under *e* (= [?), as in *ęnde*, *tunge*. Unstrest *u* and *o* often interchange, as in *męnigu*, *męnigo*.

491. Such spellings as *sægdig* for *sægde ic* in Du. show that final vowels were dropt before another vowel in connected speech, at any rate in closely connected groups.

492. Prehistoric OE *i* and *u* (answering both to Gmc *i*, *u* and Gmc *ī*, *ō*) were generally kept (in the later language as *e*, *u*, *o*) after short root-syllables, as in *wine*, *sunu*, dropt after long root-syllables, as in *wyrm*, *fōt* = Goth. *vaurm*(*i*), *fōtu*. So also *bæþ* has pl *baþu*, while *hūs* is invariable. If the long syllable before an *u* is half-strest or weak, the *u* is often kept, as in *fiscflōdu* compared with the simple *flōd*, fem. and neut. *męnniscu* 'human.'

493. Dropping of medial vowels is frequent, depending partly on the character of the adjacent conss., and especially on the quantity of the preceding syllable, every unstrest vowel in a medial syllable followed by a single cons. being dropt after a long root-syllable, as in *mōdrum*, *ęngles* compared with *fæderum*, *staþolas*. The dropt vowels are often restored in lWS, as in *ōþeres* = eWS *ōþres*.

The development of parasite-diphthongs has already been treated of (433).

494. One result of the general dropping of final Gmc *a*, and the frequent dropping of Gmc *i* and *u* (492) in OE as in the other Gmc languages was that many words ended in syllabic vowellikes preceded by another cons., as in Goth. and OIcel. *akr*, *fugl*, Goth. *taikn* from **akra*, **fugla*, **taikna*. In OE syllabic *n* and *m*, and *l* after forward conss. are generally kept unchanged, as in *tāc*(*e*)*n*, *wæstm*, *nǣdl*, *hūsl*, while syllabic *l* after other conss. and syllabic *r* after all conss. develop a parasite vowel—*u* (later *o*) after a back, *e* after a front vowel in the root-syllable: *fugol*, *ātur* (*āttor*); *æppel*, *winter* = Goth. *vintru*. Ep. still preserves *atr* = OIcel. *eitr* etc.

495. The insertion of an *i* between *ġ* = ɷ and a preceding cons. is regular in *byriġ* for the rarer *byrġ*, and occasional in other words, such as *fylġian* 'follow.' *u*, *o* is sometimes inserted between *r*, *l* and a following cons., as in *burug* for *burg*, *helustr* (433).

Consonants.

496. The following was the normal OE consonant-system:

THROAT.	BACK.	FRONT.	FOREW.		LIP.
h	h	h	hr	þ, s	f, hw
	–	–	hl	–	–
	c	ċ	t	–	p
	–	–	hn	–	–
	g	ġ	r	þ, s	f, w
	–	(l)	l	–	–
	g	ġ	d	–	b
	n(g)	(n)	n	–	m
ƨ	c	∩	∪	ʋ, s	>, ɔ
	–	–	ω	–	–
	ɑ	Ω	Ʊ	–	D
	–	–	ℸ	–	–
	ɛ	ɱ	ɯ	ɰ, s	⋗, ɜ
	–	(ϖ)	ϖ	–	–
	ɑ̵	Ω̵	Ʊ̵	–	D̵
	ɟ	(ɭ)	ℸ	–	F

Observe the ambiguousness of

h=ƨ, c, ∩.
c=ɑ, Ω.
g=ɛ, ɱ, ɑ̵, Ω̵.
n=ɟ, ℸ.
þ, s, f=ʋ, s, >; ɰ, s, ⋗.

Note also that *r*, *l*, *s*, *n* probably had a front or front-modified sound before *ċ* and *ġ*.

h.

497. In OE, as in the other Gmc languages, *h* was weakened to a mere breath initially. This is proved by the occasional omission or addition of an initial *h*, which occurs throughout the OE period. Already in Ep. we find *æsil* as well as *hæsil*, *hynnilæc* = the correct *ynnelæc* of Cp. So also in *gihiodum* = *geēodon*, where it is practically initial.

498. Medial *h* before a vowel (especially between vowels) was not only weakened to a breath, but completely dropped, the resulting hiatus being generally got rid of by contraction. Ep. still preserves the *h* in such forms as *suehoras* = WS *swēoras* 'fathers-in-law,' *furhum* = WS *fūrum*, dat. pl of *furh* 'furrow.'

499. Medial *h* is also dropped before the vowellikes *r*, *l*, *n*, *m*, *w*, as in *nēalǣcan* 'approach' = **nēahlǣcan*, *āwer* = *ā-hwǣr*, which latter form is, indeed, often restored (as in other words as well) by the analogy of the uncompounded *hwǣr* etc.

500. The dropping of *h* in *āhwǣr* etc is really part of a more general law by which the breath-*h* was regularly dropt in unstrest syllables. This is clearly shown in proper names, such spellings as *Ælfere*, *Eadelm* for *Ælfhere*, *Eadhelm* being not unfrequent even in early texts. The history of the pronoun *it* in ME (724) makes it tolerably certain that OE must have had the same distinction as MnE between strong *hit*, *him*, *heora* and unemphatic **it*, **im*, *eora*. *eora*, indeed, occurs several times in Ru.

501. Initial *h* before a (vowellike) cons. in the combinations *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn*, as in *hring*, *hlāf*, *hwæt*, *hnutu*, must in Gmc have had its regular sound c, for not only does the *h* of *hlāf* etc (Goth. *hlaif*) answer to an Ar. *k* (Lith. *klëpas*), but the Gmc **hlaiva* itself was adopted by OBulg. in the form of *chlĕbŭ* cω[ɪəɫ. The next stage was the reduction of the *h* to a breath. This stage, in which *h* and *l* etc were pronounced separately, is preserved in the laws of alliteration, by which *hl* alliterates on the *h* of *hām* etc, and also in the shifting *hors* from **hross* (510). In MnE these combinations were merged in simple *r* etc, except that *wh* still partially survives as a voiceless *w*. It is quite possible that the OE *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn* were really simple ȯ, ω, ɔ, ɿ, for the alliterative usage may well be only traditional. This is supported by the spelling *rhing* in Ep., although the *rh* may be due simply to the analogy of Latin spellings such as *rhetor*.

502. *h* kept its Gmc sound when final, when doubled, and before conss. in the combinations *x* (=*hs*), *ht*, as in *feoh* (gen. *fēos* from **feohes*), *feorh* (gen. *fēores*), *furh* (dat. pl *fūrum*); *hliehhan; oxa*=Goth. *auhsa*, *beorht*. In the oldest texts *h*=c is generally written *ch* (except in *x*): thus Ep. has *toch*, *þorch*, *torcht*=WS *tōh*, *þurh*, *torht* 'bright.' *hh* is also represented by *chh*, *hch*. *ch* is sometimes abbreviated to *c*: thus we find *alcfriþu* in a Runic inscription, and *halc*=WS *healh* (sinus, '-hale') in BH twice. In the combination *-ct* the dropping of the *h* is more frequent than its retention: thus Ep. writes *nectigalæ*, *torctendi*. One Runic text has *unneg*, *fegtaþ*=WS *unnēah*, *feohtaþ* parallel to *bt*=*ft* (515). Cp has *slag*, *slagh*, *misþagch*=*slāh*, *misþāh*. These last spellings are compromises between *h* and *g*=є.

503. These usages are no doubt mainly the result of Celtic influence. In OIrish and OWelsh *h* had no independent value, being mainly used to fill a hiatus or mark emphasis, and in OWelsh *c* was often written instead of *ch*. Hence the eOE prefixing of *h*, its use as a hiatus-filler (as in *gihiodun*), the hesitation to employ *h* to represent c, and the shortening of *ch* to *c*. The later use of *h* everywhere may be due to the same Runic influence which superseded *th* by *þ*, and *uu* by ƿ.

504. In WS and Kt, when *h* comes before a hiss or buzz (*þ* or *s*) by the dropping of a vowel, it is preserved in the form of c or ᴖ, as in WS (*ge*)*siehst*, *siehþ* from **sihwis*, **sihwiþ*, *niēhst*, but dropped in the Anglian dialects: thus VP has *gesīs*, *gesīþ*, *nēst*.

505. In *ht* the *h* must have had the front sound ᴖ in WS, for it mutates a preceding *ea*, *eo* to *ie*, as in *nieht*, *cnieht*=*neaht*, *cneoht*, which occur occasionally in eWS.

r, l.

506. The OE *r* was no doubt a strong point trill as in the present Scotch dialect.

507. The parasiting influence of *r* and *l* (427) shows that they were probably formed as in MnE—with concavity of the fore part of the tongue—which gives them a kind of guttural quality favorable to the development of a back parasite-vowel, which, if uttered muffled—with imperfect lip-opening—is easily rounded. *r* and *l* cannot have been full back, or even back-modified, conss.—ϵʃ, ȣ or ω(, ɷ(—because in that case single *r* and *l* would have diphthonged a preceding vowel, instead of requiring to be doubled, or to have the support of a following cons., the effect of which probably was to lengthen the *r* or *l* and so increase its volume of sound.

508. Before *ċ* and *ġ*, *r* and *l* probably had a front-modified sound, as in *wyrċan*, *swelċ*.

509. *r* and *l* answer to the Gmc *r* and *l* resp. But *r* is also the representative of Gmc *z*, as in *gecoren* from Gmc **kozaná*, *hęrian* = Goth. *hazjan* 'praise,' *mierran* 'hinder' = Goth. *marzjan*, *hord* = Goth. *huzd* (145, 315). Final Gmc *z* is dropped in OE; *hwā*, *mā* 'more' adv from Gmc **hwaz*, **maiz*.

510. *r* is often shifted from before to after a vowel, when this vowel was followed by *nn* or *s* + cons. (that is, by breath *s*), as in *burna*, *hors*, *berstan* = Goth. *brunna*, OSaxon *hross*, OHG *brestan*. The original double conss. are still preserved in the spellings *burnna*, *horssum* (OET). There is shifting before simple *s* in *gærs*. That these shiftings are comparatively late is shown by the frequent occurrence of the unshifted forms in the oldest texts: *græs*, *rendegn* = WS *gærs*, *ærnþegn*. The shiftings *birdas*, *þirda* = WS *bridd*(*as*), *þridda* are lNorth.

511. There are some shiftings which, in the earlier period at least, occur only in unstrest syllables, especially the second half of proper names. The earliest is the change of *-friþ* into *-firþ*, *-ferþ*, *Tidfirþ* occurring in an inscription. Then follows the reverse shifting by which *-be*(*o*)*rht* becomes *-breht*, *Ceolbreht* appearing in a WS charter of 778. Afterwards *-breht* passes through -**brieht* (505) into *bryht* in WS. In the lNorth. *breht* by the side of *berht* we see the shift carried out in the isolated, strest word as well. lNorth. has a similar shifting in *frohtia*, *fryhtu* by the side of the older *forhtia*, *fyrhtu*.

512. Shifting of *l* occurs in unstrest syllables. Regularly in the ending *-isl*, still preserved in the *gyrdisl* of Ep., later *gyrdels*, and in *-gisl* (= strong *gīsl* 'hostage') as the second element of proper names, as in *Cynegils* = *Cynegisl*, which also occurs.

513. The dropping of *r* in *specan*, *spǣc*=*sprecan*, *sprǣc* is lWS and lKt.

þ, s, f.

514. These conss. were probably formed exactly as in MnE. It is, however, quite uncertain when *f* changed from Gmc ɔ to the present >.

515. OE *þ* and *s* always correspond to Gmc *þ* and *s*, for Gmc *ð* and *z* became *d* and *r* in OE (315). OE *f*, on the other hand, corresponds both to Gmc *f* and Gmc *v*, which latter first became WGmc *b*, and then э (⩾) again in OE. To the first *f* corresponds an OHG *f*, *v*, to the second an OHG *b* (326): *wulf*=OHG *wolf* (Gmc **wólfa*), *hafen* ptc=OHG *haban* (Gmc **havaná*). In the oldest texts the symbol *f* is restricted to the former *f*: *girǣfa* (OHG *grāvo*) *wulf*, the latter being denoted by *b*, as in *scribun*, *salb* (OHG *scribun*, *salba*). It is clear that this *b* denotes an open cons., for *u* is written in *siuida* (Ep.)=*sifiþan* 'siftings' in Cp, and in Cp we find *bt*=*ft* in *lybt*. The use of medial *b* to denote a *v*-sound is probably due to the popular Latin of Britain, in which the medial *b* of such a word as *habēre* had this open sound. We have direct proof of such an open pronunciation of Latin *d* in the spellings *Leoniþa*, *Marþonius* etc, which are the regular ones in Or. The later general use of *f* is due to the influence of the Runic alphabet; perhaps also to the Celtic use of *f*=⩾, as in OIrish and in MnWelsh.

516. *þ* is generally denoted by the Latin *th* in the oldest mss, especially initially and finally, which *th* is sometimes abbreviated to *t* (cp 502): thus Ep. has *thegn*, *lotha*, *lath*, *earbetlic* (=WS *earfoþlic*). Medial *þ* is often denoted by *d*, which also occurs finally, and even initially: thus Ep. writes *sceadan*, *giroedro*, *uueard*, *gidopta*, *dislum*=WS *sceaþan*, *gerēþra*, *wearþ*, *geþofta*, *þīslum*. The Runic *þ* is rare in Ep.: *þus*, *suiþæ*, *milciþ*, as also *ð*: *ðinga*, *quiða*, *mið*. Ep. has once *dh* in *fordh*. The blendings *þh* (*suaþhe* OET) and *ðh* (*ðhuehl* Cp) also occur. In the later Anglian texts *ð* is universal, as also in most of the oldest WS and Kt mss. In some eWS mss *þ*, however, predominates. In lWS there is a tendency to write *þ* at the beginning of a word or letter-group, *ð* elsewhere. The distinction was no doubt purely graphic, *þ* having the character of a capital and therefore being a good initial.

517. Gmc *lþ* becomes *ld* in OE, the older forms being still preserved in the earliest texts: thus Ep. has *halði*, *scytihalt*, (*t*=*th*) as well as *tohald*, Cp has *feltha*, early Merc. charters have *-balt* (where *t*=*th*).

518. That *s* between voiced sounds was voiced in prehistoric OE is proved by such contracted preterites as *līesde*=Goth. *lausida* compared with *cyste*=**cysste* from *cyssan*, for if the *s* of *līesan* had been voiceless it would have changed the *d* of the ending into *t* in the same way as *ss* does.

519. *s* is often shifted in the medial and final groups *sc* and *sp*, especially in lWS, the shifting having apparently begun medially: *ācsian*, *āxian*, *cirps*=older *āscian*, **crisp*.

520. We see that there is decisive evidence that intervocalic *þ* and *s* were voiced in OE. In Gm. and Dutch we have clear evidence that initial *þ* was also voiced in such a word as *ding* =OE *þing*. In Dutch initial *s* is also voiced, as in *zeven*=OE *seofon*, and this has been adopted by the High German of the North—the Upper Gm dialects still keeping voiceless *s* everywhere—medially as well as initially. OHG had initial *v*, as in *volk*; and this *v* is still preserved in Dutch, while it has been unvoiced in Gm, which, however, still keeps the old spelling. The evidence of ME and of the MnE dialects shows that in the 12th cent. initial *ð*, *z*, *v* must have been fully developed. It seems therefore plausible to assume that the Gmc *þ* and *f* were voiced initially as well as medially in WGmc and, that the initial voice of HGm *ding* and its predecessor *ðing* (which must be at least as old as the 7th cent.), together with that of the corresponding Dutch and Southern E. forms, are not independent developments, but remains of a common stage, *s* following the analogy of the other hisses in Low Gm and Southern E.

521. In Gothic, on the other hand, it is certain that the *þ* and *f* were voiceless in all positions—intervocalic as in *qiþan*, as well as initial and final, as in *þiuþ*—for intervocalic ʋ and э were expressed by *d* and *b*, as in *naubaimbair*=Lt *november*. In the Scandinavian languages *þ* and *f* are breathed initially, voiced medially and finally, as in MnIcel. *þing*, *kveða*, *verð*; *fara*, *hafa*, *haf*, *s* remaining unvoiced everywhere. The probability is, therefore, that initial hiss-voicing has never taken place in East-Gmc (except in Sw-Dan. *det* etc, where it is due to want of stress, as in E. *the* etc). It is further possible that the Anglian and Jutish (Kentish) dialects of OE, which were geographically closer to the Scandinavian languages than the Saxon group, may never have developed the initial hiss-voicing of the latter. The evidence of *f* and *b* in Ep. would, indeed, prove that even medial hiss-voicing, so far from being common WGmc, was of comparatively late date in OE. But the whole evidence bearing on *þ* is entirely the other way, showing that voiced *þ* was fully established in Ep., not only medially, but probably also initially. This conflict of evidence makes it possible that the distinction between *f* and *b* was really meant to express that of ≽ and э. Cp also *bb* from *fj* (557).

522. Final *þ* and *f* are always voiceless in Gm and Dutch, but this is merely the result of their general tendency to unvoice all final conss. except the vowellikes. In the Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, they are always voiced. In the present Southern E. even the final *s* of such a word as OE *gōs* is voiced, and there seems every reason to suppose that final *þ*, *f*, *s* were voiced in OE also—at least in WS.

523. In such combinations as *st*, *ft* the hisses were, of course, always voiceless. The latter combination is in Ep. often expressed by *pt*, as in *scæpt*, *fs* being also expressed by *ps* and *bs* (cp *lybt* 515) in *aræpsid*, *ræbsid*. This use of *pt* (which is also OIcel.) may be due to a pronunciation of Lt *pt* in *captus* etc as *ft*. *ss* and *ff* were always voiceless. Ep. has *wæffsas*=WS *wæspas*, *wæpsas*. *ff* occurs only in the foreign *offrian*, *Offa* and some obscure words.

524. There is an OE law by which in the combination voiced stop or buzz + buzz both elements are unvoiced. Thus *bledsian* in VP (from **blōdizōn*) becomes *bletsian* in WS. So also eWS *gīdsung* becomes *gītsung*. In the North. LV this law is carried out regularly in compound names such as *Altfriþ*

(=*Aldfriþ*), *Ēatfriþ*, *Ēatþrȳþ*. This tendency is evidently the result of the attempt to strengthen the acoustic effect of the open cons. Of course, if either element is voiceless, the change is still easier, as in *mētsceatt*=*mēdsceatt*.

525. *þ* in the combinations *tþ*, *dþ*, *sþ* is first unvoiced together with the preceding *d* and *s*, and then stopped, giving *t*(*t*), *st*, as in WS *bītt*=*bīteþ*, *bīdeþ*, *cīest*=**cīeseþ*, and in *hafastu*=*hafus þū*. Hence in WS *sþ* is often written instead of radical *st*, as in *fæsþ*=*fæst*. So also regularly in *þætte*=*þæt þe*, and occasionally in *þæt tæt*, *þæt tā* etc, showing that in actual speech the initial *þ* of pronominal words was regularly assimilated to the *t* of a preceding *þæt*, a change which is consistently denoted in the ME Ormulum. *þs* is smoothed to *ss* in later OE, as in *blissian* from older *blīþsian*.

526. The change of final *þ* into *s* in verb-inflections in lNorth., as in *bindes*, *bindas*=WS *bint* (Angl. *bindeþ*), *bindaþ* seems to be organic, as there do not seem to be any analogical influences at work.

W

527. is expressed in the oldest texts by *uu*, as in *uueg*, single *u* being generally written after a cons., as in *cuic*. In North. single *u* is preferred everywhere: *uerc*. But already in Ep. there are a few instances of the Runic *w*, which became general in the course of the 9th century.

528. The OE *w* must have had the same sound as in MnE, nl that of a consonantal *u*.

529. Final *w* after conss. is vocalized to *u*, *o*, as in *nearo* from Gmc **narwa* through **narw*. After short vowels final *w* is vocalized, and contracted into a diphthong with the preceding vowel, as in *cnēo* 'knee' from Gmc **knewa*. The *w* is often restored by the analogy of other forms with intervocalic *w*, as in the prt *cnēow* 'knew' by the analogy of inf. *cnāwan*. So also *cnēo* becomes *cnēow* in WS by the influence of the pl *cneowu*. After long vowels and Gmc diphthongs final *w* is regularly dropt, as in *sǣ*=Goth. *sáiw*(*i*), *ā*=Goth. *aiw*, but is, however, often restored by the influence of the inflected forms, as in *snāw*.

n, m.

530. *n* had, of course, the back sound before *c* and *g*, as in *sincan*, *singan*, and the front before *ċ* and *ġ*, as in *sęnċan*, *sęnġan*.

531. Gmc *n* and *m* were dropt in AFrisian before the hisses and buzzes *þ*, *s*, *f* with nasalizing and lengthening of the preceding vowel, *a* becoming *ō* (458), as in *mūþ*, *gōs*, *fīf* from **munþ*, **gans*, **fimf*.

532. In North. final weak *n* was dropt in inflections; already in eNorth. we find *galgu*, *gistiga* = WS *gealgan*, *gestīgan*. The *n* of the past partic. (*gestigen*) was not dropt, because of the influence of the inflected forms *gestigene* etc.

Stops.

533. There is a tendency in OE to unvoice final voice stops preceded by a vowellike, when unstrest, as in eWS *sint*, which appears originally to have been the weak form corresponding to the strong *sindon*, the ordinary *sind* being a compromise. Other examples are eWS *weorþmynt*, *elpent*, *færelt* = *weorþmynd*, *elpend*, *færeld*. Cp has *hǣlsent* 'augurers.' So also final *-ing*, *-ung* are sometimes written *-inc*, *unc* in early texts: *wlatunc* (Cp), *Cymesinc*, together with the compromises *-ingc*, *-incg* etc. These *t*s and *c*s are often carried over to the inflected forms: *færelte*, *gestincum* 'guestings,' 'exiles' (Cp). Conversely, we may assume that the later uninflected forms *færeld* etc owe their *d*s to the inflected forms. There is no reason for supposing that the final conss. of fully strest words were unvoiced: such spellings as *felt* in the older texts really stand for *felth* etc (516, 517).

c.

534. The history of the mutations shows that all the Gmc conss. were liable to fronting when followed by *j* or *i*. In most cases the fronting was afterwards lost: thus in such a word as *ęnde* it has left no traces besides the mutation of the preceding vowel. The back conss. *c* and *g*, however, have preserved a modification of the original fronting to the present day in such words as *chin*, *singe* (sinʒ) from OE *ċinne*, *sęnġan*, contrasting with *kin*, *sing* from OE *cynn*, *singan*. MnE (ʃ) and (dʒ) are, indeed, unfailing criteria of OE fronting.

535. Initial Gmc *k* became *ċ* in OE before all vowels which were front before mutation set in, that is, before *æ*, *i*, *e*, *ea*, *eo*, *ǣ*=Gmc *ǣ* and its mutation, *ī*, *ē*, *ēa*, *ēo*, and remained unchanged before the back vowels *a*, *u*, *o*, *ā*=Gmc *ai*, *ū*, *ō* and the mutations *ę*, *y*, *œ*, *ǣ* mut. of *ā*=Gmc *ai*, *ȳ*, *œ̄*. In WS *ċæ*, *ċe*, *ċǣ* become *ċīe*, *ċie*, *ċēa* resp., *ċea*, *cēa* being liable to mutation into *ċie*, *ċīe* resp. Medial Gmc *k* became *ċ* before *i* and *j*, as in *sǣċan*=Goth. *sōkjan*. This *ċ* (which often becomes final in OE through dropping of a vowel, as in the imper. *sǣċ*) is, of course, always preceded by a mutated vowel. In the early texts, especially in eWS, it is often denoted by a following *i* or *e*: *birciæ* (Ep.), *gescincio* (Cp), *lēceas* (Ep.), *recceo* (Cp). eWS generally has *e*: *sēcean* (and *secan*), *recc*(*e*)*an*, but also *i*, especially before *u*: *ēcium*. In lNorth. and lMerc. (Du. and Ru.) there is no trace of these *e*s and *i*s, and they are rare in lWS. But while lAngl. writes only *ðenca*, *þencan* etc, there are instances of *þencean* etc even in quite late WS texts, such as the Gospels. Taken in connection with the ME evidence (741) the lAngl. spellings seem to point to a return to the back *c* in *sēcan*, *þencan* etc. The spellings *ēkan*, *besenked* in Ru. seem, indeed, to be decisive on this point (538). The return to *c* may have begun before back vowels, as in the infin. *sǣċan*. The absence of intrusive *e*, *i* in VP may be simply due to that striving for brevity which is characteristic of this text, being shown, for instance, in its regular omission of final cons. doubling (409) and its want of accents.

536. There was a similar return to back *c* and *g* in Angl. before *al*+cons., as in *cāld*, *galle*=WS *ċeald*, *ġealle*.

537. The evidence of ME shows that *c* was fronted in the combination *sc* before all vowels, the foreward *s* evidently drawing the *c* forwards. The *c* of *sc* follows, of course, the same laws as simple *c* before AFrisian *æ* etc, as in WS *sceal*= VP *scel*, and in these cases the *e* is always written. But *sce* is also written before originally back vowels, although here it is often omitted, especially in the earliest texts. Thus WS and Du., Ru. write *sceadan* for the earlier *giscād* (Ep.), *scādan* (VP), eWS and Ru. frequently omitting, lWS and Du. generally keeping the *e*. In lWS *sco*, *scō* generally take the *e*: *sceolde*, *sceort*, *sceōc*, while *scu*, *scū* are generally written *sceo*, *sceō*, less often *sceu*, *sceū*, and occasionally simple *scu*: *scucca*, *sceucca*, *sceocca* (ÆfcH), *scūfan*, *sceufan*, *sceofan*. The *e* was no doubt fully pronounced in *sceal* etc. Indeed, if this word had not been pronounced with a full diphthong, there would be no reason for its lWS form *sceall*, evidently due to the analogy of *eall*, *weall* etc and the rareness of *-eal*. The frequent omission of the *e* in the other class of words (*sceādan* etc) seems to show that it was a mere diacritic in eWS. But the lWS change of *eu* into *eo* makes it probable that it had developed into the first element of a diphthong with the stress on the first element, which, in the case of *eā*, took the length from the second element. There is ME evidence that *scēadan* from *scādan* had the same diphthong as *brēad* etc.

538. In the oldest texts, and occasionally also in Ru., *cw* is expressed by the Latin *qu*: *quidu*, *quoen*. More important is the occasional use of *k* to denote the back *c*, as opposed to the front *ċ*, which, again, is exceptionally frequent in Ru., and is not uncommon both in early and late WS. Thus Cp has *kæliþ*, *kylle*, LV has *Kænta* (=*Cęnta*), *Kǣna*, *Fronka*, Ru. has *kāsere*, *kyning*, *king*, *ciken* 'chicken,' and *kynn* . *kinn* etc are frequent in WS. *ck* also occurs, as in *Backa* (LV). The distinction may be due to the Runic alphabet, in which the cēn-rune seems originally to have been restricted to *ċ*, the *k*-rune formed from gār (itself originally = back *g*) being used to denote the back *c*. In the actual inscriptions *k* is restricted to the back sound: *krist*, *kyning*, *bekun*, but the more frequent cēn is occasionally used to denote the back as well as the front sound: *bēcn*, *ēac*, *cūþ*.

539. The analogy of *g* (553) and the ME evidence (742) make it tolerably certain that *c* was often fronted after a front vowel, as in *ic*, *sōþlīce*.

540. Final *c* in unstrest syllables often becomes *h* in North. We find *meh* in a Runic inscription, *meh*, *þeh*, *ūsih* in lNorth., together with *ih*, which is also written enclitically *ig*, as in *sægdig* = *sægde ic*. This *ig* seems to be simply another way of expressing the same sound, for we find *-ih* written for unstressed *-ig* in lNorth. *ah* for *ac* occurs also in VP.

g

541. Gmc *g* (including earlier Gmc *ȝ*) splits up into *g* and *ġ* in OE according to the same laws which govern the distribution of *c* and *ċ*. Of the two Runic symbols *gefu* and *gār*, the former probably denoted *ġ*, the latter *g*, but they are not clearly distinguished in the existing inscriptions.

542. Initial *g* became *ġ*=ɷ before *æ*, *i*, *e*, *ea*, *eo*, *ǣ* = Gmc *ǣ*, *ī*, *ē*, *ēa*, *ēo*, and was kept unchanged before *a* (= *ǫ*), *u*, *o*, *ā* = Gmc *ai*, *ū*, *ō*; *ę*, *y*, *œ*, *ǣ* = mut. of *ā*, *ȳ*, *œ̄*. In WS *ġæ*, *ġe*, *ġǣ* become *ġea*, *ġie*, *ġēa* resp., *ġea*, *ġēa* being liable to mutation into *ġie*, *ġīe* resp.

543. Initial Gmc *j* was hardened into the stop ɷ in OE, and was thus confounded with *ġ* both in sound and spelling. It was expressed by simple *g* before front vowels, as in *gif*=Goth. *jabai*, *Gessus* (Runic inscr.) = *Jesus*, Anglian *gēr* = Goth. *jēr*. Gmc *jǣ* becomes *gēa* in WS, as in *gēar*. Before back vowels it is often expressed by *gi* in the older texts, but generally by *ge*, as in *gioc*, *geoc* = OHG *joh*, *geōmor* = OHG *jāmar* (458), *Giūþēas* 'Jews' in a Runic inscr. = the usual half-Latinized *Judeas*. *giung* (Du. Rit.) = Goth. *jugg*. In WS *geu* becomes *geo* (cp *sceocca* from *sceucca* 537), as in *geong*, *geogoþ*. VP generally writes simple *g* in *gung*, *guguþ*. The Latin *i* is not unfrequent, especially in Ru.: *iung* (also in VP), *ioc* (also in Kt ch). In eWS we find the forms *iung*, *giung*, *giong*, *geong*, the last becoming general in lWS. Such spellings as *iung*, *iu* in lWS seem due to Kt or Mercian influence. The spellings *gung* and *iung* show that in the nonWS dialects *ġ* from *j* had no more diphthonging influence than *ġ* from Gmc *g*, while the WS change of **geung* into *geong* shows as clearly the development of a full diphthong with the stress on the first element.

544. Even *ġ* = Gmc *g* is sometimes written *i*. Thus Cp has *ieces* = *gēaces*, and Ru. has regularly *iarwan* = *gearwian* and *ierd*

= *gęrd*, WS *gierd*. Even in foreign words we find *Iorius* = *Georgius* (OET).

545. In the poetry the two *ġ*s alliterate freely not only with one another but also with *g*, thus *geong* alliterates with *giedd*, *Gēat* and with *gold*.

546. This last fact is generally cited as a proof of initial *g* and *ġ* being open conss. in OE, as in MnDutch, where *geven* and *god* are both pronounced with ϵ or c. It is assumed that such a word as *god* in OE had initial ϵ, while *geong*, *gefan* had initial ɷ, so that instead of Gmc *j* being hardened into a stop, it was Gmc *g* before front vowels that was levelled under *j*.

547. Plausible as this theory seems, there are fatal objections to it. The WS change of *ċe* into *ċie* is the result of the almost inevitable development of an open front glide, which we may roughly call *j*, between the stopped front cons. and the vowel, and if we assume that in *ġe* the *ġ* was also a stopped cons., the change into *ġie* is perfectly analogous and intelligible, while that of **je* into **jje* is unmeaning. The same argument applies equally to *ġ* from Gmc *j*: if *giung* meant simply *jung*, the development of a *j*-glide would be as unintelligible as that of a *w*-glide in such a word as *willa*, the open *j* and *w* being themselves practically glides. Again, LV writes *Ēadgar*, *Aldgisl* etc, but if the *g* were really an open cons., we should expect to find the preceding *d*s become *t* (524), which is not the case. Another argument in favour of the change of *j* into a stop is the loss of the Runic *j* and the use of *gefu*—which must certainly have originally denoted a stop—to represent both Gmc *j* and the OE fronted Gmc *g*. The use of *i* in *iung* to denote a stop is in complete harmony with the Late Lt pronunciation, in which, as the Romance languages show, *j* must have become a stop (88).

548. In ME all initial *ġ*s became *j* (745). The alliteration proves that in OKt this pronunciation was already established, not only in *jung* but also in **jorne* = *georne*, etc (443), so that two such words as *geald* and *eald* were both pronounced *jald*, whence the not unfrequent confusion between *ea*- and *gea*- in some late mss: *earwe* for *gearwe*, *gearfoþe* for *earfoþe*. This *j*-sound was, of course, as naturally expressed by *i* as the older *ġ* was, and it is probable that the *iarwan* of Ru. really means *jarwan*, with absorption of the *e*.

549. The same weakening seems to have been carried out much earlier and in all the dialects in unstrest syllables. The prefix *ge-* (older *gi-*) and the pronoun *gē* never insert an *i* in WS, as they would if the cons. had been a stop; *gie* in Du. may be an emphatic form of *gē*. *ge-* is written *ie-* twice in old mss. *i* for *g* in the second element of eKt names such as *Æþiliærd* = *Æþelgeard* may also represent weak *j*.

550. Uninitial *g* was a stop in the combination *ng*, as proved by the final change into *nc* (533). *ng* was, therefore, ɜɑ, as in MnE *longer*, after unmutated vowels, as in *singan*, *lang*. When preceded by a mutation—that is, when followed in Gmc by *i* or *j*—it had the sound ʟɑ, as in *sęnġan* 'singe' from Gmc **sangjan*, *lęnġ*.

551. Uninitial *g* was also a stop when doubled = Gmc *gj*. This doubling is written *gg* in Ep. and occasionally in later texts, but the usual spelling is *cg*, thus Ep. has *earwigga*, *mygg* = later *earwicga*, *mycg*. *cgg*, *gc*, *gcg* are occasional variants. Shortening of final *cg* into *c* or *g* is very rare. As this group must necessarily be always front (*lęcgan* = *lęġġan*, Goth. *lagjan*), it is probable that the *c* was introduced in order to indicate this front quality, there being no special letter for *ġ*. This is confirmed by the frequent use of *gg* in the few (probably foreign) words in which the doubling occurs after unmutated vowels, and therefore expresses *gg*, not *ġġ*, as in *frogga* 'frog,' *clugge* 'bell,' which last is certainly Celtic. It is also possible that the combination *cg* was meant to symbolize a half-voiced or whispered *gg*, for we find *stypbum* for *stybbum* once (OET).

552. Elsewhere uninitial *g* was an open back or front cons. (є, ɷ), the open *ġ* occurring under the same circumstances as *ċ* (535), and like it, being expressed by *g*, *gi* and *ge*. The openness of the *g* is shown by ME and the evidence of the OE sound-changes and spellings, which will be treated of further on, and is made a-priori probable by the fact of a similar change having taken place in all the MnGmc languages except Upper Gm (330). Open *g* occurred not only after vowels, but also after the vowellikes *r*, *l*, as in *beorgan*, *fylġan*.

553. Open *g* is, of course, always front before Gmc *i*, *j*, as in *mẹniġo* = Goth. *managei*, *fylġan* from **fulgjan*, being often expressed by *gi*, *ge* in the same texts which write *ci*, *ce* for *ċ*: *hẹrgiung* (Cp), *mẹnigeo*, *fylgean*. By a later change open *g* became front after front vowels when final or followed by another front vowel, as in *dæġ*, *weġ*, gen. *dæġes*, *weġes*, *grǣġ*. So also after the Anglian smoothings of the WS diphthongs as in *ēġe* = WS *ēage*. In Kt, indeed, this *ġ* is frequently written *i*. Already in Ep. we find *grēi* etc, and *dei* is frequent in the later Kt. The North. LV has *Meiuald* once = WS *Mǣgweald*. These spellings do not occur in WS, but in lWS such spellings as *dæig* are not uncommon. They may be regarded either as showing the development of a glide—ϖɩɾɷ, or as compromises between the traditional *dæg* and the phonetic **dæi*. The latter view is the most probable: there is every reason to believe that the Kt spellings represent the general OE pronunciation, and that *ġ* preceded by a front vowel had sunk to a diphthongic vowel, or, at any rate, had lost all consonantal buzz. If it had preserved any consonantal quality, it would have followed the analogy of final open *g* (554), and become ᴖ, and would have been preserved as a hiss cons. in ME—neither of which is the case. The use of *ig* to denote *ī* (376) shows, too, that even in eWS medial and final *g* had been completely vowelized—after *i* at least. When final *ġ* had once been weakened into a vowel, its parallelism with *ċ* was lost; hence it did not revert to the back quality in Anglian, as was apparently the case with uninitial *ċ* (535). There is, however, ME evidence of such a reversion in the case of medial *ġ* (750). Open *g* preceded by a front vowel and followed by a final vowellike is always front, apparently even when a back vowel is added in inflection, as in *segl*, *regn*, generally written *segel*, *regen* later.

554. Open *g* is necessarily back finally or medially after a back vowel, as in *trog*, *genōg*, *boga*, *ġebogen*, also when *r*, *l* come between, as in *burg*, *gealga*. In lWS and lKt final open *g* is written *h*, showing loss of voice: *troh*, *genōh*, *burh*. The spellings *gh*, *hg* occur occasionally for final open *g*, as in *slogh*, *astahg* (*gh* already in Cp), the latter even for medial open *g*, especially after *r*, as in *burhga* pl, *beorhgan*. *hg* is also used for *g* between front vowels, as in *wīhgena* gen. pl, *gewehgene*, though not for *ġ* preceded by a mutation. Some late mss occasionally write simple *h*, as in eME. Open *g* seems also to have been back after a front vowel if followed by a back one, as in *nigon*, *plega*, unless, of course, the preceding vowel is a mutation as in *wrēġ(e)an* 'accuse' from **wrōgjan*. So also *g* was apparently back in such words as *belgan*, where a vowellike comes between.

555. Open *g* and *ġ* are unvoiced and written *h* in the later language before voiceless conss. and buzzes, which latter are themselves unvoiced (524): *stīhst*, *stīhþ* from *stīgan*.

556. *g*, *ġ* after front vowels are dropped before the voiced conss. *þ*, *n*, *d* in lWS, as in *tīþian*, *rīnan*, *sǣde*, *lę̄de* = older *tigþian*, *riġnan*, *sæġde*, *lęġde*. VP has *rīnan*, where the contraction of (ij) into *ī* was almost inevitable, but otherwise the non-WS dialects keep the *g*, even lKt having *meiden* (= **mæiden*) = lWS *mǣden*, eWS *mæġden*. The lWS contraction after back vowel, as in *brōden* from *brogden*, seems to be due to the analogy of the present *brēdan* from *bregdan*. *ġ* is often dropped in the combination *-iġ*, as in *stīweard* from *stigweard*, *ǣni*, *ǣnie*, and medial *ige* often becomes *ī*, especially in later WS, as in *līþ* = older *ligeþ* 'lies.'

p, b.

557. *b* occurs only initially, and uninitially in the combination *mb*, as in *lamb* (cp *ng*) and doubled, *bb* = Gmc *bj*, *fj*, as in *wębb* from **wabja* Sk *vabh-*), *hębban* = Goth. *hafjan* through **hęfjan*.

For *b* as a graphic substitute for *f* see 515.

SCANDINAVIAN.

558. The Scandinavian (Scand.) languages fall into two main groups:

(1) East-Scandinavian (EScand.), comprising Swedish (Sw) and Danish (Dan.).

(2) West-Scandinavian (WScand.), comprising Norwegian and Icelandic.

These languages are best represented by the OIcel. of the 13th century, which, with some exceptions, practically represents the parent Scand.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

559. The Icel. alphabet was the Latin, as learnt from the English. It included, therefore, *þ* and the less frequent *ð*. It added the new letter *ǫ*, formed on the analogy of *ę*, for which *æ* was also written. Length was marked by the British (´).

VOWELS.

560.	a, ǫ	i	e	u	o
	ei, ǫu (au)		ja, jǫ		
	ę, ǫ̈; ǫ̈y (ey)			y	ö
	ā, ǭ (ā)	ī	ē	ū	ō
			jō, jū		
	ǣ			ȳ	œ̄.

561. Of these sounds *ei* (=*ęi*) corresponds to Gmc *ai*, as in *stein* 'stone,' and *jō*, *jū* to Gmc *eu*, as in *kjōsa* 'choose,' *sjūk* 'sick,' *ǫu* (which in Icel. is diverged into *au*) to Gmc *au*, as in *dǫuþ* 'dead,' *ā* to Gmc *ǣ*, as in *rāþ* 'advice,'=OE *stān*, *cēosan*, *sēoc*, *dēad*, *rǣd* (nonWS *rēd*).

562. *e* followed by older *a* becomes *ja*, when followed by older *u*, *v* it becomes *jǫ*, through **ea*, **eǫ* (**ia*, **iǫ*) by stress-shifting as in Kt (443) and hardening of the first element to a cons.: *gjǫf*, gen. *gjafar*=OE *gefu*, *gefe*.

563. The i-mutations are nearly the same as in OE:

a (ǫ)...ę: *mann* 'man,' pl *męnn.*
e (ja, jǫ)...i: *skjǫld* (=**skeldu*) 'shield,' pl *skildir.*
u (o)...y: *full* 'full,' *fylla* 'fill.'
o...ö: *koma* 'come,' *kömr* 'comes.'
ā...ǣ: *māl* 'speech,' *mǣla* 'speak.'
ū...ȳ: *brūn* 'eyebrow,' pl *brȳnn.*
ō...œ̄: *fōr* 'went,' *fœ̄ra* 'bring.'
ǫu...ǫ̈y: *lǫus* 'loose,' *lǫ̈ysa* 'loosen'=later *laus*, *leysa.*
jū (jō)...ȳ: *sjūk* 'sick,' *sȳki* 'sickness.'

i-mutation is also caused by *r*=Gmc *z* (315), as in *ǫ̈yra* 'ear,' from Gmc **auzō.*

564. There is also a *u*- or *w*-mutation:

a...ǫ: *hǫnd* 'hand'=Goth. *handu.*
ā...ǭ: *māl* 'speech,' pl *mǭl* (later *māl*).
ę...ǫ̈: *gǫ̈ra* 'do'=OE *gęrwan.*

565. Final stressed vowels were lengthened, as in *þū* 'thou.' Vowels were lengthened before *l* + certain conss., as in *hālf* 'half.' Consonant length was strictly observed even after long vowels and diphthongs, as in *þrǣll* nom. 'serf,' acc. *þrǣl.*

CONSONANTS.

566. The consonants were:—

	BACK	FRONT	POINT	FOREW.	LIP
h	–	–	hr	þ, s	f, hv
	–	–	hl		–
	k	–	t		p
	–	–	hn		–
	g	j	r	þ	f, v
	–	–	l		–
	g	–	d		b
	n(g)	–	n		m

ts was expressed by *z*, as in *bęzt*=OE *bętst.*

567. What has been said of the OE *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn* applies also to the corresponding Icel. sounds in such words as *hring*, *hlaþa* (=OE *hladan*), *hvat*, *hnīga*, which in MnIcel. are pronounced with Ʊɾ, ω, ɔ, ℸ resp. Uninitial Gmc *h* was dropt everywhere, as in *sā*, *dōttir*=OE *geseah*, *dohter*, except that *hs* became *x* (=*ks*), as in *vaxa*=OE *weaxan*. The original Scand. *h* is preserved in ME loanwords such as *slahter*=Icel. *slātr*.

568. Initial Gmc *j* was dropt everywhere, as in *ār*=Goth. *jēr*, the existing initial *j*s (as in *jǫrþ*=OE *eorþe*) being all diphthongic.

569. Initial Gmc *w* was dropt before *o* and *u*, as in *unnin* (=OE *gewunnen*), ptc of *vinna*, also before *r* and *l*, where it is kept in Norw. and EScand.: *(v)reiþ*=OE *wrāþ*, *(v)rang* 'wrong.'

570. *þ* and *f* were voiceless initially and in combinations such as *ft* (often written *pt*, as in *lopt* 'air'), voiced elsewhere, as in *viþ*, *hęfja*=Goth. *hafjan* 'raise.'

571. Uninitial *g* after a vowel or vowellike was open,=є, ɷ as in *saga* 'story,' *borg* 'city,' *sęgir* 'says,' except when doubled, and in the combination *ng*=ɟɵ, as in *lęgg* 'thigh,' *lang* 'long.' Final *g* became *h*, and was dropt, as in *drō*=OE *drōg*, prt of *draga*.

572. So also older *d* and *b* became voiced *þ* and *f* after vowels and vowellikes, as in *rāþ*=OE *rǣd*, *gefa*=OHG *geban*, except when doubled, *dd*, *bb*, and in the combinations *ld*, *nd*, *mb*, as in *halda*.

573. *k* and *g* were front modified (ɑ\, ɵ\) before all front vowels, as in *kęnna* 'know,' *gǫ̈ra*, and before Gmc *j*, which was preserved in writing, though only as a mark of fronting, Gmc *gj* becoming *ggj*, as in *sœkja*=OE *sēċan*, *liggja*=OE *liċġan*.

574. Final voiced stops were unvoiced in such forms as *galt* =OE *geald*, prt of *gjalda*=OE *geldan* 'requite.'

575. There were various cons.-assimilations. *lþ*, *nþ* became *ll*, *nn*, as in *goll* (*gull*) 'gold,' *annar* 'other,'=Goth. *gulþ*, *anþar*. Gmc *zn*, *zd*, *zr* became *nn*, *dd*, *rr*, as in *rann* 'house'=Goth. *razn*, *hodd*=Goth. *huzd*, OE *hord* 'treasure,' *vęrri* 'worse.' *nk*, *nt*, *mp* became *kk*, *tt*, *pp*, as in *drukkin* 'drunk,' *batt* 'bound,' prt of *binda* (through **band*, **bant*), *kappi* 'champion' (cp OE *cęmpa*), the original *nk* etc being often preserved in EScand.

576. *n* was dropt finally in monosyllables and endings, as in *ā*, *ī*=OE *on* (Goth. *ana*), *in*, *finna*=OE *findan* infin.; and before *r*, *l*, *s* and elsewhere, with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in *þōr* 'Thor'=OHG *donar*, OE *þunor*, *gās*=OHG *gans* 'goose.'

INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH.

577. The earliest Scand. invaders of England were mostly Norwegians, who were followed by Danes, all Scandinavians being included under the term 'Dane' in OE. Danish and E. were spoken side by side in England for many centuries without much influence—at least of Danish on E., even the lNorth. texts showing no traces of it. In the 11th cent. Danish words, such as *lagu* 'law' (Icel. *lǫg* pl from **lǫgu*), *ceallian* (Icel. *kalla*) had penetrated even into WS, and in the 13th cent. their number largely increases, not only such words as *gerseme*, *wontreaþe*=Icel. *gǫ̈rsimi* 'treasure,' *vandrǣþi* 'difficulty,' but also grammatical words, such as *bǭþe* 'both'=Icel. *bāþi* (OE *bā*, *bēgen*) being firmly established in the Southern dialect. The Scand. element is, of course, stronger still in the East-Midland Ormulum of the 13th cent. Such words as *summ* 'as,' *bōþe* 'booth' in the Ormulum are distinctly EScand. (Danish) as opposed to WScand. (Icel. *sem*, *būþ*).

578. The Scand. words in OE sometimes preserve *ǫ* in the form of *o*, as in *hold* 'yoeman' from *hǫld*, *hǫlþ* (cognate with OE *hæleþ* 'hero'), where the *o* is partly due to the analogy of the OE adj. *hold* 'faithful.' In other words, such as *lagu*, *ǫ* is unrounded, as in the lWS *mann* etc. Of the diphthongs, *ei* is preserved unchanged, being expressed sometimes by *ei*, but generally by *eg*, *æg*, as in *scegþ*=Icel. *skeiþ* 'war-ship'; and *ǫ̈y* was probably levelled under it. *ou* becomes *ō* (=*ǭ*?), as in *ōra* (a coin)=Icel. *aurar* (pl) from Lt *aureus*. It is remarkable that *o*, *ō* often appear as *u*, *ū* in OE, as in *Urm*, *þūr*=*Orm*, *þōr*, whence our *Thursday*, which cannot be explained from the original OE *þunresdæg*. This change is explained by the present Dan-Sw-Norw. pronunciation of close *o*, both long and short, as }›—a sound between *o* and *u*. This Scand. *o* was afterwards levelled under the E. sound, so that we find *Orm*, *blome* (Icel. *blōmi*) in ME.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SOUNDS.

DIALECTS AND TEXTS.

579. The ME dialects are mainly continuations of the corresponding OE ones, but it is convenient to designate them in some cases by different names. The four main divisions are: *Northern* or Northumbrian (North.), *Midland* (Ml), corresponding to the older Mercian, Southern (Sth), and Kentish (Kt). Sth and Kt are included under the common designation 'Southern English' (SthE). Ml is subdivided into *West-Midland* (WMl) and *East-Midland* (EMl), and these, again, into *North-west-Midland* (NWMl), *South-west-Midland* (SWMl), *North-east-Midland* (NEMl), and *South-east-Midland* (SEMl). A special subdivision of Sth is *South-Western* (SthW). It is to be noted that though Sth represents geographically the old WS it also shows strong Ml influence. This mixture of dialects is still stronger in the later language of Ch.

580. It is impossible to draw any absolutely definite line between ME and OE on the one side and MnE on the other, but, roughly speaking, fully developed ME may be said to extend from 1150 to 1450, the period between 1200 and 1400 being especially well marked and well represented by written documents. The period from 1050 to 1150 may be distinguished as *Old Transition* (OTr), that from 1450 to 1500 as *Middle Transition* (MlTr). The difficulty of drawing a line is increased by the varying speed of change of the different dialects. The most conservative dialects were the Southern, especially Kt, the most rapid in their changes the Northern: the eNorth. dialect of the 13th cent. is, indeed, almost on a level with eMnE. Taking the SthE dialects as the standard we may call everything before 1300 *early Middle English* (eME), everything after 1300 *late Middle English* (lME).

581. If we take SthE as the standard, we may define OE as the period of *full* endings (*mōna*, *sunne*, *sunu*, *stānas*), ME as the period of *levelled* endings (*mōne*, *sunne*, *sune*, *stǭnes*)—weak vowels being reduced to a uniform *e* (=ʅ?)—, MnE as the period of *lost* endings (*moon*, *sun*, *son*).

582. The most important of the OTr texts is the latter part of the Laud ms of the Chronicle (Ld), which was written at Peterborough between 1124 and 1154, and belongs therefore to EMl: it shows a mixture of literary WS and Ml forms. The older ms of Layamon's Brut (Lay.) was written before 1200 in a WMl dialect, and its mixture of OE and ME forms classes it with the OTr texts. Many 12th cent. texts, such as the Hatton ms of the Gospels, Morris's Old-English Homilies (Hom.), show a mixture of OE and ME forms which is the result of copying from OE originals, and only partially modernizing them: such texts do not represent any actual language.

583. The Ormulum (O.), although written probably before 1200, shows a fully developed and well defined ME dialect—probably EMl—preserved in an autograph ms of the author in a rigorously consistent phonetic orthography, which makes it the standard text for ME generally. The other chief eEMl texts are the Bestiary (Best.) and Genesis and Exodus (GE). Havelok (Hv) is, like most of the popular poems, preserved only in mss showing a purely scribal mixture of different dialects and periods, and which cannot, therefore, be quoted to show the dialect of the original, except when the form in question is borne out by the rhymes. eWMl is represented by the second text of Lay (Lay.^{2}). The poems in the Harleian ms 2253 (Harl.), written in Hereford about 1307, may also be considered eWMl. lWMl is represented by Piers Ploughman (PPl), and, in its latest stage, by the poems of Audelay (Aud.), written in Shropshire in 1426, the ms being probably the author's autograph. eNWMl (Lancashire) is represented in the Alliterative Poems (Pearl, Cleanness, Patience) edited by Morris (AllP). The later EMl is well represented by Robert of Brunne's Chronicle (RBC), Brunne being in Lincoln.

584. One of the earliest North. texts is the Metrical Psalter (Ps), but the ms is later. The Cursor Mundi (CM) and Metrical Homilies (MH) are early 13th cent. Then follow the Prick of Conscience (PC). The ms of the Yorkshire Townley

Mysteries (TM) was written about 1450, but the rhymes show an older language.

585. The Sth dialect is represented in its earliest form by the lives of St. Katherine (Kath.), Juliana (Jul.) and some allied pieces, also by the unpublished Cambridge (Corpus) ms of the Ancren Riwle (AR[1]), although this Corpus ms seems to show Ml influence; the forms common to this group of texts may be distinguished as 'earliest Sth.' Pure eSth is best represented by Morton's text of the AR, the more western dialect of Gloucestershire by Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (RG), which, however, belongs almost to lSth.

586. eKt is represented by the Kentish Sermons (KS), lKt by the Ayenbite of Inwyt (Ay.) in a ms of 1340, written by the author himself in a very pure and consistent dialect.

587. The first beginnings of a common literary dialect are seen in the works of Wiclif (Wicl.) and Chaucer (Ch). Wiclif was a native of Yorkshire, Chaucer of London. Chaucer's rhymes show a considerable fluctuation between EMl, Sth, and Kt, but the basis is Ml.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

588. While the linguistic change of OE into ME is so gradual that it is difficult to tell where the one ends and the other begins, the orthographic change is abrupt and complete: it amounts, indeed, to the introduction of a totally new basis —the eNorman Fr orthography, modified, of course, in detail by the traditional British orthography.

589. For some time after the Norman conquest in 1066 the two orthographies continued to be used side by side without influencing one another to any great extent, just as the languages themselves were kept apart. The influence of French language, writing, and orthography had, however, begun to show themselves even before the conquest. The feeble reign of Edward the Confessor was, indeed, in its tame submission to Norman influence, nothing but a preparation for the completer conquest that was to follow. The influence of the French language is shown by the appearance of such words as *sott* 'hebes', *capūn* 'gallinaceus' in early 11th cent. glossaries. The influence of the French handwriting has been described already (222). The influence of Fr orthography is seen in such spellings as *euen* for *efen* in 11th cent. mss.

590. This influence was at first purely Norman. The accession of Henry II of Anjou in 1154 brought in the influence of other dialects, and the loss of Normandy in 1204 paved the way for the influence of literary Parisian orthography both in its earlier and later form.

591. When the popular Latin of Gaul was written down—which was probably not much earlier than the ninth cent.—its sounds were represented by their nearest symbols in the contemporary Latin alphabet. But by this time the tradition of the classical pronunciation—still preserved in the Celtic-English orthography—had been partially lost. The diphthongs *æ* and *œ* had been levelled under simple *e*, and *y* had come to be a mere variant of *i*. So when Lt *ū* was fronted to f in OFr, as in *lune*, the old *u* was kept as the symbol of the new sound. Meanwhile Lt *u* and *ō* had become }ↄ—a sound between (u) and (o)—which was at first written indifferently *u* or *o*, as in *gule*, *gole*, *curt*, *cort* from Lt *gulam*, **cōrtem* (from *cohortem*), the *o* soon becoming general, and thus being confused with the open *o* from Lt *ŏ*, *au*, as in *port*=*portum*, *chose*=*causam*. The eOFr diphthong (ou), as in *douz* (earlier *dolz*) from Lt *dulcem*, was smoothed into (uu) in lParisian, and so *ou* came to be the symbol of (u, uu) instead of the older *u*, *o*, as in *goule*, *court*.

592. In the conss. Lt *c* before front vowels became first Ω and then (tʃ), which was the Picard pronunciation in such a word as *ciel* from Lt *caelum*. In the other dialects this *c* became (ts), and then simple (s), as in the present Fr. *ch* was at first used to denote (k) before front vowels as in Italian: *chi* from *qvī*; but afterwards became the regular symbol for the (tʃ) which in Parisian developed out of *c* followed by *a* (and in other cases), as in *chien* from *canem* through *ΩɩꞁƖ[. Lt *g* was fronted under the same circumstances, and became (dʒ), as in *geste* from *gesta*, which remained through the OFr period, becoming (ʒ) in MnFr. Lt *j* was stopped into Ω, which then became (dʒ) being written *i* or *j*, as in *ja* from Lt *jam*. The combination (kw) was expressed by the Lt *qu*, as in *quel* from *qvālem*, the (w) being soon dropt in pronunciation. So also the (gw) in such a word as *langue* from *lingvam* lost its (w) in lPar. Hence *qu* and *gu* came in lOFr to be regarded as symbols of 'hard' *c* and *g* resp. The new ligature *w* was formed in North Fr to express the Gm (w), as in *warde*, for which the other dialects have (gw); *guarde*, later *garde*. The Lt *v* itself had long ago lost its (w)-sound, and had come to represent that of the voiced sound of *f*. Lt *z* still kept its original value (dz) when initial or medial, becoming (ts) when final, as in *assez*—our *assets*—from Lt *adsatis*; it was not till the lOFr period that these compounds were simplified to (z) and (s). Hence the (z)-sound which Lt *s* took between vowels was expressed by the traditional *s*, as in *rose* from *rosam*. Already in eOFr the earlier (z) before voiced conss. had been dropt with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in *isle* from Lt *īnsulam*. Hence in lOFr *s* is sometimes inserted as a mark of length, as in *pasle* for *pal*(*l*)*e* from Lt *pallidus*.

593. It will be seen that OFr orthography was phonetic on an unphonetic basis (228): it is not till the close of the OFr period that 'etymological' spellings begin to crop up. The only exception is the writing of silent initial Lt *h* in such words as *hum* from *homō*, but as this is only done when a vowel precedes—'the man' being written *lum*—it is probable that the *h* was meant to indicate the hiatus, and was, therefore, partially phonetic.

594. The basis of ME orthography is, as already remarked, French modified by the OE tradition, the OE elements being gradually eliminated more and more. Conversely, however, some of the earliest ME texts show a basis which is still mainly OE, only slightly modified by Fr. This is especially the case with the Midland O. as compared with the Sth texts of the same period.

595. The influence of Fr is most strikingly shown — as far as the vowels are concerned—in the substitution of *u* for OE *y*, *ȳ* in WMl and Sth, as in *sunne*, *fur*=OE *synn*, *fȳr*. The long sound was sometimes written *ui*, as in *huiren* 'hire' (AR)=OE *hȳran*, in lME *uy*, which is frequent in PPl. In

OFr *ui* had generally the value (·yi), as in *fruit*; this diphthong was smoothed to (yy) in the E. pronunciation of Fr, and was consequently employed to represent that sound. The use of *o* for short (u) is later than that of *u* for (y). It does not occur in AR, and does not become general till the end of the 13th cent. Remarkably enough, there are several instances of it in Lay.: *wonede*, *icomene*, *wode*. It is fully established in Lay.[2]. The tendency is to write *o* for *u* in proximity with letters that resemble *u* in shape, especially *u* (=*v*), *n*, *m*, *w*. Initial *u* was, however, often written *v*, which was freely associated with *n* etc, as in *vnder*. *o* in lME is also generally written instead of *u* when followed by a single cons. and a vowel, as in *bote* 'but', *corāğe* 'courage', for, as Fr. (y) was much more frequent than the (o)-sounds in this position, *bute* would have suggested (byytə). The use of lParisian *ou* to express (uu), as in *hous*=OE *hūs*, became general in lME. This *ou* also occurs in Lay., as in *out* (*vt* in the second text), *wiðouten*, *couþe*, where it cannot be of Parisian origin. But the eFr diphthongal *ou* had in many cases the sound of }›ɨ, which is so near (uu) as to make its symbol a very natural one for the latter sound. The desire to get a new symbol for (uu) would, of course, assert itself as soon as *u* had become general in the value of (yy)—that is, from the very beginning of ME.

596. The OE *y* was, as we have seen, completely superseded by *u* in the South. In OTrMl (and probably in North.) it was unrounded into *i*. Ld still preserves the old *y* in *byrien*, *mynster*, but these words are also spelt with *i*; we also find in Ld such spellings as *sinnes*, *fir*=OE *synna*, *fȳr*. *y* is rarely written for *i* in Ld, oftener for *ī*, as in *scyr* adj. and sbst, *tyma*; probably *y* was regarded as a ligature of *i* and *j*. In O. *y* disappears as completely as in the South, except in foreign words. In lME *y* was revived as a variant of *i* in proximity with *n*, *m*, *u*, *w*, in order to avoid confusions of form, as in *bynāen*, *wyues* (=*wīves*), which confusions were often avoided by writing initial *i* as a capital: *Inne* =*ynne*. In Ch there is a tendency to write *y* for *ī*, as in Ld.

597. OE *æ* was kept in O., but was necessarily confined to the long sound, the short *æ*s having become *a*. In the South Fr influence caused its disuse. Here the OE *æ* was expressed by *e*, as in *efter*=OE *æfter*. As OE *ēa* was smoothed to ʅ• in ME, *ea* was used as the symbol of the latter sound both when it corresponded to OE *ēa*, as in *deaþ*, and when it corresponded to OE *ǣ*, as in *learen*=OE *lǣran* (*dæþ*, *lærenn* in O.). Even in eME *e* is frequently written for the open as well as the close sound, and in lME such spellings as *deþ*, *leren* become universal. In lME the close *ē* is sometimes written *ie*, *ye*, both in Fr words, such as *meschief*, and in E., as in *lief* (Ch)=OE *lēof*. This spelling is the result of the Anglo-French smoothing of OFr *ie* (i·ee) into (ee).

598. A distinction between close and open long *o* is only exceptionally made in eME (as in the AR) by writing the latter *oa* in such words as *moare* from OE *māre*, the *oa* being a natural compromise between the older *a* (still preserved in the earliest Sth) and the later *o*.

599. It will be observed that the digraphs *ea*, *ie*, *oa*, *ou*, *ui* are strictly confined to *long* vowels, except in some of the earliest texts.

600. The OE *þ* and *ð* are both preserved in Lay.—where *þ* is generally written initially, *ð* non-initially, as in lWS—and in AR, where they are distributed more at random. The EMl Best. and GE are remarkable for writing ð everywhere, while O., which belongs to the same dialect, has only *þ*. *þ* entirely supersedes *ð* in lME, being itself gradually supplanted by *th*—probably brought in by Fr scribes who occasionally employed it in learned Latin words. Isolated *th*s in native E. words occur very early—even in the OE period—and the transposed *ht* occurs in Harl. (*teht*=OE *tēþ*), and frequently in MH (*wiht* prp), and elsewhere. Other combinations occur: *dh* (KS), *ðh* (GE), *hð* (GE), *dþ*, *dð*. It may be noted that *þ* has survived almost to the present day in the contraction $þ^{e}$=*þe*.

601. The OE rune-*w*, which is still used in O. and AR, was soon superseded by the Fr ligature. The pronunciation of OE *ow* etc as *ou* led in lME to the general use of *w* as well as *u* as the second element of graphic as well as phonetic diphthongs, as in *how*=OE *hū*. Conversely, *w* was sometimes used as an abbreviation of *wu*, as in *wde*. *w* after a cons. was often written *u*: *suerd*, *huo* (Ay.).

602. In O. *f* is still used for intervocalic (v), as in *lufenn* = OE *lufian*, and this usage was more or less kept up in North. to the end of the lME period, even TM showing instances of it. But O. has in a Fr word *servenn* once instead of his usual *serfenn*. Medial *v* is regular in AR, as in *heovene*, and is very frequent initially, as in *vorþ* by the side of *forþ*. *f* is always preserved finally, as in *līf*, to prevent confusion with the vowel *u*: **liu*, for instance, would suggest a diphthong. For the same reason *f* is written before voiced conss., as in *hefde* = OE *hæfde*. *ph* is only found occasionally in learned words taken from OFr.

603. *s* is generally written for the voiced as well as the breath sound. *ss* is sometimes written *sc*, which had the sound of (ss) or (s) in OFr: thus AR has *lescun* 'lesson,' *blescen* 'bless,' and GE and CM have *blisced* 'blessed.' The lOFr *z* is used pretty regularly in the Ay. for voiced *s*, as in *zigge*, *aze*. Elsewhere it is rare in E. words. Thus Ch has *Pize*: *rise*, such spellings as *wezele* being exceptional. In eME *z* has the older value (ts) in Fr words, especially in the combination *nz*, such spellings as the plurals *beȝȝzannz* (O.), *vestimenz* (AR) lasting down to Ch.

604. The general disuse of the OE *c* before *e* and *i* is the result of its double pronunciation in Fr. O. always writes *k* before *e* and *i*, often also before *a*, but alternating here with *c*, which is always written before *o*, *u* and conss.: *kepenn*, *king*, *kare*, *care*, *corn*, *cumenn*, *claþ*, *cwen*. The usage in AR is the same, except that it writes *k* freely before *o*, *u*, and conss. except *w*: *ku*, *cunnen*, *kniht*, *cwēne*. In eME *c* has its eOFr value of (ts): OE *miltse* appears in Ld as *milce*, in O. as *millce*. *tc* has the same value in some eME spellings of OE *bletsian*: Ld has *bletcæd*, O. *blettcedd* by the side of *blettsedd*. AR has the half-etymological spelling *seldcene* = OE *seldsēne* (524), where the other text has the phonetic *seltsene*. It is not till lME that we find *c* by itself used for (s) in E. words, as in *alce* 'also' (AllP), *wace* 'was': *face* (AllP). *qu* for *cw* is rare in AR, but soon becomes general.

605. The OE *c*=*ċ* is still kept in Ld, and is even used for the Fr *ch*, as in *Ricard*. *ch*=OE *ċ* is rare in Ld, being used only as a variant of uninitial *h* (606), but it is fully established in O. Its doubling is *cch* throughout ME, the first *c* being, however, occasionally dropped. Ay. has also *chch*, as in *wychche* by the side of *wyche*, usually *wicche*.

606. *h*=c, ᴖ is kept in eME: thus O. has *heh*, *þurrh*, *nihht*. *ch* occurs occasionally, as in *Burch* (Ld), *þurch*, *almichti* (KS), *unricht* (CM); it was no doubt disused to avoid confusion with the Fr *ch*. But scribes used to the Fr spelling evidently felt that *h* was not a suitable sign for so strong a cons. GE writes *g*, as in *ðog*, *rigt*, and occasionally *c* before *t*, as in *brocte*. Hv writes *cth* for *ht*, as in *ricth*. Other mss write *ȝ*, which is common in lME: thus Wicl. has *hiȝ*, *nouȝt*. North. has *h*, *ȝ* in the earlier texts, *gh* in the later: thus CM has *noȝt* (*noght*). This *gh* gradually spread south, and is fully established in Ch.

607. For OE *sċ*, which is kept in Ld, *sch* is written in eSth, as in *scheome*, *schrift* (AR), of which the *sh* of O. (occurring occasionally in eSth also), as in *shame*, *shriffte*, is probably an abbreviation. Ay. writes regularly *ss*, as in *ssrīve*, *vless*. This *ss* is probably an abbreviation of the *ssc* of KS, in which the doubling of the *s* is probably meant to indicate that the *sc* stands for a simple sound. KS has the various spellings *flesce*, *flessce*, *ssipe*, *srifte*. *s*=*sh* occurs also in the later text of Lay., and elsewhere. Rarer spellings are *shc* and *ch*, which latter occurs in ON (*chadde* prt) and often in Aud. by the side of *sch*, as in *chame*, *schamyd*. lME varies between *sch* and *sh*. The doubling of *sh* is written *ssh* in O. as in *ennglissh*, *schs*, *shs*, *ssh* in AR.

608. In ME the difference in form between the English *ȝ* and French *g* was utilized phonetically, the former being assigned to the open sounds є, ɷ, the latter to the stop ɑ and to the French soft *g* and the ME development of OE *ġ* in *cġ*, *nġ*, which had nearly, if not quite, the same sound (737). Orm uses *ȝ* for open *ġ*, as in *ȝung*, *maniȝ*, *ȝh* for open *g*, as in *follȝhenn*—where the earliest Sth has *h*, as in *folhen*—*g* for the stop, as in *god*=OE *gōd*. The initial soft *g* in Fr words is sometimes written *g*, but oftener *j* in the AR, as in *gugement*, *juggen*. *gg* is ambiguous in ME, as it may be either OE or Scand. *gg* (*bagge*) or *ċġ* (Sth *seggen*). In Ld initial *ġ* is often written *i*, as in *iæf* by the side of *geaf*. This spelling was no doubt given up in order to avoid confusion with the Fr *j*. Best. and GE are remarkable for their general use of *g* to the exclusion of *ȝ*, as in *ging*, *gung* 'young.' The oldest text of CM has *gi* = ɷ, as in *giet* 'yet,' *gieme* = OE *gēman*, the later North. texts writing *yh* (PC) and *y*: *yhit*, *yit*. lME varies between *ȝ* and *y*: *ȝong*, *yong*. This ME consonantal *y* is probably due to the lOFr writing of *y* initially instead of *i*, *y* being as rarely used in eOFr as in eME. It is also possible that the consonantal use of *y* may have been suggested by the lOE spellings *yorþe* etc (434), where the *y* practically denoted (j). The use of *gu* to express hard *g*, both in Fr words, such as *guard*, and E., such as *guest*, *guilt*, is due to later OFr, in which the older (w) in *langue*, *guarde* had become silent. This older pronunciation was never introduced into England, because most of the *gu*-words were pronounced with *w* (*warde* etc) in ONorman.

METRE AND STRESS.

609. The earliest ME verse, as seen in Lay.[1], is a continuation of a metrical revolution which began in the OE period, and went hand-in-hand with the decay of the old laws of alliteration and the gradual development of rhyme. Layamon's four-stress metre agrees with the old alliterative metre in the freedom with which unstrest syllables are omitted or added between the stresses and before the first stress, and in being based on a compromise between the natural stresses and syllable-quantities of the language; but while in the old metre the natural stress is the leading element, to which the quantity is always subordinated, the contrary is often the case in the ME four-stress metre, in which syllables that are quite stressless in ordinary speech can in verse take the full stress required by the metre. While a dissyllable like *sune*, with the stress-syllable short, has only the metrical value of a monosyllable, as in the old metre, a similar word with the first syllable long, such as *sunne*, is allowed to take a metrical stress on each syllable, as is shown not only by the structure of the verse, but also by rhymes such as *wes* (=*wæs*): *londes*. In such cases as these—which are especially frequent at the end of the line—the long syllable took an extra prolongation, so as to fill up part of the time of the following one. The following are types of this metre as employed by Lay.:

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[1] M. Trautmann: Ueber den vers Laȝamon's (Anglia, ii. 153).

þa ·cōm him ·tō an ·hende ·cniht.
bī ·us hē ·sende ·wōrd ·þē.
·Arþur ·is þe ·kenneste[1] ·mon.
·ofte ·wes þe ·drake ·buven.
mid ·seolvre ·and mid ·gōl·de.
·þeines ·wunder ·blī·þe.

This metre is identical with the OHG one of Otfried, which was based on the late Latin hymn metres.

610. The first to employ a strictly syllabic metre was Orm. His metre consists of pairs of half-verses, the first having eight, the second seven syllables with a regular alternation of strong and weak stress, the first half-verse beginning with a weak and ending with a strong stress, the second beginning and ending with a weak stress, the last syllable but one of the second half-verse being always long:

annd ·brōþerr ·mīn ī ·Godess ·hūs
ʒēt ·ō þe ·þrid[d]e ·wīse.

Such a word as *faderr* never occurs at the end of a line in O.

611. This metre was probably originally simply a doubling of the older four-stress line, the regular alternation of weak and strong stress afterwards depriving the last syllable of the second half-verse of its metrical stress.

612. As in the later poetry, weak final *e* is elided before a vowel or *h*, as in *forr lufe off Crīst*.

613. In the interior of a verse naturally weak syllables often take the metrical stress, in order to secure the regular alternation of strong and weak stress, as in

aff·terr þe ·flǣshess ·kīnde.

614. In lME the lengthening of the vowels in such words as *nāme*=OE *nama* led to the abandonment of the earlier quantitative restrictions. But Chaucer still retains part of Orm's freedom of stress. He throws forward the stress to any naturally unstrest syllable containing a full vowel, as in *māk·yng*, *bod·ȳ*, *whīl·om*, and, of course, on to the half-strest second element of a compound, as *brim·stǭn*. But he never throws the stress on to the weak *e* of such words as *after*, *nāme*. Throwing back of the stress, as in *·uncouþ* for the usual *un·couþ* is, on the other hand, rare.

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[1] =kēneste.

615. Chaucer's metre seems to show that the nominal prefixes *al-*, *mis-*, *un-*, which took the stress in OE, had now thrown it forward, as in *al·mighty*, *mis·deed*, *un·reste*, *un·kȳnde*. *bī-* still keeps its stress in *bīword*, but elsewhere it loses its stress, probably by analogy of the stressless *be-* in *beginnen* etc, as in *bi·hęęste*. The old separable compound verbs also throw their stress forward by the analogy of the inseparable *for·given* etc, as in *up·rīse*, *out·rīde*.

QUANTITY.

Besides the indirect evidence of the metre and the laws of sound-change, ME quantity is in many cases determined by the direct evidence of the spelling.

616. The most thoroughgoing attempt to mark the quantity consistently is that of O. In this text every consonant that is final or followed by another cons. is doubled after a short vowel, as in *þatt*, *crisstenndōm*, *inn*=OE *inn*, *in*. This shows that the OE distinction between *in* and *inn* must have been lost in pronunciation as well as in writing, so that all final conss. were lengthened after a short vowel, as in MnE. Such spellings as *ic amm*, *scipp*=*eom*, *scip* occur already in Du., and many examples might be quoted from later texts. Ld has *namm* prt, *iett* 'yet' etc; *godd* occurs in Lay., Jul., GE, CM. The opposite tendency is to shorten long conss. after a long vowel; and so double final conss. came to be associated with preceding short vowels, and single conss. with long ones in writing as well as in speech. There are isolated traces in OE of Orm's doubling of a cons. before another cons. in such spellings as *follce*, *illce* (Smith's Bede), where, however, the doubling may really indicate cons. length. In *effter* (Jul., Ay.) the doubling of the *f* may mean voicelessness. That Orm's doubling did not mean cons. length, but had been reduced to an abstract symbolization of vowel-length, as in MnE and Gm, is clear from his extension of it to unstrest syllables, as in *brōþerr*, for already in OE double conss. are shortened after an unstrest vowel, whether long or short (409), additional ME examples being afforded by such spellings as *leofmones* 'lemman's' = OE *lēofmannes, meinfule* = OE *mægenfulla* in Jul., *sunfule* = *synnfulle* in AR. Where the cons. is followed by a vowel, as in *sune* = OE *sunu*, it was not possible to double the cons., because it would then have been pronounced double, and *sune* would have been confounded with *sunne* 'sun.' That *sunne* was really pronounced with long or double *n* is proved by the metre, which allows *sunne* to come at the end of the verse, and rigorously excludes *sune* from that position.

617. Here, then, Orm's clumsy spelling breaks down completely, and he feels this himself, for he often marks the shortness of the vowel in such words as *sune* with a (˘), as in *tăkenn*, *năme*, *chĕle* = OIcel. *taka*, OE *nama*, *cęle*. Often, too, he marks length with the old accent, as in *láre* = OE *lár*, which he often doubles, or even trebles, especially before *t*, as in *út*.

618. The old accent is rare elsewhere in eME. It occurs, for instance, in the Proverbs of Alfred (Oxford ms), as in *iléred*, *démen*, *séé*. KS has *hóót* = *hātep*, and the anomalous *ueréé* = OE *fȳre* dat.

619. The OE doubling of long vowels occurs sporadically in eME, and becomes very common in lME, first in North. and then in Sth, being strongly developed in Wicl. and Ch. The doubling is carried out most regularly in monosyllables such as *stoon*, *deed* = OE *stān*, *dǣd*, *dēad*, but also medially, as in *keene*, *oother*. Doubling before cons.-groups is frequent, as in *boord*, *foond* = OE *bord*, *fand*. *i* and *u* are hardly ever doubled in lME, to avoid graphic confusion.

Quantity is also indicated by the use of the digraphs *ea* etc (599).

620. Orm's doubling of final conss. is found in other ME texts as well, but only occasionally, single final consonants being the rule, as in *al*, *man* = OE *eall*, *mann*.

621. In eME short vowels, as we have already seen (616), retained their original quantity before single conss., the cons. being lengthened finally in a stressed syllable, OE *nama*, *in*, *inn* appearing in eME as *name*, *in*(*n*), *in*(*n*), the OE double conss. before vowels being kept, as in *sunne*.

622. In lME short vowels before single conss. followed by a vowel were lengthened ('new-longs'), *name* becoming *nāme*, the combination short vowel + double cons. being kept, as in *sunne*, which even in Ch is not allowed to rhyme on *sone* = OE *sunu*. The lengthening in *name* etc is proved not only by the evidence of MnE, but also by doublings, as in *byfoore*, and rhymes such as *hope* : *grope* = OE *hopian*, *grāpian*.

623. The high vowels *i* (and OE *y*), *u* are never lengthened: *writen* ptc, *dide*, *sune* = OE *writen*, *dyde*, *sunu*, except, of course, where they had been lowered before the lME period, as in *evel* = OE *yfel*.

624. Short vowels in final stressed syllables (which were generally monosyllables) could not be lengthened, because the following cons. had been already lengthened in eME: *smal*, *paþ*, *staf*, *swan*, *blak*, *sad*, *glad*, *sap*, *troh*, *god* = OE *smæl*, *pæþ*, *stæf*, *swan*, *blæc*, *sæd*, *glæd*, *sæp*, *trog*, *god*. So also the preterites *ȝaf*, *spak*, *brak*, *sat*, *bad* kept their vowels short, as proved by such rhymes as *yaf* : *staf* in Ch, the MnE *gave*, *spake*, *brake* being due to the analogy of the long vowels of the infinitive, whence also *gave* got its *v*; *sat* has kept its vowel short because the infin. is *sitten* with a short vowel.

625. Apparent exceptions to these laws are mainly due to the ME form being taken not from the OE base, but from some oblique case or derivative. Thus the short vowels in *narwe*, *falwe*, *ȝelwe* point to the OE inflected *nearw*(*e*), *fealw*-, *geolw*-. OE *ealu* has gen. *aloþ*, not **ealwes*, and hence its vowel is regularly lengthened in ME : *ale*. *bale* and *mele* from OE *bealu*, *melu*, gen. *bealwes*, *melwes* are exceptions; probably these words were but seldom used in an inflected form.

626. Many OE neuters with short root-syllable take a final *e* in ME, thus OE *gebed* 'prayer' appears in O. as *bĕde* = MnE *bead*, the OE pl *gebedu* being apparently taken for a masc. or fem. sg like *medu* 'mead,' *caru*. Hence the long vowels in the lME *dale*, *ȝate* (*gate*), *blade*, *bede*, *hole*, *cole*=the OE neuters *dæl*, *gæt*, *blæd*, *gebed*, *hol*, *col*. *hol* and *col* also occur, and O. has *ȝocc* against MnE *yoke*=OE *ȝeoc*. Many neuters have only the short forms: *baþ*, *glas*, *chaf*, *blak*, *fat* (*vat*), *broþ*, *lot*, *kot*=OE *bæþ*, *glæs*, *cæf*, *blæc*, *fæt*, *broþ*, *hlot*, *cot*.

627. The lengthening in the adj *lame* is due to the OE weak form *lama*, that in *late* to the OE adv *late* (*læt* being the OE adj).

628. The fluctuation between short and long vowel in *wel* and *ȝet* is OE (387).

629. Medial shortness before a single cons. is preserved in lME before certain endings ('back-shortening'), but with many exceptions, and fluctuation in some words:

-er: *hamer*, *stameren*, *water*, *fader*, *feter*, *oter*, *coper*. Exceptions: *aker*, *taper*, *over*. The true ME compar. *later* is preserved in MnE *latter*, *later* being a new formation from *late*. MnE (raaðər) and vulg. (reiðər) points to a lME *raþer* and *rāþer* =OE *hraþor*.

-el: *shakel*, *sadel*, *watel*, *netele*, *hovel*. Exceptions: *navele*, *cradel*, *mapel* (=OE *mapulder*), *stapel*, *wesele*, *evel* (from OE *yfel*, lKt *evel*).

-en: *seven*, *rekenen*, *soden*, *troden*. Exceptions: *raven*, *even*, *beneþen*, *stolen*, *cloven*. The *-en* of the infin. does not shorten, as in *baþien*, *speken*, because of the analogy of the pres. forms *ī speke* etc.

-ing. *hering*.

-i (=OE *-ig*): *mani*, *peni*, *bodi*, *popi*.

630. Some of these back-shortenings may be explained by inflectional forms in which the vowel is followed by two cons., as in Orm's *seffne*, but to many of the words this does not apply. It will be observed that the endings are all vowels or vowellike conss., and the real explanation probably is that the lengthening was shifted from the root vowel to the ending. Final *iȝ* in *maniȝ* was long according to Orm's spelling. Lengthening weak *e* alone or followed by an unvowellike cons. was less easy and natural, and hence the lengthening was thrown on the root-vowel in such words as *name*, *mete*, *nose*, *staves*, *naked*, with few exceptions.

631. The same influences which preserve vowel-shortness in lME sometimes shorten long vowels, as in *laþer* from OE *lēaþor* through **lę̄þer*. The shortening in MnE *sorry*, *silly*, ME *eni*, *ani* = OE *sārig*, *gesǣlig*, *ǣnig* may be due to the *-i*.

632. Long vowels are regularly shortened in ME before two conss., except, of course, before those cons.-groups which lengthen short vowels (635). Thus O. has *wīs* 'wise' but *wissdōm* 'wisdom,' *dēmenn* prt *demmde*, *drædenn* ptc *forrdredd* = OE *fordrǣdd*, *hālīȝ* 'holy' pl *hallȝhe*, vb *hallȝhenn* 'hallow.' So also in *lasse* comp., *wesste* 'desert,' adj, *blosstme*, *soffte* = OE *lǣssa*, *wēste*, *blōstme*, *sōfte*. The shortenings in *naddre* (*neddre* O.), *udder*, *fodder* from OE *nǣdre*, *ūder*, *fōdor* are due to the later OE doubling: *nǣddre* etc (410), whence also the shortening in comparatives, as in Chaucer's *gretter*, *derre*, *depper*, pos. *grę̄t*, *dēr*, *dēp* = OE *grēat*, *dēor*, *dēop*.

633. Length is, however, often kept before *st*, as in Orm's *Crīst*, *læst* superl., *æst* (= OE *ēast*), *prē(o)st*, *brē(o)st*.

634. Shortenings, and exceptional retention of shortness in lME, are sometimes the result of want of stress, as in *us* (*uss* O.), from which some texts have the emphatic *ous* = *ūs*, MnE *have* (hæv) by the side of *behave* (bi·heiv).

635. The OE lengthenings before vowellikes + cons. are kept up in ME, but with certain restrictions. The most important of these is, that the second cons. must be voiced: vowels are never lengthened before *nc*, *nt* etc, O. writing *drannc*, *drinnkenn*, *stunnt*, *sallt*, *hellpenn* etc. Lengthening is also regularly barred by back-shortening: thus O. writes *āld*, but *allderrmann*, *elldre* cp, *chīld*, but pl *chilldre*. The *-en* of the ptc has, however, no back-shortening influence: cp *sīngenn*[1], *fīndenn* with *sūngenn*, *fūndenn*. The length both of the infin. and ptc is really due to the influence of the monosyllabic preterites *fānd* etc. Those verbs which have no monosyllabic prt keep their vowels short throughout: *brinngenn* (prt *brohhte*), *winndwenn*, *senndenn*, *wenndenn*, which last sometimes has a single *n*, which may be a mere error. *blendenn* 'blind' has a long vowel by the analogy of *blīnd*. *stanndenn* has a short vowel because its prt *stōd*, though monosyllabic, does not end in *nd*. The older forms of such a verb as *fīndenn* were, therefore, **finndenn*, *icc fīnde*, *fānd*, **funndenn*. In spite of the length in such words as *ende*, *tūnge*, there seems to have been some tendency to shorten before a following unstrest or half-strest syllable independently of back-shortening: *winndeclūt*, *anndsware*, *grunndwall* by the side of *grūnd*, *ȝonndhallf*, but the three last may be the result of the triple cons. group. The shortening in *annd* is certainly, and that in *shollde*, *wollde* probably, the result of stress-lowering. The ptc *sennd* shortens by analogy of the inf. The following are full examples from O.:

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[1] The following examples are from O., unless some other reference is given.

rl: *eorl*, *cherl*. Back-shortening: *barrlīȝ*.

rþ: *e(o)rþe*. Back-shortening: *forrþerr*, *mirrþrenn*. Exceptions: *wurrþ*, *norrþ* etc.

rn: *bærnenn*, *e(o)rnenn*, *lernenn*, *stirne* adj, *ȝe(o)rnenn*, *corn*. Exceptions: *berrne* 'barn,' *turrnenn*, *þorrn*.

rd: *hirde*, *swerd*, *birde* (=OE *gebyrd*), *hord*, *word*, *bord*. Back-shortening: *girrdell*. Exceptions: *harrd*, *ȝerrde*.

ld: *ald*, *haldenn*, *salde* prt, *kald*, *talde* prt, *bald*, *wilde*, *milde*, *child*, *seldenn*, *weldenn* 'wield,' *feld*, *ȝeldenn*, *gildenn* vb, *gold*. Back-shortening: *allderrmann*, *chilldre* pl, *elldre* cp, *shulldre*. Exceptions: *shollde*, *wollde*.

ng: *lang*, *þwang*, *sang* sb, *amang*, *þing*, *singenn*, *springenn*, *ȝung*, *sungenn*, *sprungenn*, *tunge*, *king*. Back-shortening: *anngrenn*, *ennglissh*, *hunngerr*. Exception: *brinngenn*.

nd: *han(n)d*, *land*, *fand* prt, *bandess* pl, *wind*, *findenn*, *bindenn*, *blind*, *ende*, *wen(n)denn*, *blendenn*, *hund*, *sund* adj, *wunde*, *wundenn*, *fundenn*, *grund*, *minde*, *kinde* sb. Back-shortening: *hanndlenn*, *unnderr*, *hunndredd*, *wunnderr*. Exceptions: *annd*, *anndsware*, *han(n)d*, *stanndenn*, *winndeclut*, *winndwenn*, *senndenn*, *sennd* ptc, *wen(n)denn*, *ȝonndhallf*.

mb: *lamb*, *wambe*, *camb*, *climbenn*, *dumb*. Back-shortening: *timmbredd* ptc.

636. There are other combinations of voiced conss. with a preceding vowellike (*r* and *l*), which never lengthen:

rȝ: *birrȝenn* vb 'bury.'

rf: *herrfesst.*

rm: *arrm*, *berrme*, *wurrm*, *forrme.*

lȝh: *follȝhenn*, *swolȝhenn* ‘swallow.’

lf: *hallfe* pl.

lm: *allmess.*

637. The eME lengthenings described above are confirmed for lME by Ch spellings such as *queerne* = OE *cweorn*, *hoord; oold; boond* sb, *bounden; doumb*, the back-shortenings by *under* etc.

638. The Ch spellings *yong*, *songe* ptc, *tonge* etc show that the older lengthenings had been shortened again before *ng*. This was, perhaps, the result of (ŋg) having been reduced to simple (ŋ) finally, as in MnE.

639. The lengthening of final conss. in strest syllables (621) was sometimes carried—in the form of doubling—into the inflected or derived forms, especially in the case of words which very frequently occurred in the uninflected form. In Ch *God* has gen. *Goddes*, and *ship* has pl *shippes*. *whal* ‘whale’ inflects *whalles* in North. and NWMl.

640. Doubling of medial *m* is very general even in eME in *summe* pl, which occurs in Lay., AR, GE, Wicl. etc. This doubling does not appear to be due to the uninflected *sum*, for it appears also in *utnummen* (AR), *comme* (KS) = OE *cuman*. Doubling of *n* is general even in the earliest ME in *unnæþe* ‘scarcely’ = OE *unēaþe*, which may, however, be the result of some attempt to associate the unfamiliar root-word with *nēd* ‘need.’ Other examples are *wunnunge* (AR) *wonned* (Ch) = OE *wunode.*

For the shortening of double conss. in unstrest syllables see 616.

VOWELS.

641. In treating of the ME sounds in detail, it will be convenient to use diacritics to supplement the defective distinctions of the mss. These are (¯) and the marks added in *ę* and *ǫ*, with which the reader is already familiar, *ę* being, however, used in the value of OE *æ* = ɪ̨, *é*, *ó* = group-lengthened and new-long *e* and *o*, *ŏ* = *o* with the value of (u), *ü* = *u* with the value (y). The best type of fully developed eME is afforded by AR, whose language preserves many archaic features lost in O. The following is the vowel-system of AR, the corresponding sounds of O. being added in parentheses in cases of difference; those diphthongs which are not developed in O. being marked *:

a, ę (a), ǫ (a)		i	e, eo	u, ü (i)	o
ęi (ai)			ei		oi
au					*ou
ā	ę̄	ī	ē, ēo	ū, ǖ (ī)	ō, ǭ (ā)
	ę̄i		ēi	*ǖi	
	ę̄u		ēu		*ōu, *ǭu

a, ę, ǫ.

642. The most marked of the ME vowel-changes—as far as the strest vowels are concerned—is the smoothing of the old diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, *ēa*, *ēo*, a change which—with isolated exceptions—was fully carried out already in OTr in all the dialects except Kt, which preserves the old diphthongs throughout the ME period. These ME smoothings keep the quantity of their originals. *ea* was smoothed into short *æ*, OE *ea* and *æ* being thus levelled under the latter sound, which in AR is written *ę*: *bęþ*, *ęfter*, *þęt* = OE *bæþ*, *æfter*, *þæt*; *ęrt*, *schęrp* = OE *eart*, *scearp*. In the earliest Sth texts *ea*, which in AR is restricted to the long sound, is written also—interchanging with *e*—for the short *ę*: *beaþ*, *feader*, *feder* = OE *bæþ*, *fæder*. In Ld *æ*, *e*, *ea*, *a* are written almost at random: *wæs*, *wes*, *weas*, *was*, *hæfde*, *hęfde*, *heafde*, *hafde*. So also in Lay. *eo* for *ea* in *weorþ* (Ld) prt, *weorþ* (Jul. = *węrþ* AR) seems to be due to the influence of the *w*. *a* for *ę* is rare in eSth, except that in AR it is regular after *w*, as in *water*, *hwat*, *ward* = earlier *we(a)ter*, *hwet*, *weard*, OE *wæter*, *hwæt*, *weard*. *a* in other words, such as *blak* (AR), may have been taken from the OE inflected forms *blacu* etc. It is also possible that *a* was sometimes a Fr way of writing the broad ɩ. *ę* survives into lME in Kt; thus Ay. has *wes*, *hedde*, *vet* = OE *wæs*, *hæfde*, *fæt*. Elsewhere *ę* became *a* even before the end of the eME period. In O. the change is carried out completely: *wass*, *haffde*, *fatt*, old *æ* surviving only in group-lengthenings (670).

643. Old *a* is kept in eSth in such words as *varen*, *haveþ*, *makien*, *habben* = OE *faran*, *hafaþ*, *macian*, *habban*. The *ę* in *ględien* by the side of *gladien*, *beaþien* (Jul.) = OE *gladian*, *baþian*, is probably due to *ględ*, *bęþ* = OE *glæd*, *bæþ*. *a* is constant in eSth and general ME *am*, where the *a* is a weakening of *eo* (442). So also *a* is a weakening of *eo* and *ēo* in eSth *ha* 'she,' 'them' = OE *hēo*, *hare* 'their,' *ham* 'them' = OE *heora*, *heom* (444). *a* as a shortening of OE *ā* is eSth and general ME in such words as *halwen* (*hallȝhenn* O.), *garlēk* = OE *hālgian*, *gārlēac* (Angl. *-lēc*).

644. In *chaffare*, *chapman* = OE **cēapfaru*, *cēapmann*, *a* is a shortening of *ę̄* through *ę*. OE *ǣ* is shortened in the same way, as in *lasse*, *naddre* = OE *lǣssa*, *nǣddre* (non-WS *nēddre*), for which *lesse*, *neddre* also occur (671).

645. The Southern OE *ea* before *l*-combinations is preserved only in Kt in the form of (ja): *iald* in KS, *healde*, *yald*, *yhyealde* in Ay., which also has such forms as *alle*, *boldeliche*, agreeing with those of the other dialects, which all have the Anglian *a*: eSth *al*, *half*, *salt* = OE *all*, *hallf*, *sallt*, agreeing with their retention of the Angl. *ā* before *ld* (694). Ld fluctuates between *ea*, *æ* and *a*: *eall*, *æll*, *all*, *half*. Here the *ea* is probably due to literary WS, and the *æ* to the usual graphic confusion between *ea* and *æ*.

646. Old *ǫ* is kept in eSth, as in *þonkien*, *moni*, *nome* = OE *þǫncian*, *mǫnig*, *nǫma*. So also in Ay. in some words: *þonki*, but *many*, *name*. In Ld the unrounding of *ǫ* is completely carried out: *man*, *mani*, *fram*. So also in O. In Ch *ǫ* survives only in the group-lengthenings *lǭng*, *lǭnd* etc (694), and in *from*, which seems to owe its *o* to the analogy of the prepositions *of*, *on* or to *frǭ* from Scand. *frā*; elsewhere Ch has *a* and the new-long *ā*: *man*, *many*, *nāme*. In WMl *o* was kept, as is shown by such rhymes as *mon* : *on* in Harl. and Aud., although Aud. writes also *man*, and rhymes *schame* : *blame*. We have seen (416) that in OMerc. *ǫ* before *ng* became *u* in unstrest syllables; in WMl this change was carried out in strest syllables as well before *nk* and *ng*, as shown by such rhymes as *þonkę* vb : *ȝef i sŏnke* (OE *sunce*) in Harl., and the spellings *lung* adv (OE *lǫnge*), *sung* sb in Aud.

i

647. ME *i* is the regular continuation of OE *i*, as in *smiþ*, *writen* ptc, and is not subject to new-lengthening in lME (623). It represents also the unrounding of OE *y* in North. and Ml (663). eSth has *i* = OE *y* in some words, especially after *k* in *king* (but *cünne* = OE *cynn*), *kinewurþe*, *kimeþ* 'comes' (*cumeþ* in AR with the *u* of the infin.) = OE *cyng*, *cynewierþe*, *cymeþ*, also in *drihtīn*=OE *dryhten*.

648. *i* from *e*(*o*) before front conss. is general ME before *ht* (∩ʊ), as in *liht* 'lux,' 'brilliant,' 'easy,' *briht*, *fihten* (*fehten* Jul.)=OE *le*(*o*)*ht* (*lēoht*), *beorht*, *-breht* (511), *fe*(*o*)*htan*. Other cases are dialectal: *siġġen*, *wri*(*c*)*chede* 'wretched' from OE *sęċġan*, *wręċċa*.

649. There is eMnE evidence of a distinction between close and open *i*—probably ſ, ſ—dependant on the nature of the following cons. (786), and it is very probable that this distinction was already developed in lME. But, as in lWS all ſs were rounded into *y*, it is evident that all the remaining *i*s must have been close ſs, and this must have been the state of things in eME also—at least in Sth.

e

650. ME *e* corresponds regularly to OE *e* and *ę*, as in *west*, *helpen*, *eten*; *rest*, *wenien*, *mete* = OE *west*, *helpan*, *etan*; *ręst*, *węnian*, *męte*. That OE *e* [was levelled under OE *ę* in ME is proved by the identical treatment of the new-longs *éten*, *méte* in lME and eMnE, in which latter the vowel of *eat* and *meat* was still kept apart—in pronunciation as well as spelling —from the *ee* (*ie*) of *meet*, *feeld* (*field*)=OE *gemētan*, *fēld*, the *ē* of the latter word being a lOE lengthening of earlier *e*=[(395). This broadening of OE *e* is also shown by such spellings as *æten*, *wæl*, *sælf*=OE *etan*, *wel*, *self* in Ld.

651. The new long *é* (including, probably, Orm's *e* in *ende*, 670) is still kept apart from the *ę* of *sę*=OE *sǣ* in some MnE dialects, and the two sounds must have been distinct in ME as well. If *ę* was [+, as in OE, then *é* may have been either ʅ· or ʃ·; if *ę* had been narrowed to ʅ· in eME, then the lME *é* can only have been ʃ·. Cp the evidence bearing on *ó* (665).

652. *e* is often the result of group-shortening of OE *ē*, as in *mette*=*gemētte*; also of *ǣ* and *ēa*, though here it is represented also by *a* (644): *slepte*, *clensen*, *bireft*=*slǣpte* (non-WS *slēpte*), *clǣnsian*, *berēafod*.

653. In *here*=OE *hire* the lowering of the *i* seems to be the result of want of stress.

654. *e*=OE *y* is regular in Kt, as in *zenne*, *dede*=OKt *senn*, *dede* (478), except in *king*. *evel* = OE *yfel* is WMl as well as Kt.

eo

655. In Ld the OE *eo* had been merged in the open *e*, as is shown by such spellings as *erthe*, *iærnde* by the side of *geornde*, *earl*, *eorl*, *eo* itself being written not only for OE *eo*, but also for OE *ę*, as in *feon* =*fęnn*, *seotte* prt. In O. *eo* is written pretty regularly for OE *eo*, the *o* being, however, often omitted, so that such spellings as *heore* and *here*, *weorrþenn* and *werrþenn*, *heoffne* and *heffne* interchange constantly. In one place O. writes *heŏre* to show that the diphthong is short.

656. In eSth *eo* is regularly written, not only in such words as *heore* (also *hare* 643), *eorþe*, *heovene*, but also—in agreement with Merc. against lWS—in *weole*, *weoreld* (also *world*), *cleopede* = lWS *wela*, *woruld*, *clipode*, the *eo* being, however, in some words confined to the earliest texts: thus AR has *speken* against *speoken* in Jul. *eo* is occasionally written for OE *ę*; thus Jul. has *unweommet*, *bicheorren*=OE *ungewęmmed*, *becęrran*. Jul. also has *eo* for Fr *e* in *feovereles* 'February.'

657. In other eSth texts we find remarkable fluctuations. In Hom. *eo* is often written *o*, as in *boren*, *horte*, *solf*=OE *be(o)ran*, *heorte*, *se(o)lf*, such spellings as *heovene*, *hevene* also occurring. This *o* is also common in ON, where it rhymes on old *eo* or *e*, as in *vorre* : *sterre* = OE *feorran* : *steorra*, *hovene* : *stevene*=OE *heofon* : *stefn*, *bore* 'ursum:' *spere* = OE *be(o)ran* : *spere*. The rhyme *storve* : *orfe* is an exceptional one on OE *o*, which is perhaps due to some change of pronunciation (**eorf* for *orf*?). There is also a rhyme of *eo* on *ü* : *honne* : *künne*= OE *heonon* : *cynn*. This rhyme-fluctuation between *e* and *y* seems to point to the intermediate sound (œ), of which *o* is a common OFr symbol. In WMl (Harl.) we find such spellings as *huere*=OE *heora*, *huerte* by the side of *herte*, *heovene*. PPl² has simple *u*, as in *hure*, *churl*, *durk*. So also AllP in *urþe*, *burn*=OE *beorn*, the form *buyrn* indicating probably a long vowel. It is evident that in WMl old *eo* had passed into a simple sound resembling *ü*, which again points to (œ). Conversely, we find *eo* written for *ü* in Lay.², as in *leore* for the *lure*=OE *lyre* 'loss' of the older text.

658. It is probable, therefore, that the change of *eo* into the *e* of lME (Chaucerian) *erthe*, *herte* was not direct (by dropping of the *o*), but through (œ), itself the result of convergence of the two elements of the old diphthong. This (œ) was then gradually unrounded, a process which, to judge from the orthography and rhymes, must have begun early in Sth. What the precise value of *eo* is in O., is doubtful. It is possible that he regarded it as a half-traditional symbol of close *e*—the sound into which *eo* would first develop—as shown by the analogy of *ēo* (681).

659. In Kt *eo* is preserved as a diphthong, but in the form of (je): *yerþe*, *lyerne*, *wyefde* = OE *eorþe*, *leornian*, *weofod* 'altar.' Simple *e* also occurs, as in *ėrþlich*, *sterven*. This (je) seems to point to an intermediate (jœ).

660. One result of the OE variation between *weo-* and *wo-* (426) was that some words beginning with original *wo-* changed it to *weo-*. Thus Lay. has *weord*, *weolkne* by the side of *word*, *wolkne*; hence our *welkin*. The shortened *wō-* in *wōdnes-dai* underwent the same change, giving our present *wednesday*.

u

661. is the regular equivalent of OE *u*, as in *sune*, and is not subject to new-lengthening. In some words, such as *us* (also *ous*=*ūs*) it is a shortening of OE *ū*. The analogy of *i* makes it probable that lME distinguished between narrow ɿ and wide ɿ.

662. *u* in some words is a backing of *ü*, the change being clearly shown by the spellings with *o*, as in *mŏche*, *sŏch*=eSth *müche*(*l*), *swüch*. These spellings appear already in Lay.²

This *u* was, of course, first developed in Sth. (and WMl), but it afterwards spread to the other dialects, even Scotch having *u* in *muckle*.

ü

663. OE *y* was completely unrounded in WMl even in the OTr period, as is proved by such spellings as *birien* by the side of *byrien*, *sinnes*, *dide*=OE *byrgan*, *synna*, *dyde* in Ld. O. has *ummbe*=OE *ymbe*, but the *u* is probably due to the Scand. *um*. Except in such cases of analogy O. has only *i*: *sinne*, *dide*.

664. In Sth the old *y* was preserved unchanged under the disguise of *u*, not only in such words as *sünne* (which never rhymes on *sunne* 'sol'), *düde*, but also in specifically lWS forms such as *müchel*, *hwüch*, *süllen*, *schüppen*=lWS *mycel*, *hwylc*, *syllan*, *scyppan*, eWS *micel*, *hwelc*, *sęllan*, *scieppan*; *süğğen* = OE *sęcgan* also occurs. *ü* was also kept in WMl, as in *cüsse* : *blisse* (Harl.), *büğğe* (Harl., PPl.)=OE *bycgan*. Even Aud. still writes *gulte*=OE **gyltig*. *ü* survives as a variant of *i* (and Kt *e*) in some Ch forms, such as *bürien*, *büsy*, whose (y)-sound is confirmed by eME evidence, together with the present pronunciation (beri, bizi), which shows that the *ü* in these words cannot have been made into *u*.

o

665. answers to OE *o*, as in *on*, *folk*, *cole*, *bodien*=OE *on*, *folc*, *col(u)*, *bodian*. New-long *ő* in *cőle*, *bődien* is still distinguished from *ǭ*=OE *ā* in some of our dialects, and is kept apart from old *ō* in standard E. both in spelling and pronunciation: cp *coal* (koul) with *cool* (kuwl)=OE *cōl*. eSth *o* must also have been distinct from the *ǫ* ɟ of *mǫn* etc, for this sound was afterwards unrounded into *a*. eME *o* must, therefore, have had a sound between the OE } and the broad ɟ—nl ʒ, which is the present Gm sound of short *o* in *stock* etc. In lME the three sounds *ő*, *ǭ* and *ō* were, therefore, probably ʒ•, ɟ• and }• resp. The MnE dialects seem to point to ʓ• as a later sound of *ő*.

Long Vowels: ā.

666. OE *ā* was rounded into *ǭ* in Sth and Kt. The earliest texts, such as Jul., still write *a* : *hwa*, *laverd*, *gast*, but the form *wumme*=*wā* (*is*) *mē*! presupposes the rounded vowel, and makes it probable that the *a* is a traditional spelling, and in *so* by the side of *swa* the *o* is fully established. AR writes *o* and *oa*, as in *hwo*, *hwoa*, *mo(a)re*. *oa* also appears in Lay. (*ihoaten*), GE (*loar*) and elsewhere.

667. Hence *ā* occurs only in Fr words in eSth, as in *dāme*. In lME *ā* appears as a new-lengthening of OE *a*, as in *hāre*, *nāme*, *mākien*=eME *hare*, *name*, *makien*, OE *hara*, *nama*, *macian*.

668. In Ld and O. OE *ā* is preserved; thus O. has *hwā*, *lāferrd*, *gāst*. In North. *ā* has been preserved unrounded up to the present day in the Scotch dialects, where it has been levelled under new-long *ā́*; North. texts have *o* only in a few cases of apparent borrowing from Sth, as in *so*, *lord* by the side of *swa*, *laferd* in PC. The later Ml texts show a remarkable fluctuation between the North. *ā* and the Sth *ǭ*. Thus the EMl GE rhymes *woa : Evā*, *moal* (=*māl*)*: natural* on the one hand and *gǭn : on* (cp *on : dōn* in the same text) *sǭ : temptaciō* on the other. Even the Yorkshire TM rhymes *hāme : fāme* (Fr) and *mǭre : befṓre*. The NWMl AllP rhyme *māre : ī fā́re*, *mǭre : schṓre*. In the MnE dialects the rounded vowel has prevailed. It is probable that the freedom of rhyme considered above was the result of the old *ā* being at first only slightly rounded.

ę̄

669. In lME no distinction is made in writing between *ę̄* and *ē*, both being written indiscriminately *e*, *ee*. In O. they are distinguished as *æ* and *e* with perfect regularity. In the earliest Sth *ea* is written pretty regularly for the open sound, but even in AR *e* is often written for *ea*. Great irregularity prevails in Ld.

ME *ę̄* is the regular representative of the common OE *ǣ* in all the dialects, and of OE *ēa* in all the dialects except Kt (679); thus to OE *sǣ*, *lǣran*, *hēafod*, *hlēapan* correspond in O. *sæ*, *lærenn*, *hæfedd*, *læpenn*, in eSth *sea*, *learen*, *heaved*, *leapen*. Ld writes *meast*, *mest*, *bebead*, *bebæd*=OE *mǣst*, *bebēad* etc.

670. Orm's *æ* also appears as a lengthening of OE *æ* (*ea*), as in *ærn*, *ærd*=OE *ærn* 'house', *eard* 'country'.

In *dærne* 'secret' it is a lengthening of OE *ę* (*dęrne*, lWS *dyrne*), which in E. words such as *ende*, *sendenn* is written with simple *e*. In *ȝerrsalæm*, *Elysabæþ* it seems also to be a lengthening of OE *ę*—a lengthening which may have begun in OE itself.

671. The shortening of common OE *ǣ* appears in O. sometimes as *a*, sometimes as *e*:

a : *wrappe*, *lasse*, *lasstenn*, *laffdīȝ*.

e : *flessh* (also *flæsh*), *clennsenn*, *ledde* prt, *spredd* ptc.

The regular shortening of OE *ǣ* in O. is evidently *a*. The *e* of *clennsenn* and *ledde* is really a shortening of *ē* (cp O.'s *clēne*, *lēdenn*, § 676), and the same may be the case with *spredde*, although the *r* would tend to preserve the *ǣ* (674). *flessh*, lastly, may owe its *e* to the following (originally) front cons. (733). The other EMl and North. texts have generally *e*. *lesse*, for instance, occurs in rhyme in North., GE, and TM. The earliest North. also has *lefdi* against the *a* of O. The *e* of eSth and Kt is ambiguous, but the evidence of the later texts—in which it becomes *a*—shows that it stands for *ę*. The ON rhymes *wranne* : *monne*, AR has *wrastlen*, RGl has *amti*, *laddre*. WMl also has *a* : *clad* in AllP, *lasse* in rhyme in Aud. Ch. generally has *a*, as in *ladi*, *ladde*, *wrastlen*. Sometimes he shows the EMl *e*, as in *lesse*, *lasse*, both forms occurring in rhyme.

ē

672. represents the common OE *ē* in all the dialects, as in *hēr*, *mēde*, *kēne* = OE *hēr*, *mēd*, *cēne* (*cœ̄ne*). The Anglian *ē* = WS *ǣ* and *īe* (lWS *ȳ*) appears also in all the dialects to the exclusion of the WS forms, except that *ǖ* = lWS occurs in some of the extreme Western dialects (690); thus O. and Sth agree in such forms as *sēlīȝ*, *sēli*, *ēfenn*, *ēven*, *dēde* = nonWS *gesēlig*, *ēfen*, *dēd*, WS *gesǣlig*, *ǣfen*, *dǣd*; *sēne*, *hērenn*, *hēren* = nonWS *gesēne*, *gehēran*, WS *gesīene*, *gehīeran* (lWS *gesȳne*, *gehȳran*). Here, again, Ld shows great irregularity: *let*, *leot*, *læt* prt, *to geamene*, *atywede* = OE *lēt*, *tō gēmenne* (WS *īe*, *ȳ*), *ætēwde* (WS *īe*, *ȳ*), the last spelling being evidently a WS literary one.

ME *ē* in *fēld*, *shēld* is an OE (Mercian) lengthening of *e*. O. also has *ē* as a lengthening of OE *ę* (against *dærne* 670) in *be(o)ldenn* 'encourage', *weordenn* 'injure' = O Merc. *gebę̄ldan*, *āwę̄rdan* (lWS *gebyldan*, *āwyrdan*), where *eo* = *ē* (681).

673. In the following words O. has *ǣ* = Gmc and WS *ǣ*, *ea* in parentheses indicating a confirmatory eSth spelling:

(*a*) before **r**: *hær* (ea), *þær* (ea), *wærenn* prt, *hwær*, *fær*, *ȝær*, *bære* 'bier.' The only exception is that *ȝær* is sometimes written *ȝer*.

(*b*) after **r**: *stræte*, *ræd* (ea), *rædenn*, *drædenn*. *redenn*, *dredenn* also occur. *grediȝ* always has *e*, being the only complete exception. The rule is further confirmed by Sth *breaþ* and MnE *thread*.

(*c*) before **l**: *mæl*. *seliȝ* has only *e*.

(*d*) after **l**: *læche*, *lætenn*, *blætenn*, *slæpenn*. The subst *slæp* has also *e*. No other exception.

(*e*) after **w**: *wæpenn*.

674. It is evident that in these words the *æ* is due not to any WS influence but to the low tone of the vowellikes *r*, *l*, *w*—influences which had already been partially developed in OE (449). In *spæche* by the side of *speche* and *dædbote* by the side of the uncompounded *dede* there is, however, no such influence, and these forms may really be WSaxonisms. It is remarkable that these *æ*s are more developed in the Mercian O. than in the Saxon Sth dialect.

675. The shortenings of Angl. *ē* = WS *ǣ* show exclusively *e* in Ml and North.: O. has *errnde*, *redd* ptc, *dredd* ptc; *bleddre*, *sleppte*; *neddre*. Ch has *a* in *naddre*, *bladdre*, and has both *dred* and *drad* in rhyme. AR has *neddre*, *bleddre*, which probably means ɩ—the forerunner of Ch's *a*. It is uncertain whether the *e* of *blest* (Ay.) was long or short. GE and TM have *blast* in rhyme; this exception to the general rule may be due to the influence of the vb *blawen*.

676. In a few words O. has, on the other hand, *ē* for common OE *ǣ*, especially before *n*: *lenenn*, *menenn*, *clene* (but *clænnesse*). *æness* and *imæne* have *ǣ*. The other cases are: *del* (but *dælenn*), *lefedd* ptc, *ledenn*. It will be observed that, except in the case of *lefedd*, all these *e*s are followed by a point cons.

677. ME *ē* in all the dialects (with some exceptions in Lay. and Kt) also corresponds to the Angl. *c*-smoothings of OWS and OKt *ēa*, *ēo* (462, 465). Thus O. has *ēc*, *hēh*, *nēh*; *lēȝhenn*, *flēȝhenn* = OAngl. *ēc*, *hēh*, *nēh*; *lēgan*, *flēgan* (WS *ēac*, *hēah*, *nēah*; *lēogan*, *flēogan*). Orm's *eo* in *sēoc* by the side of *sēc*, *þē(o)s* 'thighs' may be a merely orthographic variation (681), aided by some tradition of WS orthography. The earliest Sth shows the same forms as O.: *ēke*, *hēh*, *flēhe* sb (AR^1). For the later developments *hēih*, *hīh* etc see 696. O. has exceptionally *æ*

=WS *ēa* before back conss. in some verbal forms—*dæh*, *flæh*—where they may be due to the analogy of such preterites as *bæd*=OE *bēad*, where the *æ* is regular.

678. In Kt the lOKt *ē*=OE *ȳ* is preserved, as in *wéé* (KS), *ver* (Ay.)=OE *hwȳ*, *fȳr*.

679. The diphthongic *ēa* is preserved in Kt in the same spellings as the short *ea*: *great*, *diad*, *dyad*, *lyeave* (also *grat*, *belave* etc), probably with the value (jaa), although if the second element had been lengthened we should have expected **greot* etc.

680. In *scawen* (Ld)=OE *scēawian* the *e* seems to have been absorbed by the preceding front cons. (733), the length being shifted on to the *a*, our present *show* pointing to *schāwen*, although AR's *schawen* points to short *a*. O. has *ā*=*ēa* in *drah*=OE *drēag* 'suffered' and *lafe* =OE *gelēafa* 'belief'. Are these modifications of *ēa* or of later *ǣ*?

681. In Laud the old *ēo* had evidently been completely merged in *ē*, as shown by such spellings as *cesen*, *der*=OE *cēosan*, *dēor*, and, with the usual confusion between close and open vowels, *dær*, *eo* being also written for OE *ē*, as in *leot* prt. The treatment of *ēo* in the other texts is also quite parallel to that of *eo*. O. writes *preost*, *prest*, *deofless*, *defless*, AR writes *preost*, *deovel*=OE *prēost*, *dēofol*. O. also occasionally writes *eo* for *ē*, as in *dreofedd*=OE *gedrēfed* (*gedrǣfed*), *Galileo*=*Galilee*. So also AR in *cheoken* 'cheeks'=OMerc. *cēcan* (WṠ *cēacan*).

682. The spellings *oe* and *o* are common in Hom. and ON. The latter has *þoede* : *noede*=OE *þēode* : *nēde*, *ho*=*hēo* 'she'. Harl. has *seo*, *se* 'see': *mē*, *deor*, *duer*, *hue*, *he* 'she', *lure*=OE *hlēor* 'cheek'. PPl² has *duþ*, *buþ* = OE *dēoþ*, *bēoþ*. AllP have *bot* =*bēodeþ*; their *ho* 'she' probably=*hō* from **hjō* (685). These spellings point to a convergent smoothing into {ɨ in Sth, fɨ in WMl, the latter being preserved in the MnE *chuse* (*choose* is a very late half phonetic spelling) from OE *cēosan*. AR² writes *eo* for the Fr (œœ) in *preoven*, where AR¹ has *pruvien*.

683. In Kt *ēo* is represented by the diphthongic (jee), probably from earlier (jœœ), as in *chiese*, *chyese*, *byeþ* pl, for which *byþ* etc also occurs. This diphthong also represents OKt *ē* in some words: *ihierde* 'hired'=OKt *gehērde* (nonKt *gehȳrde*) in KS, *hyer* adv, *ih*(*y*)*erd* 'heard' in Ay.

684. In O.'s *fowwer*, Sth *vour*=OE *fēower* the *ē* seems to have been merged into the *o* by the influence of the two lip conss.

685. O.'s *ʓhō*=OE *heō* 'she' is the result of stress-shifting in weak syllables (442), the stages being ꝍ[ɨɜ, ꝍɛ}ɨ, ꝍω}ɨ, ɔ}ɨ. So also in the word *she* itself (733), and in *you*, *your*. OE *ēow*, *ēower* became (joou, joouer), whence, by the usual dropping of the initial glide, the eSth *ōu*, *ōuer*. O.'s *ʓūre* keeps the first half of the old diphthong, and changes the second half into *ū* by the analogy of the poss. prn of the 1st pers. (*ūre*). O. then makes **ʓow* (or **ʓōw*) into *ʓūw* by the analogy of *ʓūre*.

ɪ

686. answers both to common OE *ī*, as in *wīs*, *fīve*, and to the Angl. group-lengthened *ī* in such words as *chīld*, *sīngen*, *fīnden*, *clīmben*, *ī* before *ng* being shortened again in Ch, as in *syngen*.

For the *ī* in *hīh* etc see 696.

u

687. answers to OE *ū*, as in *hūs*, *mūþ*, Ch *hous*, *mouth*, and to the Angl. group-lengthened *u* in such words as *sūngen*, *hūnd*, *dūmb*, the *ū* being shortened again before *ng* in Ch: *sŏngen*, *hound*, *doumb*.

For the *ū* in *fūel* see 696; for that in *ʓūre* see 685; and for the lME *ū* in *enough* see 721.

ǖ

688. The old *ȳ* was completely unrounded in EMl, as shown by such spellings as *for-þi*, *forr-þi*, *fir* in Ld and O.=OE. *for-þȳ*, *fȳr*.

689. In Sth and WMl it was preserved in the Fr spelling *u*(*i*), as in *huiren* 'hire' (AR), *kuþen* 'make known' (AR), *fur* (AR, Harl.), *fust* (AllP)=OE *hȳran*, *cȳþan*, *fȳr*, *fȳst*.

690. In WMl *ǖ* also represents lWS *ȳ*=Angl. *ē*. Thus PPl² has *huren* 'hear', *nudful* 'needful', which appear in AR etc in the Angl. forms *heren*, *neodful*.

For *ǖ* from *ēo* see 682.

691. The main source of *ǖ* in ME generally is the OFr *u* and *ui*, as in *cǖre*, *fortǖne*, *dǖc*, *frǖt*, *frǖit*, the latter spelling being the most usual. *ǖ* final or before a vowel became *eu* (*ēu* ?) in

Ch, as shown by such spellings as *vertew*, *crewel*=*vertu*, *cruęl*. So also OFr *iu* in *eschue*, *eschewe* 'eschew'.

ō

692. answers both to common OE *ō*, as in *dō*, *mōne*, *gōd*, and to group-lengthened Angl. *o*, as in *wōrd*, *gōld*.

693. In North. *ō* was fronted to {ɨ, Fr fɨ being levelled under the new sound, as shown by such rhymes as *sōne: fortōne*=*fortǖne*.

For the *ō* in *two* etc see 695.

ǭ

694. is the regular representative of OE *ā* in Sth, Kt and in later Ml (668), as in *mǭre*, *hǭm*, as also of group-lengthened Angl. *ā* in such words as *lǭng*, *hǭnd*, *cǭmb*.

695. *ǭ* after *w* became *ō* in lME in most words, as in *twō*, *whō*, *wōmb*, as shown by the MnE pronunciation (831). *wǭd* 'woad' is an exception.

Diphthongs

696. We have seen that the OE diphthongs disappeared in all the ME dialects except Kt, but their loss was supplied by new developments. All the common ME diphthongs are the result of various changes in the combination vowel + the following OE conss.: *w* (*f*), *h* (c and ᴖ), open *g* є and *ġ* ɷ. The combination vowel + *w* and of back vowel + back *h* and *g* yields a diphthong of the (au)-type, the combination front vowel + front *h* or *ġ* yields a diphthong of the (ai)-type. Thus OE *dēaw*, *dohtor*, *dragan*; *hēh* (Angl.), *weġ* appear in fully developed ME as *dęu*, *douhter*, *drauen*; *hēih* (*hīh*), *wei*. It will be seen that there are two ways in which these diphthongs are developed: (1) by weakening of the cons. into a glide-vowel, as in *drauen*; (2) by parasiting, as in *hēih*, where the glide from the [ɨ to the ᴖ has developed into a full glide-vowel. The second process is generally the most primitive one, and it is sometimes doubtful—as in the case of *wei*—whether the second element of the diphthong is not really a parasite-vowel which has absorbed the original cons. rather than a weakening of this cons. The last stage in the development of the ME diphthongs is the absorption of the glide-vowel into the preceding vowel—an absorption which is inevitable in the ME weakening of OE *ug* etc, as in *fūel* from OE *fugol* through *fuwel.* Sometimes this absorption is the result of the assimilative influence of the glide-vowel itself, as in *hīh* from *hēih*, where the *i* first drew up the preceding *ē* to *ī*, and was then absorbed by it.

697. As the combination vowel + *w* is in itself scarcely distinguishable from a diphthong of the (au)-type, and as the combination front vowel + *ġ* had become almost—if not quite —a diphthong even in OE, it was natural to keep *w* and *g* as symbols of the second elements of diphthongs. This is done in O., which, at the same time, shows the development of the diphthongs in its most primitive stage. In O. *h* and back (open) *g*—which he writes *gh*—do not develope parasites: *dohhterr*, *hēh*, *draghenn.* The second elements of the (au) and (ai) diphthongs are expressed by *w* and *ȝ* resp., which are doubled after short vowels, not only finally and before conss. but also between vowels: *clawwess* (=OE *clawa*), *dæw; weȝȝ*, *leȝȝd* ptc (=OE *ġelęġd*). In these doublings between vowels the first cons. denotes the glide on to the vowel, the second that vowel itself (**clauwess*). The fact, however, that O. did not adopt the latter spelling shows the doubling was really a kind of phonetic fiction to enable him to mark the shortness of the preceding vowel. That *clawwess* meant practically nothing but *claues* is further confirmed by O.'s spellings *aww* for Lt *au*, and *eȝȝ* for Scand. *ei*, as in *Awwstin*=*Au*(*gu*)*stin*, *heȝȝlenn* 'salute' =*heila.* In the ptcc *slaȝenn*, (*forr*)*leȝenn*=OE *slægen*, (*for*)*legen* the *ȝ* is left undoubled. Conversely, it is sometimes doubled after a long OE vowel, as in *tweȝȝenn*=*twēgen.* So also the *w* is doubled in *chewwenn*=OE *cēowan* against *ne*(*o*)*we*=OE (Angl.) *nēowe* etc. It is doubtful whether these doublings indicate real shortening of the preceding vowel, or are merely the result of confounding length of vowel with length of glide on to the second element; it seems, on the whole, most probable that these (as also *fowwerr*, *owwhar*=OE *fēower*, *ōhwǣr*) are cases of back-shortening (629). The doubling of *ȝ* after *i*, as in *driȝȝe*=OE *drȳge* is merely a way of marking the length of the vowel: *driȝȝe*=*drīȝe*, or rather *drīe.* That *ȝ* had been completely absorbed by a preceding *i* or *ī* is made probable by the occurrence of *sige*=OE *sĭge* 'victory' at the end of the line (610) and the spelling *siȝȝefasst*, as also by the insertion of *ȝ* in such forms as *dríȝcrafft* 'sorcery'=OE *drȳcræft*, *Zacaríȝe* by the side of *Zacaríe*. Hence *iȝ* in *-iȝ -liȝ*, probably represented simple *ī*: *haliȝ*=(haalii).

698. In the other eME texts—as also in later ME generally—the second elements of the diphthongs are represented by *i* and *u*, as in Lt and Fr. Already in Ld the Fr begins to prevail over the OE spelling: *dæges*, *dæi*; *fower*, *fæu*, *treuthe*. In eME retention of the cons. symbols often seems to indicate that the diphthong is not fully developed, but the revival of *w* in the lME combinations *aw* etc shows that the system of spelling carried out in the O. was never completely disused. In North. the consonantal spellings *egh* etc, as in *deghe*=*dēie* 'die', were kept up and revived, in order to avoid the ambiguity of *ai*, *ei* etc, where the *i* in North. had come to be a mere mark of length.

699. Diphthongs are occasionally formed by the development of a parasite-*i* before various front conss. besides *h* and *ġ*. Thus AR has *leinten*, *acweinte*=OE *lęnċten*, *acwęnċte*. *sc* (733) has the same effect in *aische*, *waischen* (Wicl.)=OE *asce*, *wascan*.

ęi (ai)

700. is the regular eSth representative of OE *æġ*. Thus *dæg* appears in Laud as *dæg*, *dæig*, *dæi*, and *mæg*, *læg*, appear in Lay. as *mæi*, *leai*, *lei*. AR has generally *ei*: *dei*, *mei*, *lei*, *seide*.

701. In O. the first element has undergone its regular change into *a*: *daȝȝ*, *maȝȝ*, *laȝȝ*. So also in *slaȝenn*=*islein* (AR). This *ai* is still rare in AR (*dai*), but it occurs in Lay. (*saide*), being frequent in Lay.² (*may*), and it occurs even in Ld (*daies* gen.). The eSth *ai* is probably due to acoustic divergence rather than to the isolative change of *ę* into *a*. This is confirmed by the fact that Kt, which otherwise preserves *ę*, agrees with Ch and lME generally in having *day* etc.

702. Scand. *ei* (and *ǫ̈y*) becomes *ai* finally, except in *þei*, as in Orm's *naȝȝ*, *maȝȝ*=Icel. *nei*, *mey* 'maid'. Lay. has *næi*, AR and North. *nai*, Ch *nay*. This change is against that of non-final Scand. *ei* into *eȝȝ*, *ei* (705). Was Scand. *ei* pronounced ɩɾ when final?

703. The eSth *eih* from OE *æh*, as in *seih*, *eihte* from Angl. *gesæh*, *æhta* seems to have been *ei* rather than *ęi*, for these words generally keep their *ei* in lME—*seigh* (*siȝ*), *eighte*, although *say* also occurs (in rhyme in Ch).

For the *ai* of *aische* etc see 699, 733.

ei

704. is the regular development of OE *eġ*, *ęġ*: thus OE *weg*, *gelegen*, *regen*, *ęge* 'fear', *lęgde* appear in O. as *weȝȝ*, *leȝenn*, *reȝȝn*, *eȝȝe*, *leȝȝde*, in AR as *wei*, *ileien*, *rein*, *eie*, *leide*. Orm's *seȝȝde* (*seide* in AR) from OE *sægde* has taken its *e* from the pres. *sęcgan*. Lay. has *seaide* pointing to OE *æġ*.

705. *ei* also represents unfinal Scand. *ei*, as in Orm's *þeȝȝre*, *heȝȝlenn*, *beȝȝtenn*=Icel. *þeira*, *heila*, *beita*, final Scand. *ei* exceptionally in *þeȝȝ* 'they', perhaps because it was unstrest.

706. In lME there is a tendency to confuse *ei* with *ai*, especially in North., where the oldest mss write *wai*, *thai*, *thair* etc. In Ch the distinction between *day* and *wey* is still kept up, but there is a tendency to confuse them, *ey* being oftener levelled under *ay* than vice-versa, thus we find *alwey* rhyming on *fey* (Fr), *pley* and *alway* rhyming on *day*, *abbay* (Fr). *ai* had probably begun to front its first element into ɩ, which would bring the two diphthongs very close together.

au

707. It is not improbable that *āw* etc were diphthongs already in OE in such forms as *sāwle* (also written *saule*), and hence also in ME. Otherwise *au* does not appear in the earliest ME except in foreign words, such as *Awwstīn* (O.), *sawter* (AR) 'psalter'.

708. OE. *dragan* appears in O. as *draȝhenn*, in the earliest Sth as *drahen*, in AR and Ch as *drawen*, the є having been first rounded into ϵ, which by a slight relaxation of the back of the tongue becomes ɜ *w*. In *drawen* the *w* was probably soon weakened into an *u*. The back *h* was rounded in the same way in ME, and developed a parasite *u* before it in AR, where *drawen* has pres. *drauhþ*=Orm's *draȝheþþ*. So also Orm's *lahhȝhenn*—where the *ȝh* is perhaps meant to indicate the rounding of the *hh* (cp *lahȝe* in Lay.[2])—appears in AR as *lauhwen*.

709. lME *au* etc are sometimes the result of a change of *v* into a lip-open cons. and then into *w*, as in *hauk*=eME *havek*, OE *hafoc*. *mauk* 'worm' from eME *maþek*=Icel. *maþk* seems to have passed through the stage of **mavek*, and then to have followed *havek*.

710. The correspondence of ME *ai* and *au* to OE *æġ* and *ag* respectively has sometimes given rise to doublets. Thus we have *slaȝenn*, *slein*, *slayn* from OE *slæġen* on the one hand, *slawen*, *slawe* from OE *slagen* on the other, some texts, such as Ch and RBC showing both forms in rhyme.

ou

711. The development of *ou* in ME is quite parallel to that of *au*. OE *boga* appears in Lay. as *boȝe*=ɒᵹɛl, in AR as *bowe*; to Orm's *dohhterr*, *brohhte* correspond AR's *douhter*, *brouhte*. In Ch the *u* is often omitted in *boghte* etc to prevent confusion with *ou*=(uu), being implied by the following *gh*. OE *tow* retains its spelling unaltered to the present day.

712. *ou* in eME is the regular representative of Scand. *ǫu*: thus O. has *rowwst*=Icel. *raust* 'voice', the earliest Sth has *lowsen* 'loosen', formed from the verb *lǫ̈ysa*, but with the vowel of the adj. *lǫus*.

eu

713. The only regular source of this diphthong would be OE *ew*, as in *stręwian*, but it is rare. Exceptional lME *ew* from OE *ef* in *ewte* 'newt' from *efete*.

ę̄i

714. OE *fǣge* 'fated' appears in Lay. as *fæiȝe*, *fæie*, *feie*, *faie*. Other examples are *ei* 'egg' (AR), *keie* (Ld)=OE *ǣg*, *cǣge*. In all of these words the *ǣ* is Angl. as well as WS.

ēi

715. Angl. *ēg* appears in O. as *ēȝ*, *ēȝh*, which also represent Scand. *ǫ̈yj*, *eig* (through Dan. *ǣj*, *ēg*), *wrēȝ*(*h*)*enn*, *ēȝhe*, *lēȝhenn*, *dēȝenn*, *lēȝhe* 'hire'=Angl. *wrēgan* (older *wrǣgan*), *ēge* (WS *ēage*), *lēȝan* (WS *lēogan*), Icel. *deyja*, *leiga*. The earliest Sth shows the same forms in many cases, but often also with the change of *ē* into *ī*, of which there are already traces in OAngl. (465), thus AR¹ has *ēhe*, *līhen*. AR² has *wreien*, *eie*, *li*(*ȝ*)*en*, *dei*(*ȝ*)*en*.

ēou

716. answers to OE *ēow*, as in eSth *heou*, *neowe*=Angl. *hēow*, *nēowe* (WS *hīw*, *nīwe*). O. has *hēwe*, *nēowe*, *nēwe*. In lME this diphthong becomes *ēu* by the regular change of *ēo* into *ē*; thus Ch has *hewe*, *newe*.

ǖi

717. *druie* in AR=OE *drȳge* must have had this diphthong once, although *druie* may be equivalent simply to *drǖe* (595).

ę̄u

718. answers to OE *ǣw*, *ēaw* as in Orm's *læwedd*, *dæw*, *shæwenn* = OE *lǣwed*, *dēaw*, *scēawian*. Jul. has *le*(*a*)*wede*, AR has *schea*(*u*)*wen* and *schawen* (680).

ēu

719. See *ēou* (716). Angl. *ēw*=WS *ǣw* would give *ēu* in ME, but the combination occurs very rarely; *bilēwen* (Hom.) 'betray' is an example.

ōu

720. was first developed out of OE *ōw*, as in *stōw* 'place', *flōwan*, which appear in ME as *stowe*, *flowenn* (O.). Such forms as *inouh*, *drouh*, *touward*, *nouhware* = OE *genōh*, *drōg*, *tōweard*, *nōhwǣr* are fully developed in AR, but not in the earlier texts, which have only *inoh* etc, as in O. In the last two words the *u* is afterwards dropped.

721. In Ch *ōu* in the combination *ōuh* becomes (uu): *ynough*, *slough* =(inuux, sluux), as shown by the MnE forms (897).

For *ōu*=OE *ēow* see 685.

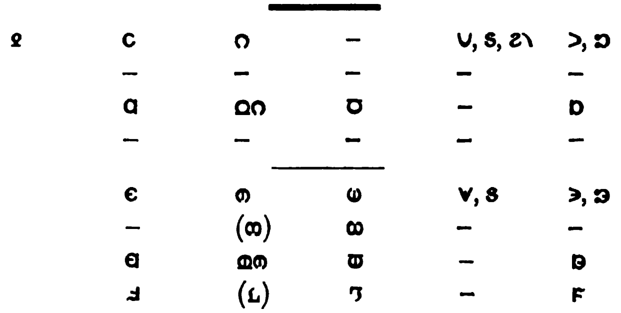
ǭu

722. is the regular development of OE *āw*, *āg*, and of OE *ā* before *h*. Thus AR has *cnowen*, *owen*, *ouh* 'ought'=OE *cnāwan*, *āgen*, *āh*. O. has *cnawenn*, *aȝhenn* etc. In North. this diphthong does not round its first element, but remains *au*: *knau*, *awen*, just as OE *stān* remains *stan*. Kt and WMl have the same diphthong: *zaule*, *knawe* in Ay., *crawe* Harl. in rhyme, *cnawe* in AllP. In these dialects the want of rounding is probably the result of shortening.

CONSONANTS.

723. The following is the consonant-system of fully developed Sth:

THROAT	BACK	FRONT	FOREW.		LIP
h	h	h	–	þ, s, sch	f, wh
	–	–	–	–	–
	k	ch	t	–	p
	–	–	–	–	–
	ȝ	ȝ	r	þ, s	v, w
	–	(l)	l	–	–
	g	g	d	–	b
	n(g)	(n)	n	–	m



h

724. The OE dropping of unstrest *h* (500) led to its complete loss in the case of the pronoun *hit* in Ml and North. While AR, Kt and Ch preserve *hit* (*hyt*), O. writes *itt*, North. *it*, this form occurring already in Ld. In these dialects the rare emphatic *hit* was supplanted by the very frequent unemphatic *it* in writing as well as speech, against the analogy of *hē*, *him*, whose frequently-occurring emphatic forms were made the graphic symbols of the weak and strong forms alike. An interesting instance of the loss of weak *h* is afforded by the eSth ending *-ild* in *fostrild* 'fosteress', generally used in a depreciatory sense, as in *maþelild* 'chatterer'. It can only be explained by the OE names in *-hild*, which survived mainly in the poetry, and would naturally suggest such parodies as *maþelild* of *Mǣþhild* etc.

725. Of OE *hr*, *hl*, *hw*, *hn* only *hw* was universally kept in ME. The old spelling *hw* is kept in eSth, becoming *hu* in Kt, but O. reverses the elements, writing *whillc* for the *hwüch* of AR and the *huich* of Ay. This shows that OE *hw* must have already assumed its present sound of ɔ. In North. the back element was exaggerated, giving ɕ, a pronunciation which was indicated by writing *qu*—*quilc*. This spelling is also found in Ml texts, such as AllP and GE.

726. *lh* and *nh*=OE *hl*, *hn* still survive in the Ay.: *lhord*, *nhŏte*=OE *hlaford*, *hnutu*. *rh*, however, has become simple *r* in Ay.: *reǵ*=OE *hrycg*. O. has occasionally such spellings as *lhūde*, *rhōf*, but generally writes simple *r*, *l*. Ld drops the *h* not only in such words as *lāverd*, *wīle*, but also in *wua*=*hwā*, *wat*. Similar droppings are common in many other early texts, as also of *h* before a vowel. It is probably mere carelessness in many cases, due partly to the loose usage of Fr scribes. The addition of *h* before a vowel is not uncommon in eSth texts.

727. Uninitial *h* was in OE split up into two sounds c and ∩. The former of these was rounded into ɕ in ME (696). The front *h*, which occurred after front vowels, is sometimes written *s* in eME where it occurs before *t*. Thus Lay.² has *driste*, The Proverbs of Alfred have *dristin*=OE *dryhten*, other examples being *mistie*, *ristewis*. Here the *s* is an imperfect representation of the high pitch of ∩. *brofte*=OE *brohte* in Lay.² is an attempt to symbolize the rounding of ɕ. Lay.² often writes *þ* for both sounds: *an heþ* 'on high', *cniþte*, *þorþ* 'through', *broþte*. The cons. is often omitted entirely in these early texts, even Lay.² having such spellings as *almiten*, *broute*. This can hardly indicate an actual loss of the conss. themselves, but is rather part of the general looseness in the writing of *h*, and also of that unwillingness to use it in a strong consonantal value which afterwards lead to the general use of *gh*.

þ, s, f

728. That initial *þ*, *s*, *f* were voiced in Sth and Kt is proved by the initial *v* of AR and Ay., and by the initial *z* of Ay. Ay. keeps *s* before cons., as in *slaȝe*, *smal*, although he must have pronounced *z* here also, as shown by the MnE dialects. Fr *f* and *s* are not voiced, as in *fol* (AR), *fę̄ste* (Ay.), *sauf* 'safe' (Ay.), which shows that the voicing of the native initial *s* etc must have been developed before the 11th cent. Words which were introduced before the Conquest were naturally assimilated to the E. pronunciation, being so few in number. Hence AR has *v* in *vals*. Ay. has *z* in *zayn Jon* (alternating with *s*) by the analogy of OE *san*(*c*)*t* with its (z).

The MnSth dialects have (z) not only initially and medially, but also finally, as in (güüz) = OE *gōs*. This shows that the final *s* of Ay. has no more value as evidence than his frequent medial *s* in *ase*, *prayse* by the side of *aze*, *prayze*. Final *z* is found in AllP: *sȳdez*, *ġemmez*, *hē lǒvez*, *hē sēz*. Final *f* in AR was a graphic necessity (602̇), and proves nothing. We may assume that *þ*, *s*, *f* were voiced everywhere in Sth and Kt, except, of course, in such combinations as *st*.

729. The present E. voiceless pronunciation of final *þ*, *s*, *f* must have been developed in ME before the loss of weak *e*, for the distinction between (baaþ) and (baaðz, beið) can only be explained by the ME *baþ*, *baþes*, *baþ*(*i*)*e*(*n*) (baaþ, baaðəz, baaðə). Hence, although Ch's final *f* in *staf* no more proves a breath sound than his *f* in *of* prp—still pronounced (ov)—yet we must assume final as well as initial (þ, s, f) in his mainly Midland dialect. When this Ml and North. breath pronunciation began—whether it began initially or finally, or simultaneously in both positions, whether it was already developed in OE, and whether, if so, it existed there (in the Angl. dialects) from the beginning—there is no evidence to show.

730. In MnE we have initial (ð) in weak words, such as *the*, *that*, *then*, *though*. So also finally in *with*. The prp *of* also has (v), contrasting with the (f) of the adverbial *off*—both from OE *of*. We have (z) in originally inflectional syllables, as in *houses* (hauziz), *trees*, contrasting with the (s) of *goose*, *geese*. The exceptional voicing in all these cases is evidently the result of want of stress. It probably began (or was kept up) between vowels and voiced conss., the *þ* in such collocations as *tō þe* . . ., *on þe* . . . being treated as an ordinary medial *þ*. For the parallel *ġ*=weak *ch* see 928.

731. Hence every unstrest weak monosyllable with (ð, z, v) must originally have had a corresponding strest or strong form with (þ, s, f). We still preserve this distinction in our *of* and *off*, and the older pronunciation (wiþ) for (wið) is no doubt the remains of a similar distinction, which was not kept up; because no divergence of meaning or grammatical function had developed itself, as in the case of *of* and *off*. Such rhymes as *blis* : *is* in Ch, *wace* (=*was*)=*face* in AllP seem to point to a similar distinction between strong (is, his) and weak (iz, hiz).

732. In MnE we do not hesitate to use the original weak (hiz) etc as strest emphatic forms also. That this was impossible in ME is shown by the *d* of *quod*=OE *cwæþ*. The otherwise anomalous *o* of *quoþ* (Jul.) as opposed to *cweþ* (AR) can only be explained as the result of want of stress (cp 418). As the word was mainly used as an enclitic, the strong form *quaþ* died out in most lME dialects. When the weak (kwoð) was made emphatic, the anomaly of final (ð) in a strest syllable was got rid of by the change of (ð) into (d).

sch

733. That OE *sc* had become a simple sound different from *s* in ME is clear from the spellings *sh*, *ss*. The remarkable spelling *scæ* 'she'=OE *sēo* in Ld is the earliest one that points to some such pronunciation as our present *sh*. The *æ* is merely an inaccurate spelling of *ē*, of which there are many examples in Ld, and the development of the form must have been something like (sjoo, sjœœ, sjee, ʃee) with the same change of (sj) into (ʃ) as in the MnE *sure* (915). The development of the OE *sc* in *scort*, *ascan* pl etc must have been similar: sΩ, s∩, s\, ƨ, clear evidence of the front stage being afforded by the parasitic *i* in *aische*=OE *ascan*.

734. The Scand. *sk* before front vowels no doubt had a fronted *k*, but this fronting must have been very slight, for the Scand. *sk* is generally preserved in ME before all vowels, as in *skin*, *skil*, *skī*, except in a few words of early introduction, which followed the analogy of the OE *sc*, such as *shiften*.

735. In North. the unstrest *-sh* of the ending *-ish* becomes *-is* in *Inglis*=OE *Ęnglisc*. So also North. *sal*, *suld*=OE *sceal*, *scolde* appear to have been originally weak forms of the emphatic **shal*, **shuld*.

n

736. In Sth and Kt there is a tendency to drop all weak final *n*s, not only in inflections (especially verbal), as in *bīnde* inf. *ibūnde* ptc, but also in derivative syllables, as in *game*, *gāme* =OE *gamen*. North., on the other hand, keeps all its final *n*s, thus showing exactly opposite tendencies to what it did in the OE period (532).

ch

737. ME *ch*=OE *ċ* is, when doubled, written *cch*, *chch*, such spellings as *stretche* (Wicl.), *fetche* (TM) occurring only in isolated instances in lME. This seems to show that OE *ċ* had not—in eME at least—developed into full (tʃ). Probably it had the sound of Ω∩, which is that of Sw *k* before front vowels, as in *kind* 'cheek.'

738. Initial *ch* occurs before the following OAngl. vowels (535), examples marked † being from O.:

æ: †*chaff*, †*chesstre*=*ċæf* (WS *ċeaf*), *ċæster* (WS *ċeaster*).

i: *chirche*, *chiken*=*ċiriċe*, *ċicen*.

e: *cheste*=*ċest* (WS *ċiest*).

ę=WS *ie* (469): *cherren* 'turn,' †*chele*=*ċęrran*, *ċęle* (WS *ċierran*, *ċiele*).

ea: *charkin* 'grate'=*ċearcian*.

eo: †*cherl*=*ċeorl*.

ē=Gmc *ǣ*: *chēse*=*ċēse* (WS *ċīese*).

o

ē = WS *īe*: *chēpen* 'sell' = *ċēpan*.
ī: *chīden*, †*chīld* = *ċīdan*, *ċīld*.
ēa (*ē*): †*chappmann*, *chēke* = *ċēapmann*, *ċēce* (WS *ċēace*).
ēo (*ē*): †*chēsenn* = *ċēosan*.

739. Initial *k* remains before conss., as in *clāþ*, *cniht*, and before the foll. OAngl. vowels:

a, ǫ: †*care*, †*callf*, †*cann* = *caru*, *calf* (WS *ċealf*), *cǫnn*.
u: †*cumenn* = *cuman*.
o: *cole* = *col*.
ā: †*kāld* = *cāld* (WS *ċeald*).
ū: *cū* = *cū*.
ō: *cōl* = *cōl*.
ę = WS *ę*: †*kemmpe* 'champion' = *cęmpa*.
y: †*king* = *cyning*, *cyng*, *kichene* = *cyċene*.
ǣ: *kēie* = *cǣġe*.
ȳ: †*kīþenn* 'make known' = *cȳþan*.
œ̄: †*kēne* = *cœ̄ne* (*cēne*).

740. Traces of the non-Angl. fronting before *eal* + cons. are seen in the Kt *chald*, *chold* = WS *ċeald*, and in *chalk* by the side of *calk* = WS *ċealc*. The *k* of *kerven* from *ċeorfan* may be due to the infl. of the ptc *corfen*. The *ch* of Orm's ptc *chosenn* = OE *coren*, is, on the contrary, due to the prs and prt *chesenn*, *chæs* = OE *ċēosan*, *ċēas*, whence also the *s*. The *k* of *ketel*—Prompt. has both *chetil* and *ketil*—and of Orm's *kirrke* can only be explained by the infl. of Scand. *kętil*, *kirkja*, whose *k*s were only slightly fronted, and were therefore levelled under ME *k*.

741. In Sth and Kt non-initial *ch*, *cch* correspond to OE *c*, *cc* preceded by mutated vowels, as in *müchel*, *michel*, *wrecche* = OE *miċel* (Goth. *mikil*), *wręċċa* (from **wrakkjo*). In O. and North. we often find *k* answering to the Sth-Kt *ch*. Thus O. has *wrecche*, but *mikell*. The only exceptions in Sth-Kt are the result of OE *ċ* being immediately followed by a cons. which hinders the development of the front hiss, thus in AR *tęchen* has 3. prs sg *tękþ*, and in Ay. *zēchen* has 3. prs sg *zēkþ*. The exceptions in O. are partly explainable by analogy, or by the infl. of Scand. forms. Thus *wirrkenn* against Sth *wirchen* may owe its *k* to the sbst *werrk*, and *mikell* may owe its *k* to the

Scand. *mikil.* But neither explanations apply to such a word as *þennkenn*, with its 3. prs sg *þenkeþþ* and prt *þohhte*; no Scand. word is close enough in form and meaning to influence it. The correspondence of *ekenn*, *bisennkenn* with OAngl. *ěkan* etc (535) seems, indeed, to show that the absence of fronting is older than the period of Scand. influence. It is possible that the regular development of Orm's dialect was to change all non-initial *ċ*s into *k*, and that the *ch*s that occur are due to Sth influence. It is worthy of note that three words which have *ch* have also the special WS *ǣ* = Angl. *ē*: *læche*, *spæche*, *wræche*. Ch shows his usual compromise between Ml and Sth in his distribution of *ch* and *k*. Thus he has both *sēken* and *sēchen*, *besēken* and *besēchen* in rhyme, and *recken* and *recchen.* MnE generally prefers the *k*-forms—*seek*, *reck*—*beseech* being an exceptional Southernism.

742. The development of *ch* after front vowels is a difficult question. The comparison of *cwik* = OE *cwic* with the Mn dialectal *quitch* 'couch-grass' = OE *cwice* (from **kwikō*) shows that this influence requires to be helped by a following front vowel —which, if Gmc, would make the *ch* fall under the previous head. That a following back vowel stops the fronting is shown by such eSth forms as *lǭdlukest*, *lǭdluker* = OE *lāþlicost*, *lāþlicor* contrasted with *lǭdlich*, adv *lǭdlīche* = OE *lāþlic*, *lāþlīce*. The final *ch* of *-lich*, as also of the sbst *līch* 'body' = OE *līc*, and of *pich* = OE *pic* may be explained from the infl. of the inflected forms *-lice* etc. Orm's fluctuation between *līc* and *līch*, *bacc* and *bacch* = OE *bæc* points to an OE gradation *līc*, *līċes*, *bæc*, *bæċe.* But this will not explain the Sth *ich.* Here the *ch* seems to be the result of want of stress, which would enable the preceding front vowel to carry out its influence without the help of another front vowel. This may also be the explanation not only of the *ch* of *-lich*, but also of that of the Sth *swich*, *hwich*, *ġuch*, *ilch* = OE *swilc*, *swelc*, *hwilc*, *hwelc*, *ǣlc* from **swalik* etc. Also of the *wich* = shortened OE *wīc* in *Greenwich* etc, and perhaps of *ditch* by the side of *dyke* from OE *dīc.* The form *hic* in KS—Ay. has *ich*—and *icc* in O. may have been originally the strong form corresponding to the weak *ich.* But O. has *k* also in *-līke* = Sth *-līche.*

743. The dropping of *c* in *ī*—which thus becomes the weak form corresponding to what then becomes the strong *ich*, *icc*, finally superseding these latter—cannot be direct; *ī* must rather be referred to the ONorth *ig* (540). O. shows a similar weakening in *-līȝ* = Sth *-lich*, OE *-lic*, as in *gāstlīȝ* = Sth *gǭstlich*, OE *gāstlic*; our present *-ly* can only be referred to Orm's form.

ȝ

744. OE *ġ* becomes *ȝ* everywhere in ME, except in the combination *nġ* and *ċġ*, where ɩɑ, ɑɑ gradually developed into their present sound of (nʒ, dʒ), as in *senġen*, *briġġe* MnE (sinʒ, bridʒ) = OE *sęnġan*, *bryċġ*. So also in Sth *liġġen*, *leġġen*, *seġġen* = OE *liċġan*, *lęċġan*, *seċġan*, which in Sth rhyme on *briġġe*, Fr *alleġġe* etc. The evidence of the MnE dialects shows that in O. and North. these words returned to their original back conss.: *leggenn*, *seggenn*.

745. *ġ* = Gmc *j* always becomes *ȝ*, as in *ȝē*, *ȝung* = OE *ġē*, *geong*, *iung*.

746. Initial *ȝ* = Gmc *g* occurs before the following OAngl. vowels (cp *ch*), examples marked † being from O.:

æ: †*ȝaff* = *ġæf* (WS *ġeaf*).
i: *ȝift* = *ġift*.
e: †*ȝellpenn* 'boast' = *ġelpan* (WS *ġielpan*).
ę = WS *ie*: †*ȝerrde* = *ġęrd*.
ea: †*ȝarrkenn* 'prepare' = *ġearcian*.
eo: *ȝelwe* = *ġeolu*.
ē: †*ȝemenn* = *ġēman* (WS *ġīeman*).
ī: †*ȝiferr* 'greedy' = *ġīfre*.
ēa (ē): †*ȝæn* = *onġēan*.
ēo (ē): †*ȝētenn* = *ġēotan*.

747. Initial stopt *g* remains before conss., as in *grēne*, *gnaȝen*, and before the same vowels which preserve initial *k*: *galle*, *genġen* 'go,' *gilt*, †*gǣt* (pl of *gāt* 'goat'), *gēs* 'geese' = OE *galle* (WS *ġealle*), *gęnġan*, *gylt*, *gǣt*, *gǣs*.

748. Of the exceptional initial *g*s, some are Scand. words, such as *gerþ* 'girth' = Icel. *gjǫrþ*. *gest* = WS *ġiest* is also a Scand. form; cp *ȝeest* 'yeast' = OE *ġest*. The vb *biginnenn* in

O., which has *g* in eSth also, gets its *g* from the prt *bigann* and ptc *bigunnenn*. As *biʒetenn* keeps its *ʒ* in O., it is difficult to see why its pret. should be *bigatt* (*biʒęt* AR) with a *g* against *ʒaff* (with occ. *gaff*), which, again, does not agree with the *g* of *gifenn* by the side of *ʒifenn*. As eSth shows exclusively *ʒ* in *biʒeten*, *ʒiven*, it seems possible that the unanalogical *g*s of O. are due to Scand. influence. But on the other hand, there is no such verb as **bigeta* in Scand., and Scand. *gefa* has a different vowel. North. has *give*, *gette*. Ch, as usual, hesitates between Northern and Southern: *yiven*, but *geten*. The MnE *yield* = Orm's *ʒēldenn*, OMerc. *gēldan* (WS *gieldan*) no doubt owes its *y*—against the *g* of *give* and *get*—to the fact that it has lost the old strong forms answering to OMerc. *gāld*, *gōlden*, which would otherwise have introduced the *g* into the inf. and prs. O. fluctuates in *ʒate*, *gate*, which may, perhaps, reflect the OE alternation in *ġæt* (WS *ġeat*), pl *gatu*. eSth has, of course, *ʒet*. Ch has *gate*, North. has *yate*, thus reversing the usual relation.

749. There is a tendency to drop initial *ʒ* before *i*, especially in weak syllables. Already O. has *iff* by the side of *ʒiff*. *īsikel* = OE *īsġicel* is also ME. *ʒicchen* has dropt its *ʒ* in MnE *itch*. In all these instances *ʒ* = Gmc *j*. OE initial *ġe-* (Gmc *gi- ga-*) becomes *i-* in ME, as in *inōh* (O.), *ivēre* AR = OE *ġenōh*, *ġefēra*. O. still has such forms as *ʒehātenn*.

750. Non-initial open *g* and *ġ* are represented in O. by *ʒh* and *ʒ* resp., the latter probably representing a vowel in most cases (697). *ʒ* occurs after OE front vowels finally or before a cons., as in *daʒʒ*, *weʒʒ*, *reʒʒn*, and before another OE front vowel, as in *leʒenn* ptc, *wreʒeþþ* = OE *wrǣgeþ*. *ʒh* occurs after and before an OE back vowel, as in *inoʒhe* pl, *daʒhess* pl, *niʒhenn* = OE *genōge*, *dagas*, *nigon*, and after *r*, *l*, as in *burrʒhess* pl, *follʒhenn* = OE *burga*, *folgian*. A following OE back vowel or preceding cons. changes original *ġ* to *ʒh* even when mutation has passed through it into the preceding vowel; thus to *wrēʒeþþ* corresponds the infin. *wrēʒhenn* = OE *wrēgan*, and not only *serrʒhenn* 'grieve' = OE *sœrgan* has *ʒh*, but also *serrʒheþþ* = OE *sœrgeþ*, *-iþ*. *ē* = WS *ēa*, *ēo* acts like the diphthongs of which it is a smoothing (462, 465), and keeps *ʒh* before all vowels, as in *ēȝhe*, *lēȝhenn*, *lēȝheþþ* = OAngl. *ēge*, *lēgan*, *lēgeþ* (WS *ēage*, *lēogan*, **lēogeþ*).

751. In Sth and later ME generally Orm's *ȝh* after front vowels is levelled under *ȝ*; thus to his *eȝȝe* 'fear,' *ēȝhe* correspond *eie*, *ēie* in AR, the latter becoming *ȳe* in Ch. *ȝh* after back vowels and conss. is written *h* in the earliest Sth—a spelling which occurs also in lOE—as in *dahes*, *fuhel*, *folheþ*, *w* in AR and later ME generally: *dawes*, *fuwel*, *voluweþ*, pointing to the development e, ɛ, ɔ.

752. Final *ȝh* becomes *h*. Thus to Orm's plurals *inōȝhe*, *burrȝhe* correspond the singulars *inōh*, *burrh*. Hence, by a natural analogy, original final *h*, as in *hēh*, became *ȝh* before a vowel—pl *hēȝhe*, spl *hēȝhesst*—as already in lWS *hēage*, *hēagost*. So also OE *holh*, *furh* became in lME *holwe*, *furwe*.

753. OE *ġ* after *r* and *l* preserves its front character not only in Sth, but also in the later Ml and North., being vowelized to *i*, as in *bürien*, *birien* = OE *byrġan*. Ld also has *bebiriend*. O. itself has *birȝenn*, but as it occurs only once, it is probably a scribal error for *birrȝhenn*. The *i* of *birien* is probably a parasite-vowel, which was already developed in OE *bebyr*(*i*)*gan*. The *i* which regularly represents final *ġ* after a cons. in ME, as in *müri*, *meri*, *beli* = OE *myrg*, *bęl*(*i*)*g*, is no doubt this parasite.

t, d

754. Weak final *d* is regularly unvoiced in earliest Sth. Thus Jul. has *inempnet*, *naket*, *towart* = OE *genęmned*, *nacod*, *tōweard*. The later Sth texts restore the *d*, thus AR^2 has *offered* against the *offearet* of AR^1 = OE *offǣred*. It is probable that the *d* was preserved in earliest Sth also before a vowel beginning the next word, the change into *t* taking place only before a breath cons. or a pause. This unvoicing of weak stops —which may be of OE origin (cp 533)—is fixed in the MnE contracted participles *dwelt*, *sent* etc.

MODERN ENGLISH SOUNDS.

PERIODS.

755. It is still more difficult to draw a definite line between late Middle and early Modern E. than between OE and eME. The most marked criterion is, no doubt, the loss of final *e* in *nāme*, *nāmes* etc. The loss of final *e*—of which we see the beginnings in Ch, and which was completely carried out by the middle of the 15th cent.—broke down the metrical system brought to perfection by Chaucer, and made a new departure necessary. The break between old and new was made more abrupt by the social confusion caused by the Wars of the Roses (1450–71), which, at the same time, helped to level differences of dialect—at least, in the upper classes. When printing was introduced—in 1476—the language had almost completely settled down into its Modern, as distinguished from its Middle, stage. The diffusion of printed books made the want of a common literary language more and more felt, and, at the same time, greatly facilitated the realization of the ideal—an ideal which was, however, not fully realized till the appearance of Tindal's translation of the New Testament in 1525—a work which is wholly modern both in vocabulary and diction.

756. We may, then, say that Modern English begins, in round numbers, about 1500, the period between 1400 (or rather later) and 1500 being regarded as Middle Transition. The change from ME to MnE is, with the exception of the loss of final *e*, slight compared with the changes in MnE itself. Even if we separate the language of the period from 1800 to the present day as 'Living English,' we still require a division of MnE into three periods, which may be conveniently designated as First, Second, Third, Living English itself requiring a twofold division:

1500–1600 First Modern English (fMn)
1600–1700 Second Modern English (sMn)
1700–1800 Third Modern English (thMn)
1800–1850 Early Living English (eLE)
1850–1900 Late Living English (lLE).

757. These minute divisions are necessarily even more arbitrary than those into OE, ME and MnE. The separation into centuries is mainly for the sake of convenience: in reality fMn extends some way into the following century, and if MnE were to be separated into two periods only—Early and Late (eMn, lMn)—1650 would, perhaps, be the best point of division, agreeing with the general upheaval caused by the Civil War. thMn is really a transition to LE, because its sounds are still more or less known to us by tradition. It is also to be noted that our knowledge of LE really extends some decades beyond the present time, because the observation of the tendencies of vulgar speech enables us to predict with some certainty the future development of the standard, educated speech.

758. The E. of Tindal and his successors was not a mere literary language—it was a spoken language, which every educated man acquired more or less perfectly, whatever his native dialect might be. Even in the 14th cent. we find the Kentish man Gower writing—and probably speaking—a dialect which, in spite of some marked Kenticisms, is practically that of the Londoner Chaucer. In the 16th cent. we find natives of Wales, Lincolnshire, Cambridge, London describing the sounds of one and the same dialect, although, of course, the influence of the native speech shows itself occasionally, as it does still, in, for example, the pronunciation of an educated Yorkshireman. We have, then, in MnE to recognize a standard E. (stE) as distinguished from dialectal E.

759. The question now arises, where was this stE developed? The answer is easy. Ch was a Londoner; and his dialect was such a compromise between EMl and SthE as would naturally be spoken in the capital—at the court, and by the educated classes generally. Chaucer's disciple, Occleve, was also a Londoner. The succeeding poets, Lydgate, Hawes, Skelton, were all EMl men, the two first being natives of Suffolk, the last of Norfolk. This movement towards the East and North is clearly shown in the language as well as the literature. We may, therefore, define stE as that mainly EMl dialect of ME which was developed among the educated classes in London, and thence spread to the Universities, and, in more or less dialectally modified forms, over the country generally. The influence of stE in Scotland was purely literary. Although this influence was strong enough to make stE the liturgical language of the country, it did not extend to speech, for even in the last cent. pure 'Broad Scotch'—which is really Modern Northumbrian—was the conversational language of educated Edinburgh, and even now educated Scotch has a sound-system which is wholly distinct from that of stE. The educated speech of Ireland has also a sound-system of its own, which is an independent development of eMn, influenced by the Celtic Irish. The educated speech of America is analogous to that of Ireland, being, like it, in some cases more archaic than the stE of England. The educated speech of Australia and New Zealand is only beginning to diverge from that of England.

760. In all our large towns there is a marked divergence between the speech of the upper and lower classes, which is most marked in London. This difference between stE and vulgar E. (vgE) extends over the whole English-speaking world, many vulgarisms of London E. reappearing not only in the popular speech of Birmingham and Liverpool, but also in that of America, although, of course, each town has its own vulgarisms. Vulgarisms are of various kinds. Some of them are due to the influence of neighbouring dialects. Others are archaisms, which once formed part of the standard language; and others, again, are anticipations of changes that are imminent in the standard language. Hence the necessity of the study of vgE (by which is here understood the vgE of London) both as preserving the fossilized standard pronunciations of an earlier period and as pointing the direction of future changes.

PHONETIC AUTHORITIES.

761. The orthography of MnE is a direct continuation of that of ME. ME orthography itself was, as we have seen, highly unphonetic in its basis. In MnE the divergence between sound and symbol increased. Thus already in fMn *e* had not only the ME values (e, ee, *ee*), but also that of (ii). But the application of this unphonetic basis was still mainly phonetic. The influence of tradition became, however, stronger and stronger as the printing-press developed, until the printers became the main arbiters in questions of orthography, their interest being, of course, to make it as uniform and conservative as possible. By degrees, not only the basis, but also the application of E. spelling became unphonetic. Already in fMn final *e* was written at random, or used as a mark of length of the preceding vowel, and by the end of sMn there were so many silent letters (such as *gh*), and so many isolated correspondencies of sound and symbol that elaborate spelling-rules became necessary. Meanwhile the orthography became more and more fixed, settling down in the beginning of the next period into practically its present form.

762. But, whatever its present condition may be, MnE orthography was never intentionally unphonetic in its period of development. On the contrary, a number of spelling-reformers arose in the 16th cent., whose avowed object was to regulate and simplify E. spelling by restoring the direct connection between sound and symbol. The new alphabets proposed were, however, without an exception, too intricate and cumbrous for practical use, which, indeed, is not to be wondered at, when we consider what difficulties these reformers had to face, and how utterly unprepared they were to grapple with phonetic and alphabetic problems. But, although they were not able to provide a workable substitute for the unphonetic French basis, they succeeded in introducing some important improvements of details, such as the separation of *u* and *v*, *ea* and *ee*—all of them purely phonetic reforms. Although most of the reformers were men of high education—including in their ranks such classical scholars as Cheke—they were not much troubled with etymological considerations. If they tolerated the silent *s* in *island*, it was simply because Fr orthography had familiarized them with the use of *s* as a mark of vowel-length, its introduction into this particular E. word being, of course, directly suggested by the identity of its meaning with that of the Fr *isle*.

763. Hence even the ordinary eMn spelling has a distinct value as evidence of changes of pronunciation, and often serves to confirm and control the statements of the phonetic authorities, and their phonetic transcriptions.

764. Although eMn spelling is still some guide to the history of the sounds, it is quite inadequate by itself: our main reliance must be on the phonetic treatises, which, fortunately, become more and more accurate and reliable as the fixity of the spelling leaves us in the lurch. Some of the sMn authorities, indeed, show an acuteness and accuracy of analysis and description of sound-formation which partly anticipates the discoveries of Mr. Bell. The statements of the fMn authorities on the formation of sounds are, on the other hand, mostly vague and confusing; and here we have to rely mainly on their comparisons of English with foreign sounds—mainly French. Unfortunately, Fr pronunciation itself has changed even more than E., and the statements of the older French orthoepists are as vague as those of their English contemporaries. It is, therefore, fortunate that we have detailed comparisons of the sounds of fMn with those of a phonetically written language whose sounds have undergone hardly any change since the 16th century—North Welsh. The results thus obtained are further confirmed and supplemented by a phonetic transliteration in Welsh orthography of a Hymn to the Virgin[1], the mss of this Welsh transliteration (HVg) having apparently been written about 1500.

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[1] Phil. Soc. Transs. 1880–1, *35.

765. The following is a list of the phonetic authorities from the 16th century downwards in chronological order[1].

First Modern Period.

1530. **Palsgrave**, John (Pg).

Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse. London.

This book is in E., though the title is in Fr. Pg graduated at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris.

To the French reprint is added a reprint of

An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke French trewly etc.

By Giles **du Guez** or du Wes, with no author's name, except as shown by an initial acrostic, and no date, but apparently about 1532.

1547. **Salesbury**, W. (Sb).

A Dictionary in Englyſhe and Welſhe . . . wherevnto is prefixed a litle treatyſe of the englyſhe pronunciation of the letters. London.

Sb was born in Denbighshire, studied at Oxford, and settled in London.

1555. **Cheke,** Sir John (Ck).

Joannis Cheki Angli de pronunciatione Graecae potissimùm linguae disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcopo. Basle.

The Gospel according to Saint Matthew . . . translated from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir John Cheke, knight etc . . . by James Goodwin. London, 1843.

The spelling in the latter is not strictly phonetic, but rather an attempt to improve the existing spelling.

1567. **Salesbury**, W.

A playne and familiar Introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welsh . . . . London.

1568. **Smith,** Sir Thomas (Sm).

De recta et emendata lingvæ anglicæ scriptione, dialogus. Paris.

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[1] Ellis, Early English Pronunciation, Part I.

1569. **Hart**, John (Ht).
An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or painte thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature. Composed by J. H. Chester, Heralt. London.

1573. **Baret**, John.
An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie, in Englishe, Latin and French. London.

1580. **Bullokar**, William (Bll).
Bullokars Booke at large for the *Amendment* of *Orthographie* for English speech.

1605. **Erondell**, Peter[1].
The French Garden: for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in. Or, A Sommer dayes labour. Being an instruction for the attayning vnto the knowledge of the French tongue. London.

1609. **Holyband**, Claudius[2].
The French Littelton. A most easie, perfect and absolvte way to learne the French tongue, Set foorth by *Clavdivs Holyband*, Gentil-homme Bourbonnois. London.

1611. **Cotgrave**, Randle.
A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues. London.

1611. **Florio**, John.
Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, collected, and newly much augmented by J. F.

1619 first ed., 1621 second ed. **Gill**, Alexander (G.).
Logonomia Anglica. Quâ gentis sermo faciliùs addiscitur Conscripta ab Alexandro Gil, Paulinæ Scholæ magistro primario. Secundò edita, paulò correctior, sed ad vsum communem accommodatior.

1633. **Butler**, Charles (Bt).
The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the English tongue. Whereunto is annexed an Index of Words Like and Unlike. Oxford.

1640. **Jonson**, Ben.
The English Grammar. Made by Ben Johnson. For the benefit of all Strangers, out of his observation of the English Language now spoken, and in use.

Jonson was born in 1574.

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[1] Ellis, p. 226, note.

[2] Ellis, p. 227, note.

Second Modern Period.

1653. **Wallis**, John (W.).
Joannis Wallisii Grammatica Lingvuae Anglicanae Cvi praefigitur De Loqvela; sive de sonorum omnivm loquelarivm formatione: Tractatvs Grammatico-Physicvs. Editio Sexta. London, 1765. First ed. 1653.

1668. **Wilkins**, John (Wk).
An Essay towards a Real Character, And a Philosophical Language.

1668. **Price**, Owen (P.).
English Orthographie or *The Art of right spelling, reading, pronouncing and writing all sorts of English words.* Oxford.

The author's name is given on the authority of the British Museum copy in which it is pencilled.

1669. **Holder**, William, D.D., F.R.S.
Elements of Speech, an Essay of Inquiry into the natural production of Letters with an appendix concerning persons Deaf and Dumb.

1685. **Cooper**, C., A. M. (Cp).
Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ. London.

1688. **Miege**, Guy, gent. (Mg).
The Great French Dictionary. In Two parts. London.

1701. **Jones**, John, M.D. (Jn).
Practical Phonography: or, the New Art of Rightly Speling (sic) and Writing Words by the Sound thereof. And of Rightly Sounding and Reading Words by the Sight thereof. Applied to The English Tongue.

Third Modern Period.

1704. **Expert Orthographist** (EO).
The Expert Orthographist: Teaching To Write True English Exactly, By Rule, and not by Rote. According to the Doctrine of Sounds. And By such Plain Orthographical Tables, As Condescend to the Meanest Capacity. The Like not Extant before. For the Use of such Writing and Charity Schools which have not the Benefit of the Latin Tongue. By a Schoolmaster, of above Thirty Years Standing, in London. Persons

of Quality may be attended at their Habitations; Boarding Schools may be taught at convenient times. London: Printed for, and Sold by the Author, at his House at the *Blue-Spikes* in *Spread-Eagle-Court* in *Grays-Inn-Lane.* Where it is also Carefully Taught.

1710. **Palatines.**

A Short & easy Way for the Palatines to learn English. Oder eine kurze Anleitung zur englischen Sprache zum Nutz der armen Pfälzer, nebst angehängten Englischen und Teutschen A B C. London.

1710. **Dyche,** Thomas.

Guide to the English Tongue. London.

1725. **Lediard,** Thomas (Ld)[1].

Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englischen Sprache, in welcher . . . eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kurtzer Zeit zu erlangen, angezeigt . . . wird . . . durch *Thomas Lediard,* N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725.

1766. **Buchanan,** James (Bch).

Essay towards establishing a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English Language, throughout the British Dominions. London.

The author was a Scotchman, and there are Scotticisms in his pronunciation.

1768. **Franklin,** Benjamin (Fk).

A Scheme for a New Alphabet and reformed mode of Spelling. Complete Works . . . of the late B. F. London, 1806. vol. II.

The pronunciation here given is, of course, affected by American provincialisms.

1780. **Sheridan,** Thomas (Sh).

A General Dictionary of the English Language, One main Object of which, is, to establish a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation.

The author was an Irishman, but familiar with the standard pronunciation.

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[1] Ellis, p. 1040.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

766. The two main sound-changes in the transition from ME to MnE are (1) the dropping of unstrest *e* in endings, and (2) the shortening of double medial consonants. These changes had already been carried out in eNorth., where the unstrest *e* does not count at all in verse, and where we find such spellings as *calis* (CM) = OE *cealliaþ*, *bigines* (MH). Generally, however, both in eNorth. and eMn the consonant-doubling was kept as a sign of the shortness of the preceding vowel. This naturally led to doubling conss. which were originally written single in ME, when preceded by a short vowel. This is rare in North., where the doublings in such words as *littel*, *goddes*, *commyng*, *wonnyng* (CM) correspond to real doubling in Chaucer's dialect, although all these words had single conss. in OE as well as in North. itself. But in such MnE spellings as *penny*, *sorrow* the doubling of the conss. was never anything but a sign of vowel-quantity. The dropping of final *e* in such words as *falle* inf., *lesse* led also to the doubling of final as well as medial conss. to show that the preceding vowel was short, not only in *fall* and *less*, but also in *small*, *glass* etc = ME *smal*, *glas*.

767. At first there was great confusion in the writing of the *e* and the doubling of conss. The *e* was often written after short as well as long vowels, as in *hyme* by the side of *hym*, though in such cases its significance was generally neutralized by doubling the cons., as in *sonne* = OE *sunu*. *e* was always kept after (v), because this cons. was generally written *u*, as in ME, through the greater part of the eMn period. We still mechanically retain this usage, writing final *e* in *have* (hæv) as well as in *behave* (biheiv), *love* (lav) etc. In eMn such a spelling as **lou* would have suggested our *low* (lou). In our present spelling we use *e* as a lengthener only when a single cons. precedes, but in eMn such spellings as *chylde* = ME *chīld* are not unfrequent. The following examples from Tindal will give an idea of the irregularities of fMn usage:

fare (= ME *fāre*), *care* . *life* (= *līf*) . *chylde* (= *chīld*) . *tooke* (= *tōk*).

hyme, *hym* (= *him*) . *live* (= *liven*), *love* (= *luve*).

stones, *strets* (=*stǭnes*, *strētes*) . *ax* (=*axe*).

cuppe, *cup* (=*cuppe*) . *penny*, *peny* (=*peni*), *boddy*, *body* (=*bodi*) . *openned* (=*opened*).

all, *ledd* ptc, *gospell* . *worship*, *worshippe* . *sun*, *sunne* (=*sunne*), *sonne* (=*sune*).

cloocke (=*clǭke*), *goodds* (=*gōdes*).

neet, *nettes* (=*net*, *nettes*), *beed* (=*bed*).

768. In MnE *ck* becomes the regular doubling of *k*. *ssh* (*fissher* in Td) is simplified to *sh*. *f* is sometimes doubled initially (to indicate the breath sound?), as in *ffor* (Td), a usage which still survives in some surnames.

769. The irregularity in the use of silent *e* and of cons.-doubling in eMn was, as we are expressly told by Sb, kept up for the convenience of the printers 'in consideration for iustifiyng of the lynes.'

770. The ME use of *y* for *i* was carried to a great excess in eMn, the two letters being used almost at random, except that *i* was rarely written finally, such spellings as *thi* for *thy* being exceptional. Final *i* was also written *ie*, not only in such words as *lie*=ME *līe*, but also in *manie*, *-lie* etc. The present use of the Fr *c* to denote (s) in E. words was begun in fMn, the older *s* being also kept; thus Td has *ons*, *once*, *thryse*, *pence*, *falce*. For the MnE *ea*, *oa* see 817, 831.

VOWELS.

771. The changes from ME to MnE are so gradual, that instead of starting from a fMn vowel-scheme, it will be more practical to take each lME vowel separately, and trace it down to LE.

a

772. Sb says of the Welsh *a* that 'it hath the true pronunciation of *a* in Latin,' and that it is never sounded 'so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this word *wagen*.' Again he says:

> 'A in English is of the same sound as *a* in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English ALE, *aal*, cervisia, PALE, *paal*, SALE, *sal*.'

Here the last should be *saal*; Sb in his phonetic transcriptions often, but not always, doubles the vowel to show it is long, and doubles the following cons. when the vowel is short. These three examples are all of long *a*, but in other places he gives us transcriptions of short *a*, thus *narrowe: narrw*, *sparrowe : sparw*, *kwarter*, *hand*, *fflacs*. The present sound of Welsh *a* is J, J˖, which is also the standard North Gm sound. In Saxony, however, *a* has the deep sound of ᴊ (sometimes ᴊ?), which, of course, is the one alluded to by Sb. To judge, indeed, from Lediard's (1725) identification of the North Gm *a* with the E. *a* in *fall* this ᴊ was formerly universal in Gm. It is, therefore, clear that Sb pronounced E. *a* as J. HVg has the same transcription as Sb.

773. Pg (1530) says:

> 'The soundyng of a, whiche is most generally vsed through out the frenche tonge, is suche as we vse with vs, where the best englysshe is spoken, whiche is lyke as the Italians sounde a, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght.'

Here, again, the Italian *a* is pure J. Fr *a* is now J˖ and ᴊ, but the 16th cent. Fr grammarians state that it was clearer than the *o*-like German *a*. Pg's 'correct' pronunciation of *a* was, therefore, the same as Sb's. But he tacitly admits that there was another pronunciation. What this pronunciation was, we seem to learn from his contemporary du Guez: 'Ye shal pronounce your [French] *a* as wyde open mouthed as ye can, your *e*, as ye do in latyn, almost as brode as ye pronounce your *a* in englysshe.' This points to a sound between ᴊ or J on the one side and ɩ on the other, that is, to J˖, or, more probably, to the ɩ of our *man*, a sound which, as we shall see, was fully established in the next cent. Equally clear is the statement of Erondell in 1605:

> 'Our *A* is not sounded . . after the rate of the english word *ale*, for if a Frenchman should write it according to the English sound, hee would write it in this wise *esl*, and sound it as if there were no *s*.'

774. The question now arises, May not Pg and Sb have had the same ɩ-sound, and identified it wrongly with the J of other languages? This would be possible with Pg, but hardly with

an accurate observer like Sb, who was perfectly familiar with both of the languages whose sounds he compares. On the whole, it seems safest to assume that fMn *a* had been fronted —certainly as far as]˖, and probably as far as ɩ—in the London dialect, but that the tradition of the older] was still kept up by the influx of provincial speakers, so that the two sounds really existed side by side. It is to be noted that, according to Butler (1633), short *a*, as in *man*, *hat*, had a different sound from long *a*, as in *mane*, *hate*. Does this point to]˖, ɩ˖? In Danish the short and long *a* diverge as],]⊢, which would be precisely parallel. In Swedish, however, it is exactly the contrary :], ɟ˖ (almost ɟ˖). But see 780.

775. Wallis (1653) distinguishes nine E. vowels, three guttural (ɟ, ʅ, 1), three palatal (ɩ, [, [˖), and three labial (]˖, ɨ, f˖). Of the palatal vowels he says:

> ‘Vocales Palatinae in Palato formantur, aëre scilicet inter palati et linguae medium moderate compresso : dum nempe concavum palati, elevato linguae medio, minus redditur, quàm in gutturalibus proferendis. Suntque in triplici gradu, prout concavum magis minusve contrahitur. Quae quidem diversitas duobus modis fieri potest ; vel fauces contrahendo, manente lingua in eodem situ ; vel faucibus in eodem situ manentibus, linguae medium altius et ad interiores palati partes elevando : utrovis enim modo fiat, vel etiam si utroque, perinde est.
>
> ‘Majori aperturâ formatur Anglorum *a*, hoc est *á* exile. Quale auditur in vocibus, *bat*, vespertilio ; *bate*, discordia ; *pal*, palla Episcopalis ; *pale*, pallidus ; *Sam* (Samuelis contractio) ; *same*, idem ; *lamb*, agnus ; *lame*, claudus ; *dam*, mater (brutorum) ; *dame*, domina ; *bar*, vectis ; *bare*, nudus ; *ban*, exsecror ; *bane*, pernicies ; etc. Differt hic sonus a Germanorum *â* pingui seu aperto ; eo quod Angli linguae medium elevent, adeoque aerem in Palato comprimant ; Germani vero linguae medium deprimant, adeoque aërem comprimant in gutture. Galli fere sonum illum proferunt ubi *e* praecedit literam *m* vel *n*, in eadem syllaba ut *entendement*, etc. Cambro-Britanni, hoc sono solent suum *a* pronunciare.’

In another place he says:

> ‘A plerumque pronunciatur sono magis exili quam apud alias plerasque gentes : eodem fere modo quo Gallorum *e* sequente *n* in voce

entendement, sed paulo acutius et clarius; seu ut *a* Italorum. Non autem ut Germanorum *á* pingue; quem sonum nos plerumque exprimere solemus per *au* vel *aw*, si producatur; aut per *ŏ* breve si corripiatur.'

776. This description of an open vowel formed by the middle of the tongue and palate points distinctly to our present ɩ in *man*. The clear back vowels ʅ, ȷ were evidently unfamiliar to W., who only knew the extremes ɟ and ɩ, and hence considered the Welsh and Italian ʅ as a variety of ɩ, and identified the Gm ȷ with ɟ. But he does not actually confuse ɩ and ʅ, for he expressly says that the E. *a* is thinner in sound than the foreign *a*. Wilkins's description is vague, but not inconsistent with W.'s.

777. Cooper's (1685) list of exact pairs of long and short vowel sounds is as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(*a*)	can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meet	foot
(*b*)	cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool
=	ɩ	ʗ	ʃ	ɟ	ɫ	ʅ	ɾ	ɨ
	Ɩᵻ	ɿᵻ	ʗᵻ	ɟᵻ	}ᵻ	—	ɾᵻ	ɨᵻ

2a was possibly ɩ, and 2b may have been ʗᵻ. 4b is now ɟᵻ, and may have been narrow even in Cp's time. 6a may have been ʅ. 7a and 8a were probably half-long rather than strictly short. It will be observed that Cp was dissatisfied with the traditional pairing of ɾ ɾᵻ, ɨ ɨᵻ, and imagined that ɾ ʗᵻ, ɨ }ᵻ were the true pairs, not being familiar either with the true short narrows ɾ ɨ or the long wides ɾᵻ ɨᵻ. This identification of ɾ ʗ, ɾᵻ ʗᵻ resp. is still a common error both of theoretical and practical phoneticians (174). Cp says:

'A formatur à medio linguæ ad concavum palati paululùm elevato. In his *can* possum, *pass by* prætereo, *a* corripitur; in *cast* jacio[1], *past* pro *passed* præteritus, producitur. Frequentissimus auditur hic sonus apud *Anglos*, qui semper hoc modo pronunciant *a* latinum; ut in *amabam*. Sic etiam apud *Cambro-britannos*; quandoque apud *Gallos*; ut in *animal*, *demande*, rarò autem aut nunquam apud *Germanos*. Hunc sonum correptum & productum semper scribimus per *a*; at huic characteri præterea adhibentur sonus unus et alter: prior qui

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[1] Printed *jaceo*.

pro vocali ejus longâ habetur, ut in *cane*, definitur sect. sequenti; posterior ut in *was* sect. septimâ sub *o* gutturalem.'

'*E* formatur à linguâ magis elevatâ et expansâ quàm in *a* propriùs ad extremitatem, unde concavum palati minus redditur & sonus magis acutus; ut in *ken* video. Sic apud *Germanos menschen* homines. Apud *Gallos* rarò ut in *excês*, *proteste*, *session*, & *Benjamin* obsoleto. Hunc sonum correptum *Angli* semper exprimunt per *e* brevem; & *e* brevem nunquam aliter pronunciant nisi ante *r*, ubi propter tremulam ipsius motionem, & vocalis subtilitatem subitâ correptione comitatam, vix aliter efferri potest quam *ur*; ideo *per* in *pertain* pertineo, & *pur* in *purpose* propositum ejusdem sunt valoris. Vera hujusce soni productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falso denominatur; ut in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto; & ante *ge* ut *age* ætas; in cæteris autem vocabulis, (*ni fallor*) omnibus ubi *e* quiescens ad finem syllabæ post *a*, adjicitur; *u* gutturalis . . inseritur post *a*; ut in *name* nomen, quasi scriberetur *na-um* dissyllabum.' He proceeds to say that this sound is usually written *ai* or *ay*, sometimes *ey*, and rarely *ea*.

'Post *a* in omnibus, nisi in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto, *stranger* advena, *strange* alienus, *manger* præsepe, *mangy* scabiosus, & ante *ge;* ut *age* ætas; inseritur *u* gutturalis, quæ nihil aliud est quàm continuatio nudi murmuris postquam *a* formatur, nam propter exilitatem, ni accuratiùs attenditur; ad proximam consonantem, sine interveniente *u* non facilè transibit lingua. Differentia auribus, quæ sonos distinguere possunt, manifestò apparebit in exemplis sequenti ordine dispositis.

a brevis.	a longa.	*a* exilis.
Bar vectis	*Barge* navicula	*Bare* nudus
blab effutio	*blast* flatus	*blazon* divulgo
cap pileum	*carking* anxietas	*cape* capa
car carrus	*carp* carpo	*care* cura
cat catus	*cast* jactus	*case* theca
dash allido	*dart* jaculum	*date* dactylus
flash fulguro	*flasket* corbis genus	*flake* flocculus
gash cæsura	*gasp* oscito	*gate* janua
grand grandis	*grant* concedo	*grange* villa
land terra	*lanch* solvo	*lane* viculus
mash farrago	*mask* larva	*mason* lapidarius
pat aptus	*path* semita	*pate* caput
tar pix fluida	*tart* scriblita	*tares* lolia

'Si quid amplius ad hanc veritatem confirmandam velles, accipe

exempla sequentia; in quibus *ai* leniter pronunciata sonum habet *a* puræ; ut in *cane*, *a* verò post se admittit *u* gutturalem ut,

Bain	balneum	*Hail*	grando	*Maid*	virgo
bane	venenum	*hale*	traho	*made*	factus
main	magnus	*lay'n*	jacui	*pain*	dolor
mane	juba	*lane*	viculus	*pane*	quadra
plain	manifestus	*spaid*	castratus	*tail*	cauda
plane	lævigo	*spade*	ligo	*tale*	fabula.'

778. Miege (1688) says:

'Dans la langue Anglaise cette voyelle A s'appelle et se prononce *ai*. Lors qu'elle est jointe avec d'autres Lettres, elle retient ce même Son dans la plupart des Mots; mais il se prononce tantôt long, tantôt bref. L'*a* se prononce en *ai* long generalement lorsqu'il est suivi immediatement d'une consonne, et d'une *e* final. Exemple *fare*, *tare*, *care*, *grace*, *fable*, qui se prononcent ainsi, *faire*, *taire*, *caire*, *graice*, *faible* . . . . . D'ailleurs, *a* se prononce en *ai* bref ou en *e* ouvert, lorsqu'il se trouve entre deux Consonnes, au milieu des Monosyllabes; comme *hat*, *cap*, *mad*. Mais il approche du Son de nôtre *a*, à la fin des Noms en *al*, *ar*, & *ard* qui ont plus d'une syllabe. Exemple *general*, *special*, *animal*, *Grammar*, *altar*, *singular*, *particular*; *mustard*, *custard*, *bastard*, *vizard*, & autres semblables. Excepté *regard*, qui se prononce *regaird*; *award* & *reward* où il sonne comme en Français . . . . . Dans le mot de *Jane* l'*a* se prononce on *e* masculin, *Dgéne*.'

Fr *ai* had by this time evidently been smoothed into (*e*), so Mg's account fully harmonises with the other evidence.

779. Mg, like W., makes no qualitative distinction between short and long *a*. Cp, on the other hand, expressly states that the vowel in such words as *wane* was not the long of ɩ in *cat* etc, but of *e* in *ken*, which would make it either ɩ• or ʃ•. He finds this pure (*ee*) in the words *cane* and *wane*, in *ā* before (ndʒ) and (dʒ), as in *strange*, *age*, and in *ai*, as in *tail*: (k*ee*n, w*ee*n, str*ee*ndʒ, *ee*dʒ, t*ee*l). Elsewhere a vowel-murmur is added, as in *name* (n*ee*əm), *tale* (t*ee*əl) distinguished from (t*ee*l) =*tail*. The pure (*ee*) is evidently due to the influence of the front *i* in *ai* and the once front cons. (dʒ). This distinction between (*ee*) and (*ee*ə) cannot, however, have been kept up long, for there is no trace of it in LE, in which Cp's two vowels are both represented by (ei), as in (teil)=*tail*, *tale*.

780. The vowel in all these words is ME *ā* or *ai* (in some cases *au*). But Cp also recognises a lengthening of his (æ)= ME *a*, as in *carp* (kææ̈rp) contrasted with *car* (kær), *path* (pææþ) with *pat* (pæt). His examples are not enough to enable us to determine with certainty the conditions of this lengthening, but it seems to have been regular before *r* and *s* followed by another cons. (kææ̈rp, dææ̈rt; kææst, gææsp), the short vowel being preserved before single *r* and *sh* (kær, dæʃ). He has (ææ) before (þ) in (pææþ), and the analogy of LE would make us expect the same lengthening before single *s* in *glass* etc. This distinction between 'Modern-long' (ææ) and 'Middle-long' (*ee*, *ee*ə) is borne out by LE, in which (paaþ, peit) correspond to Cp's (pææþ, p*ee*ət), (ææ) having been broadened into (aa), while (æ) remains unchanged, as in (pæt). This Mn-long (ææ) is not found in the fMn authorities, who write (a) in (kast) etc. It must, indeed, have come in after the change of fMn (ææ)=ME *ā* into (*ee*), for otherwise we should have had *(peiþ)=*path* in LE. Hence, on the other hand, if, as was highly probable, *path* had (ææ) in W.'s pronunciation as well as Cp's, his *mane* cannot possibly have had (ææ) also, but must have had Cp's (*ee*) or (*ee*ə). It now appears probable that Bt's distinction between *a* and ą (774) may, after all, have been identical with Cp's—that he, too, pronounced (mæn, m*ee*n or m*ee*ən).

781. The three sounds (æ, ææ, *ee*), as in *man*, *path*, *name*, were preserved unchanged in thMn, except that (*ee*) was perhaps narrowed to (ee) [ɫ towards the end of the 18th cent. In LE they are represented resp. by (æ, aa, ei) ɩ,]ɫɪ, [ɫɾ˗. The present (aa) is still ignored by Sheridan in 1780, who only admits (pææþ) etc.

782. The LE (aa) corresponds not only to Cp's (ææ), but also to his (æ) when followed by *r*, so that his (kær) and (kææ̈rp) both have the same vowel (kaar, kaap), which is, however, of totally different origin in the two words. In (kaap)=*carp* it is the result of an isolative change of (ææ) into (aa); in (kaar)=*car* the change is combinative—due to qualitative influence of *r* which is so marked in thMn and LE (904). The stages of the latter change were (kær, kar, kaər, kaar), the *r* being then dropped when not followed by a vowel beginning the next word. eMn (æ) followed by *r* + a vowel in the same word is, in accordance with the general principle (905), kept unchanged, as in (nærou)=*narrow*.

783. It will be observed that LE (aa) always points to lME *a* (or *e* before *r*), never to *ā*, which in LE is represented by (ei) everywhere except before *r*, where it retains the earlier (*ee*)-sound, as in (heər)=ME *hāre*, contrasted with (haad)=ME *hard*. Exceptions are only apparent. Thus LE (raaðər) points to a ME *raþer*, the ME doublet *rāþer* being represented by the archaic vg (reiðər). (aar), again, corresponds not to the strong ME *āre*, but to the weak *are*, *ar*, the original strong form being represented by the vg (eər).

784. In fMn an *u*-glide was developed between *a* and *l*, as shown by Td's occasional spellings *faull*, *caulfe*=ME *falle*, *calf*. Salesbury says that in the English *calme*, *call*, the *a* 'is thought to decline toward the sound of the diphthong *au*.' And again: 'Sometimes *a* has the sounde of the diphthong *aw* especially when it precedes *l* or *ll*, as may be more clearly seen in these words: BALDE *bawld* calvus, BALL, *bawl*, pila; WALL *wawl* murus.' In the next cent. this diphthong generally followed the fate of *au*=ME *au*, being smoothed into ɟɨ, whence our ɟɨ in (fɔl) etc (859). For the *au* in eMn *a*(*u*)*nswer* etc see 860.

785. In LE *a* and *ar* are rounded to (o) and (ɔ) resp. after *w*, as in (swolou, woz, wont, whot)=*swallow*, *was*, *want*, *what*, (dwɔf, swɔm, wɔp)=*dwarf*, *swarm*, *warp*. Also after *wr*=eMn ωɘ (919) in (roþ, rɔþ)=*wrath* and the vg (rop)=*wrap* (ræp). lME *ā* is not affected in this way, *wāvien*, *wānien* appearing as (weiv, wein) *wave*, *wane* in LE. (wɔtər) seems, together with (rɔþ), to point to sMn (wææter), although the fMn authorities write the word with (aa). The first recognition of this influence of *w* is in Cp's statement that the *a* in *was* is a 'guttural' *o*. Wk still writes (wæz) in his phonetic transcription. Even in LE the rounding is barred by a back cons. following the vowel, as in (wæks, wæg, twæŋ) *wax*, *wag*, *twang*. Of course, where the combination (wɔ) is the result of parasiting before *l*, as in (wɔk)=*wa*(*u*)*lk*, a following back cons. has no effect.

i

786. The Welsh HVg and the transcriptions of Sb express E. *i* in some words by *i*, in others by *y*, not at random, but according to strict rules. *i* is used to express final weak *i*, before the back nasal in *ng*, *nk*, before *cht* (*ght*)=∩ʊ, and once before *sh*. *y* is written before the foreward conss *th*, *s*, *n*, *t*, and the lip conss. *v*, *m*. Of the following examples those that occur only in HVg are marked H, those which occur only in Sb are marked S, those which occur in both being left unmarked:

-i: ladi, michti *H*, redi *H*.

-ing: king, thing *H*, wynning *H*, blessing *H*, gelding *S*, begging *S*.

-ink: wrinkl *S*, twinkl *S*.

-icht: richt, knicht, micht *H*, bricht *H*.

-ish: wish *H*.

-yth: wyth *H*.

-ys: ddys, ys *H*, hys *H*, blys(s) *H*, thystl *S*.

-yn: wynn, yn *H*, syn *H*, thynn *S*.

-yt: yt *H*.

-yf: lyf 'live' *H*.

-ym: hym *H*.

Exceptions are very few. *is* for *ys* occurs once in HVg, and is no doubt a mere scribal error, as also *holy* in Sb against *holi*, *lili*. The first *i* of the latter word may be due to a syllabification *li-li*. Unfortunately there are no examples before *k* and *g*, where the analogy of the nasals would lead us to expect *i*.

787. In North Welsh *i* is narrow Ɩ both long and short, and *y* is I in some positions, ɪ in others, Welshmen tending to identify our short ɩ with their I. There can, therefore, be no doubt that in fMn *i* had the two sounds Ɩ and ɩ, the original Ɩ being preserved before back and front conss., including the once fronted (ʃ), and also finally. It is this narrow Ɩ which is probably indicated by the frequent eMn *ie* for *y* in *ladie* etc, and by the later *ee* in *coffee* etc, which could not well have had long (ii). We now pronounce ſ everywhere, in *lady* as well as *king* etc. When the change took place before conss. it is impossible to determinate accurately. The widening must, however, have been completed in Cp's time, as shown by his pairing *meet* and *need* as short and long (777).

e

788. *e* is now ʗ in the South, ɩ in the North of E. and in Scotland. The eMn sound was probably ʗ, for ɩ would have either remained unchanged, or been widened to ʅ, or raised to ʃ—a sound which, as we see from Cp's vowel-scale, did not exist in sMn (777).

789. The change of *e* into *a* before *r*, which was already carried out in lME in such words as *harien*=older *herzien*, *harvest*=the normal *hervest*, is carried much further in MnE. *er* + vowel is preserved unchanged, except, of course, in *harry* and *tarry*, where the *a* is lME. All final *ers*, on the other hand, become *ar* in fMn, with the exception of the weak *her*, the older *e* only occurring in the earliest texts, the change being also very general when a cons. follows the *r*: *star* (*starre* Td, *sterr* Cheke), *far* (*farre* Td)=ME *sterre*, *fer*; *marsh*, *starve*, *dark* (*a*, *e* Td) = ME *mersh*, *sterven*, *derk*. *darling*, *farthing* point to shortness of the *e* in ME *derling*, *ferthing*. Many of the words in which the change has not taken place are written with *ea*, pointing to group-lengthening: *earl*, *earn* etc. Several of these, however, have (aa) in LE, such as *hearth*, *heart* (*herte* Td). As there seems no reason to suppose that the vowel of *herte* was ever lengthened, the spelling with *ea* may be a mere orthographic compromise between *hert* and *hart*, which last is the spelling of the phonetically identical equivalent of ME *hert* 'stag.'

790. The change of (e) into (æ) in the LE *thresh*, *thrash* is due to the preceding *r*, which has an analogous effect in *break* (821) and *broad* (841).

u

791. Sb transcribes short *u* with his Welsh *w* ɿ, as in *lwst*, *bwck*, *gwt*. The HVg also has *w* in most words: *ffwl* 'full,' *ws*, *kwning*, *swking*. But, remarkably enough, it has the same symbol as it employs for ſ (786) in some words, nl *y*. In *synn* =OE *sunu*, *sunne* the *y* is constant. It occurs also in *yntw* 'unto,' *sym* (miswritten *synn*), *trysti*, *lyf* 'love,' *syts* 'such,' and in *syprest*. In all of these cases, except the last, the analogy of *i*, *y* would lead us to expect a wide ɬ. The *y* of *syts* might be explained as the representation of a dialectal *ü* (800), but this will not apply to *synn*, and the conclusion seems inevitable that the writer of HVg meant to indicate a distinction between ɫ and ɬ. As ɬ has a lower pitch than ɫ, and consequently sounds less markedly rounded, and nearer the obscure (ə), it was natural to denote it by the Welsh *y* in its second value ɪ. That this symbolization was not carried out strictly, is evidently due to the ambiguity of using *y* in the two very different values ſ and ɬ. HVg also writes *y* for shortened ɫꜟ = ME *ō* in *dynn* 'done,' the spelling *dywn* being apparently a compromise between *dyn* and *dwn*. The latter would be the more correct spelling, as the vowel was probably narrow.

792. The other fMn authorities give no indications of a distinction of wide and narrow (u); nor, indeed, do any of them give any clear account of the mechanism of the vowel. Smith, however, pairs *full* and *fool*, *to* and *too*, *but* and *boot* etc, as short and long, and Butler says that while *oo* and *u* long differ much in sound, 'when they are short they are all one; for *good* and *gud*, *blood* and *blud*, *woolf* and *wulf* have the same sound.' As *oo* had the sound ɫꜟ in fMn (833), and as *full, to*, *wolf* preserve the sound ɬ to the present day, we may confidently assume that *but*, *luck*, *mud*, whose *u* Smith also pairs with *oo*, had either ɬ or ɫ. The fact that Florio in 1611 identifies the E. *u* in *tun*, *stud*, *dug* with the Italian close *o* }, points clearly to ɬ, not ɫ, in these words at least.

793. In the phonetic writings of the sMn period we find the first indications of the change of *u* into a sound resembling our present] in *but*. Wallis says:

> '*U* vocalis quando corripitur effertur sono obscuro. Ut in *but* sed, *cut* seco, *bur* lappa, *burst* ruptus, *curst* maledictus, etc. Sonum hunc Galli proferunt in ultima syllaba vocis *serviteur*. Differt à Gallorum *e* feminino, non aliter quam quod ore minus aperto

efferatur. Discrimen hoc animadvertent Angli dum pronunciant voces Latinas *iter*, *itur ; ter ter*, *turtur ; cerdo surdo ; ternus Turnus ; terris turris ; refertum, furtum*, &c.'

In his theoretical part he gives the following further particulars of the French *e fœmininum* and the *ŭ obscurum:*

'Eodem loco,' that is, *in summo gutture*, 'sed apertura faucium mediocri,' that is, less than for *à*, 'formatur Gallorum *e* fœmininum; sono nempe obscuro. Non aliter ipsius formatio differt à formatione præcedentis *à* aperti (ɟ•), quam quod magis contrahuntur fauces, minùs autem quam in formatione Vocalis sequentis (ŧ). Hunc sonum Angli vix uspiam agnoscunt; nisi cum vocalis *e* brevis immediatè præcedat literam *r* (atque hoc quidem non tam quia debeat sic efferri, sed quia vix commodè possit aliter; licet enim, si citra molestiam fieri possit, etiam illic sono vivido, hoc est, masculo, efferre ;) ut *vertue* virtus, *liberty* libertas &c.

'Ibidem etiam, sed *Minori* adhuc faucium aperturâ sonatur *ò* vel *ŭ* obscurum. Differt à Gallorum *e* fœminino non aliter quàm quòd ore minus aperto, labia proprius accedant. Eundem sonum ferè efferunt Galli in postrema syllaba vocum *serviteur*, *sacrificateur*, etc. Angli plerumque exprimunt per *ŭ* breue, in *turn*, verto; *burn*, uro; *dull*, segnis, obtusus; *cut*, seco, etc. Nonnunquam *o* et *ou* negligentiùs pronuntiantes eodem sono efferunt, ut in *còme*, venio; *sòme*, aliquis; *dòne*, actum; *còmpany*, consortium; *country*, rus; *couple*, par; *còvet*, concupisco; *lòve*, amo, aliisque aliquot; quæ alio tamen sono rectius efferri deberent. Cambro-Britanni ubique per *y* scribunt; nisi quòd hanc literam in ultimis syllabis plerumque ut *i* efferant.'

794. Wilkins describes short *u* as 'a simple letter, apert, sonorous, guttural; being framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat.'

795. Holder has, as Mr. Ellis remarks, 'very acutely anticipated Mr. M. Bell's separation of the labial and lingual passages, and the possibility of adding a labial passage to every lingual one.' He says:

'In *o* the larynx is depressed, or rather drawn back by contraction of the aspera arteria. And the tongue likewise is drawn back and curved; and the throat more open to make a round passage: and though the lips be not of necessity, yet the drawing them a little rounder, helps to accomplish the pronunciation of it, which is not enough to denominate it a labial vowel, because it receives not its articulation from the lips. *Oo* seems to be made by a like posture of the tongue and throat with *o* but the larynx somewhat more depressed. And if at the same time the lips be contracted, and borne stiffly near together, then is made ȣ; *u* with the tongue in the posture of *i* but not so stiff, and the lip borne near the upper lip by a strong tension of the muscles, and bearing upon it at either corner of the mouth.'

'ȣ is made by the throat and tongue and lip; in ȣ the tongue being in the posture, which makes *oo*; and in *u* in the same posture, which makes *i*, and in this ȣ and *u* are peculiar, that they are framed by a double motion of organs, that of the lip, added to that of the tongue; and yet either of them is a single letter, and not two, because the motions are at the same time, and not successive, as are *eu*, *pla* &c. Yet for this reason they seem not to be absolutely so simple vowels as the rest, because the voice passeth successively from the throat to the lips in ȣ and from the palate to the lips in *u*, being there first moulded into the figures of *oo* and *i*, before it be fully articulated by the lips. And yet either these two, ȣ and *u*, are to be admitted for single vowels, or else we must exclude the lips from being the organs of any single vowel since that the mouth being necessary to conduct the voice to the lips, will, according to the shape of its cavity, necessarily give the voice some particular affection of sound in its passage, before it come to the lips; which will seem to make some such composition in any vowel which is labial. I have been inclined to think, that there is no labial vowel, but that the same affection from the lips may, somewhat in the nature of a consonant, be added to every of the vowels, but most subtlely and aptly to two of them, whose figures are in the extremes of aperture and situation, one being the closest and forwardest, which is *i*, and the other most open and backward; there being reason to allow a vowel of like sound in the throat with ȣ, but distinct from it as not being labial, which will be more familiar to our eye if it be written *oo*; as in *cut coot, full fool, tut toot*, in which the lip does not concur; and this is that other. Thus *u* will be only *i* labial, and ȣ will be *oo* labial, that is, by adding that motion of the under-lip, *i* will become *u*, and *oo* will become ȣ.' He proceeds to use his *i, u,* ȣ in the formation of diphthongs and concludes thus: 'Concerning ȣ and *u*, this may be observed, that in subjoining them to another vowel, ȣ is apter to follow *a* and *o*, because of their resemblance in the posture of the tongue, as hath been said; and for the like reason *u* is apter to follow *a* and *e*, as *ȣaȣl wawl; euge* etc. But generally if the vowels follow, then it is ȣ precedes and not *u*.'

796. Cooper says:

'*U* formatur tantùm in gutture, à larynge spiritum vibrante, nudum efficiente murmur, quod idem est cum gemitu hominis ægritudine vel dolore excruciati; quodque infantes (priusquam loqui valeant) primùm edunt: Et fundamentum est, à quo *omnes cæteræ vocales*, variâ modificatione constituuntur . . . . Hunc sonum correptum vix unquam aliter pronunciant *Angli* quàm in *nut* nux; prout etiam in linguâ latinâ, ni ubi consonans præcedens sit labialis, ut priùs dixi, et labiis dat formam quâ sonus plenior effertur, ut in *pull* vello, inter hos minima datur, datur tamen specifica, differentia; ille etenim sonus dilutior est, hic plenior, ille formatur a larynge tantùm in gutture, hic à labiis contractis; dum itaque *o* labiis formatur in sono continuato, si recedant labia in oblongam formam formatur *u* gutturalis; in quibusdam scribitur per *o* ut, *to come*[1] venire; *Galli* hoc modo, vel saltem persimili, olim sonarunt fæminarum *e*, ut in *providence*. Germani syllabus *ham* et *berg* in propriis nominibus. Nunquam in proprio sono apud nos productum audivi, ni in musicâ modulatione, vel inter populos, præcipuè pueros cunctanter pronunciantes; pro longâ enim vocali assumit dipthongum *eu*.'

797. Miege says that short *u* is pronounced *o* (meaning Fr *o*) in *but*, *cut*, *rub*, *up*, *under*, *run*, *eu* in *us*.

798. As regards the formation of the sound, we learn nothing from Mg, and all we learn from Wk is, that it was a back vowel. Wk's statement that it is formed 'without any particular motion of the tongue and lips' would, if taken literally, point to some unrounded mixed vowel, such as ʅ. This would be very near our], but as W. and Holder agree in describing a very different sound, it seems safer to assume that Wk's statement is simply vague and inaccurate. W. states expressly that *u* is a back vowel of an obscure sound closely resembling the open Fr *eu* ƒ♦, formed with a narrower jaw-opening than the E. *e* in *vertue*, which he identifies with the Fr *e* feminine, this sound again being formed with a closer jaw-opening than the ɟ· (now ɟ·) of *fall*. The Fr vowel in *le* is now a half-wide {, but as it is a weakening of *e*, being actually identified with [by the Lyons phonetician Meigret in the 16th cent., there seems every reason to suppose that it may once have been ʅ, as in Gm *gabe*, which in some parts of South Germany is still [. Anyhow, it is certain that sMn *e* in *her* etc must have had some such sound as ʅ, for it is now ɟ·. W., then, distinguishes three back vowels according to height, his 'back' including 'mixed' as well:

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[1] *come* is meant for the example, not *to* = (tu).

high-back : 1 or 1 as in *but*, *bur*
mid-back : ʅ „ ʅ „ „ Fr *le*, E. *her*
low-back : ɟ „ ɟ „ „ *fall*.

Holder's description is equally clear, and can leave no doubt as to the value of his symbols: *oo* = 1, 8 = ɫ, *u* = f. He does not state expressly, as W. does, that 1 was a high vowel, but he is quite explicit in identifying its tongue-position with that of ɫ. This much is therefore certain, that the first step in the change of ME *u* into the present] was simple unrounding without change of tongue-position. This unrounding, again, was probably a gradual process, such as is now going on in Swedish, where original *u* is represented by 1›, while *ū* has become ɫ⊦·. It is quite possible that this unrounding had begun in fMn, which would make the identification of wide ɫ = 1› with Welsh *y* still easier (791). There must, therefore, have been a time when the *u* of *cut*, *full* was exactly half-way in sound between the (u)-group and the (ə)-group. It is to this period that we must probably refer the present return of (ɐ) to the (u)-quality which has taken place regularly between a lip cons. and an *l*, which in E. has always had something of an (u)-timbre, as shown by the fMn change of (al) into (aul) etc. (u) = ME *u* is, accordingly, now fixed in (wul, wulf, ful, pul, bulək), appearing also in some words before other conss. when *w* precedes: (wumən), (wud) 'silva' against (wandər) etc. But in the last two centuries there was considerable fluctuation, especially after *w* as in (wumæn, wɐmæn). Buchanan and Sheridan still have (ɐ) in *fulsome* against (u) in *full*, and the tradition of (pɐt, bɐtʃər) etc has not yet died out, being partly maintained by the influence of Midland and Northern speakers. Holder, indeed, even seems to unround (uu) = ME ō, as in *fool*, which he makes the long of *full*, in both of which he says 'the lip does not concur.' But as Cp give (u) in *full*, it seems probable that in Holder's pronunciation there was *some* rounding; as we see, W. ignores the undoubted rounding of ɟ⁎, and Holder himself, while admitting the rounding of *o*, does not consider it essential. The utmost we can allow, therefore, is, that Holder's *full*, *fool* were pronounced with l›, l⁎ respectively. But as *oo* is still fully rounded in E., there is some difficulty in realizing such a pronunciation. According to Mr. Ellis, Holder makes a distinction between the vowels in *fool* and in *two*, which all earlier and later authorities identify. It really seems safest to assume that Holder's *u* in *but*, *full* etc was so exactly halfway between ł and l that he was apt to confuse the sounds. This is confirmed by Cp's statement that the difference between the *u* in *nut* and *pull* though 'specific' is 'minute,' the two sounds differing only in the absence of rounding in the former, and its presence in the latter sound. When he says that *o* becomes *u* in *nut* when unrounded, he probably means by *o* the *u* of *full*, which he regards as the short of the }⁎ of *foal* (777). Mg heard the E. *u*—as foreigners still do—as a sound between his Fr *o* } and *eu* { or {̣.

799. We have no means of determining when l was lowered to its present representative]. Certainly not as long as (u) and (ɐ) were confused, as they are by Holder, or continued to be almost identical, as Cp says they were. Hence we cannot accept Cp's identification of his *u* in *nut* with the natural or 'ur-vocal,' which is repeated by Jones in 1701. Lediard in 1725 still tends to confuse (u) and (ɐ), which latter he describes as a quick, short German *a* J formed in the throat, which may be partly taken from Wallis, whom he follows closely. Of *u* in *full* he says that it has an obscure sound between German *u* short and E. (ɐ). Gm *u* short is now ł in North Germany—Ld learnt his Gm in Hamburg—so this remark seems to show that Ld's *u* in *full* was not so fully rounded as in the present pronunciation, which is practically identical with the Gm. We may, therefore, assume that the complete separation of (u) and (ɐ) by the full re-rounding of the former and the lowering of the latter was not universally carried out till at least the middle of the 18th cent.

ü

800. In conformity with its EMl origin, MnE generally has *i* for OE *y*, as in *stir*, *sin*, *hip*. In some words *ü* became *u* in lME, as in *mŏche*, MnE *much* (mɐtʃ). Wherever we have (ɐ) in LE, we may assume an intermediate (u), as in *worry*, *trust*, *such*. A dialectal variety of *ü* in ME was *e*, preserved in MnE *merry*, *hemlock* etc. Our (beri) = OE *bebyrgan* points to a different dialect from the written *bury*. In (bizi) and the vg (sitʃ) the (i) answers to the written *u* of *busy* and *such*, and in *build* the spoken (i) = OE *y* is represented by *ui*, as also in *guilt*, though the *u* here is probably a mere sign of hardness of the *g*, as in *guest*. As there is no (u, ɐ)-pronunciation of *busy* and *build*, their (i) is probably not a dialectal variation, but an unrounding of (y), which, as shown by the *u*, must have survived into MnE. We have direct evidence of such a survival. Sb says:

> 'U vowel, answers to the power of the two Welsh letters *u*, *w* and its usual power is *uw*, as shewn in the following words TRUE *truw* verus, VERTUE *vertuw* probitas. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins or like our own *w*, as in the words BUCKE *bwck* dama mas, LUST *lwst* libido. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases, as in BUSY *busi*, occupatus aut se immiscens.' Again in his pronunciation of Welsh he says: '*u* written after this manner *u*, is a vowel and soundeth as the vulgar English *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Huberden*. But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwythstanding the diuersitie of their sound) *sure*, *lucke*. Also the sound of *u* in French, or *ü* with two pricks over the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of *u* alludeth somwhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, thoughe yet none of them all, doeth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts

doeth. For the Welsh *u* is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte *u* and *y* beyng Latin vowels . . . and this vowell *u* alone amonge all the letters in Welsh, swarueth in sound from the true Latine pronunciation.'

Welsh *u* is now I, a sound which, although quite distinct in formation from the Fr f, is so like it acoustically as to be identified with it by unpractised Welsh ears. As Sb himself states that his *u* is distinct from, though similar to, the Fr *u* and Gm *ü*, there would be no difficulty in assuming that his Welsh *u* was the present I. But this is also one of the sounds of Welsh *y*—the vowels in *un dyn*, for instance, being both I+ or I+ɪ. But the two vowels must have been distinct in Sb's time, for he identifies the Welsh *y* with the E. vowel in *synne* etc—that is, with ſ—and does not hint at any resemblance of Welsh *y* to Welsh or French *u*. He says that Welsh *u* lies between Latin *u* and *y*. As he says that Welsh *u* is the only Welsh vowel that diverges from the true Latin pronunciation, we may infer that to him the true Latin *y* was the Welsh I. As the other fMn authorities expressly contrast the '*u* Gallicum' with the '*u* Latinum' = ɨ, which last Smith finds in the E. *full*, *book* etc, there can be little doubt that Sb means to say that Welsh *u* lies between ɨ and I or f. This would give the Norwegian Ɨ or Swedish Ɨ+ as his *u*, which is, however, improbable. Another hypothesis is, that the two sounds were I and I, which last is near enough to ſ to justify Sb's identification of Welsh and E. *y*. A third is, that W. *y* was ſ.

801. Anyhow it is certain that Sb heard an f-like sound in the vulgar (vg London?) pronunciation of *bury*, *busy*, *trust*, *Huberden*, and probably of other words as well. The first three words had *ü* in ME, alternating with *i*, *e* and *u* according to dialect, and the last word contains the Fr *Hubert*, which of course had *ü*. The *ui* of *build* ought to indicate a long vowel, and (byyld) is, in fact, one of the pronunciations given to this word by Gill.

O

802. There can be no doubt that the eMn *o* was, like its ME predecessor, an open sound, for Florio identifies the Italian open *o* ʒ with the E. vowel in *god* and *dog*, and Cp after him tacitly excludes short } from the list of E. sounds by confusing it with ɫ, just as Florio did before him. Florio also identifies It. ʒ with the long E. *o* in *stone* etc, which was certainly ʒ· at this time (839), Smith also pairing *hop*, *hope*, Bullokar *not*, *no* as shorts and longs of the same sound. Gill, too, pairs *to coll*, *coale*, writing them *o*, *ω* resp., the latter being kept quite distinct from the ɟ· of *tall*, which he writes *á* and calls 'broad *a*.' It is, therefore, clear that fMn *o* kept its ME sound ʒ.

803. In sMn W. and Cp agree in pairing *folly fall* as perfect longs and shorts, showing that *o* had now been lowered to the present ɟ. W.'s account of the *o*-sounds is as follows:

> '*â ŏ* aperta: Si aperturâ majori seu pleno rictu spiritus exeat, formatur Germanorum *â* vel *ŏ* apertum. Neque Germani solùm sed et Galli, aliique non pauci, eodem sono suum *a* plerumque proferunt. Angli sonum illum correptum per *ŏ* breue; productum verò plerumque per *au* vel *aw*, rarius per *â* exprimunt. Nam in *fâll*, *folly ; hâll*, *haul*, *holly ; câll*, *collar ; lawes*, *losse ; cause*, *cost ; aw'd odd ; saw'd*, *sod ;* aliisque similibus; idem prorsus Vocalium sonus auditur in primis syllabis, nisi quòd illic producatur his corripiatur.
>
> '*ô rotundum.* Majori labiorum apertura formatur *ô* rotundum; quo sono plerique proferunt Græcorum *ω*. Hoc sono Galli plerumque proferunt suum *au*. Angli ita fere semper proferunt *o* productum vel etiam *oa* (ipso *a* nimirum nunc dierum quasi evanescente; de quo idem hic judicium ferendum est ac suprà de *ea*): Ut, *one*, unus; *none*, nullus; *whole*, totus; *hole*, foramen; *coal*, carbo; *boat*, cymba; *oat*, avena; *those*, illi; *chose*, eligi; etc. At ubi *o* breve est, ut plurimum per *ŏ* apertum (de quo supra) rarius per *ô* rotundum pronunciatur.
>
> '*Oo* sonatur ut Germanorum *ú* pingue, seu Gallorum *ou*. Ut in vocibus *good* bonus, *stood* stabam, *root* radix, *foot* pes, *loose* laxus, *loose* laxo, amitto.
>
> 'Nonnunquam *o* & *ou* negligentius pronunciantes eodem sono' ò ŭ obscuro [ɐ], 'efferunt, ut in *còme*, venio; *sòme*, aliquis; *dòne*, actum; *còmpany*, consortium; *country*, rus; *couple*, par; *còvet*, concupisco; *lòve*, amo; aliisque aliquot; quæ alio tamen sono rectius proferri debent.'

804. Wilkins pairs *folly*, *fall* and *full*, *fool*, leaving *foal* etc without any corresponding short. Cp agrees in the first pair, but not in the second. He says of *o*:

'O formatur à labiis paululùm contractis, dum *spiritus orbiculatus* emittur: ut in *hope* spes; productum semper, (nisi in paucis quæ per *oo* [uu] sonantur; et ante *l* per *ou* [ou] labiales: ut in *bold* audax) hoc modo pronunciant Angli, quem aliquando scribunt per *oa*; ut *coach* currus; correptus rarò auditur, nisi in paucis, quæ à consonante labiali incipiunt; ut post *w* in *wolf* lupus, *wonder* mirum; & in syllaba *wor*; plura non memini: in quibusdam *u* hoc modo pronunciatur, ubi præcedens vocalis est labialis; ut *pull*, vello, *full* plenus; non quia debet, sed quoniam aliter faciliùs efferri nequit: Et *oo* in *good* bonus, *hood* cucullus, *wood* lignum; *I stood* steti; Galli per *o* ut *globe* globus, *proteste* protestor; in *copy* exemplar corripitur. *Germani* per *o*, ut *ostern* pentecoste; quem in principio dictionum ferè producunt: in *wort* verbum; *Gott* Deus corripitur.'

805. W.'s *ó* rotundum and Cp's *o* cannot well be anything but }ɪ, being rightly identified with the Fr *au* and the Gm long *o*. The Gm short *o* is now }̵ in North, } in South Germany: it is possible that the narrow sound prevailed formerly in North Germany also. W. says that short *o* is rarely pronounced with the short of }. It is uncertain whether he is here alluding to the older }̵̣ in *folly*, or is, like Cp, identifying the ɨ of *come* with short }.

806. Miege does not identify long *o* with the Fr *au*, but with the Fr *o*, with which he also identifies the short *o* when not pronounced (ɐ), adding 'il y a bien des mots ou l' *o* a un son mêlé de celui de l' *a*, et où *sans scrupule* on le peut sonner comme un *a*,' which is, of course, a recognition of the very open sound of the E. short ɟ.

807. In LE *o* is lengthened to (ɔɔ) before the same conss. which lengthen (æ) into (aa) (780), as in (frɔþ, krɔs, frɔst, ɔf, ɔfn, sɔft) = *froth*, *cross*, *frost*, *off*, *often*, *soft*, the short (o) being kept before the voiced (z, v) in (gozliŋ, ov) = *gosling*, *of*, just as (æ) is preserved in (æz). The short (o) is, however, still common in (froþ) etc, and some words never have (ɔ)—only (o), such as *moss*, *foster*, *gospel*. The lengthening of (o) was no doubt contemporary with that of (æ); Cp gives (ɔɔ) in *frost* with the remark 'fere semper producitur *o* ante *st*.' W., on the other hand, does not yet acknowledge it, for he quotes *loss* and *cost*, now (lɔs, kɔst), as containing short *o*. For the development of (ɔɔ) out of *or* see 905.

808. In fMn a parasite-(u) was developed between *o* and a following *l*, as in the case of *a* (784). Sb says: '*O* before *ld* or *ll* is pronounced as though *w* were inserted between them, thus COLDE, *cowld* frigidus, BOLLE *bowl*, TOLLE *towl* vectigal.'

Long Vowels: ā

809. The change of *ā* through (ææ, *ee*) into the present (ei, eə) has been described at length under *a* (781). It only remains to note that the main sources of MnE (ææ) are new-long lME *ā*, as in *nāme*, and Fr *ā*, as in *blāme*, together with a few Northern *ā*s from OE and Scand. *ā*, as in *hale*, *race* = OE *hāl*, OIcel. *rās*.

I

810. In HVg and Sb ME *ī* is transcribed *ei*. Thus HVg has *ei*, *abeiding*, *Kreist*=OE *ic* (ME *ī*) *onbīdung*, *Crīst*, Sb has *ei*, *ddein* etc, at the same time reprobating the current E. pronunciation of Latin *tibi* as *teibei*. Smith, on the contrary, from his E. basis, considers (ei) to have been the real sound of Latin *ī*, saying

> 'I Latina, quae per se prolata, apud nos tantum valet quantum Latine, *ego*, aut *oculus*, aut *etiam*,'

where the diphthongal pronunciation of his *I* is identified with that of *aye*. Hart says plainly that E. *i* is sounded *ei*. Gill blames him for expressing *I* with *ei*, he himself having a simple sign for long *i*, nl *j*, which he carefully distinguishes from *ei* and *ëi*=(eei); he says:

> 'Differentia significationis (quoad fieri potest, & sonus permittit) orthografiâ discernitur. Sic *J*. ego. *ei* oculus, *ëi* ita.'—'Nec *e*, sæpiùs præponitur *i*, dicimus enim *hëi*, adhortantes aut laudantes, & *ei* EYE oculus, *ëi* etiam, ita: vbi tamen sonus vocalis, exiguum distat ab illo qui auditur in *ðjn* tuus, & *mjn* meus.'—'Communis dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim *ðai* aut *ðei* THEY, illi.'—'*I*, est tenuis, aut crassa: tenuis est breuis, aut longa: breuis sic notatur *i*, vt in *sin* SINNE peccatum: longa sic *ï*. vt in *sïn* SEENE visus, a, um: crassa autem fere est diphthongus *ei*; sed quia sono

exilior paulò quam si diffunderemur in *e*, retinebimus antiquum illum et masculinum sonum .... eumque signabimus hoc charactere *j*. vt in *sjn* SIGNE signum. Omnium differentia est in *win* WINNE vinco, *wïn* WEENE opinor, *wjn* WYNE vinum.'

He says of diphthongs generally:

'Nec tamen in omnium diphthongorum elatione, utrique vocali sonus integer ubique constabit. Etenim vocalis præcedens sæpenumero acutiùs sonare videtur, & clariùs; in *ai* et *ei*, ita aures implere, ut .*i*. subiungi æquius esset, quam ad latus adhærere,'

alluding evidently to the Greek forms ᾳ, ῃ. We are here told that the *j* is nearly identical with the diphthong *ei*, in which, however, the first element is more 'diffuse'. This would imply that in *j* the first element is shorter or less distinct. G. himself says it is 'thinner' than in *ei*, which would point to some such distinction as [ɾ, [ɾ. But G.'s statements are so vague that all the certain result we get is that long *i* was a diphthong distinct from (ei) and (ai) or (æi), but closely resembling (ei). Now in Welsh the distinction between *ei* and *ai* is very marked: ʅɾ, ʒɾ. It is, therefore, probable that Sb's identification of E. long *i* with Welsh *ei* really points to the present E. diphthong ʅɾ, and that this is also the value of G.'s *j*, although G. does not state distinctly that the first element was obscure in sound. The diphthonging of the old ʃ· no doubt began with a partial lowering of the first half of the vowel, which would by further lowering develop either into [or, with the help of a slight retraction, into ʅ: ʃ-ɾ, [-ɾ, ʅɾ.

811. The descriptions of W. and Cp show that the fully developed sMn sound must have been the same as the present one. W. says:

'I vocalis quoties brevis est sonatur plerumque (ut apud Gallos aliosque) exili sono. Ut in *bit* morsus, *will* volo, *still* semper, *win* lucro, *pin* acicula, *sin* peccatum, *fill* impleo. At quoties longa est plerumque profertur ut Græcorum ει. Ut *bite* mordeo, *wile* stratagema, *stile* stilus, *wine* vinum, *pine* tabe consumor, etc., eodem fere modo quo Gallorum *ai* in vocibus *main* manus, *pain* panis, etc. nempe sonum habet compositum ex Gallorum *è* foeminino et *i* vel *y*.'

812. Cp says:

> 'U in *Cut* et *i*, diphthongum facillimè constituunt, quam *i longam* vocamus; ut *wine*, vinum, hoc modo pronunciatur ante *nd* finales; ut *blind* cæcus, *wind* ventus: at *pin'd* pro *pinned* acicula subnexus; à verbo *to pin*; brevis est; *pined* marcidus; à *to pine* marceo; diphthongus est. Scribitur per *ui* in *beguile* fallo; *disguise* dissimulo; *guide* dux; *guidon* Imperatoris baculus: per *oi* in *in-join* in-jungo, *joint* junctura; *jointure* dos, *broil* torreo, *ointment* unguentum.'

This identification of the first element of the diphthong with the (ɐ) of *cut* need not, of course, be taken literally: it only means the first element was not (æ) or (e), but some obscure vowel.

813. The orthoepists of the 18th cent. agree generally with W. and Cp, although their analyses are often vague. The main divergence is that of Sheridan (followed by Knowles 1847), who sets up an Irish-E. pronunciation (ɔi), with the *a* of *fall*, the first element very short, and thus different from *oi*, meaning perhaps only a broad ɹɾ, or, possibly, ɟɾ.

814. There was, however, another dialect of fMn which preserved the old ī unchanged—or, at any rate, undiphthonged. Palsgrave and Bullokar are the authorities for this pronunciation. Pg says:

> '*I* in the frenche tong hath .ii. dyuerse maners of soundynges, the soundyng of *i*, whiche is most generally vsed in the frenche tong, is like as the Italians sounde *i*, and suche with vs as sounde the latin tong aright, whiche is almost as we sounde *e* in these words *a bee* a flie, *a beere* for a deed corps, *a peere*, a felowe, *a fee* a rewarde, a little more soundynge towards *i*, as we sound *i* with vs.'
>
> 'If *i* be the first letter in the frenche worde or the laste, he shall in those two places be sounded lyke as we do this letter *y*, in these words with vs, *by* and *by*, *a spye*, *a flye*, *awry*, and suche other: in whiche places in those frenche bokes, as be diligently imprinted, they vse to writte this letter *y*: but whether the frenche worde be written with *i* or *y*, in these two places he shall be sounded, as I have shewed here in this rule, as in *ymage*, *conuerty*, *ydole*, *estourdy*, in whiche the *y* hath suche sounde, as we wolde give him in our tong.'
>
> 'For as moche as *v* and *i* come often together in the French tonge,

where as the *v* hath with them his distinct sounde, and the *i* is sounded shortly & confusely, which is the proprete of a diphthonge. I reken *vi* also among the diphthonges in the frenche tong, whiche whan they come together, shall haue suche a sounde in french wordes, as we gyue hym in these wordes in our tong, *a swyne*, *I dwyne*, *I twyne*, so that these wordes, *agvysér*, *agvyllón*, *condvýre*, *dedvýre*, *aviourdhvy*, *meshvy*, and all suche shall sounde theyr *v* and *i* shortly together, as we do in our tong in the words I have gyven example of, and nat eche of them distinctly by himself, as we of our tong be inclined to sound them, whiche wolde rather say *aviourdhv̈ÿ*, *dedv̈ÿt*, *saufcondv̈ÿt*, gyuynge both to *v* and *i* theyr distinct sounde, than to sounde them as the frenche men do in dede, which say *aviourdhvy*, *dedvyt*, *saufcondvyt*, soundyng them both shortly together, and so of all suche other.'

815. The object of this last passage is to warn Englishmen against pronouncing Fr *ui* as dissyllabic fſ instead of as a diphthongic fɾ, which monosyllabic pronunciation Pg exemplifies roughly by the E. *swyne*, although here, of course, it is not the *i* which is made into a glide, but the *w*. The important point is his distinct identification of long E. in *by*, *swyne* etc with Fr ſ. His retention of the ME sound is made a-priori probable, or at least possible, by the fact that in his pronunciation ME *ē* in *bee* etc—all his examples are of ME *ē*, not *ę̄*—had not yet become full ſ♦, as was elsewhere the case in fMn (818), but had only got as far as a very close (Danish) [˗♦, a sound between [♦ and ſ♦. It must, however, be noted that Pg identifies the E. sound only with the initial and final Fr *i*, implying that the medial Fr *i* was not identical with the E. long *i*. This reservation, taken in connection with his statement about *ū* (827) makes it possible that his long *i* was, after all, not absolutely identical with ſ♦, being, perhaps, a slightly diphthonged sound—ſ˗ɾ. If so, the pure ſ♦ was wanting in his sound-system.

816. Bullokar says:

> 'I, hath two soundes, the one agréeing to his olde & continued name, and is then a vowell, the other sounde agréeing to the old name of *g*, and of my *g*' [dʒ], and is then a consonant.'

He gives as examples:

'I ly in my sisterz kitchen with a pillo'w besýd her peticót, and thy whýt pilion,'

where the accent denotes length. He has no other distinction between long and short *i* but the accent. He says of *e*:

'*e* hath two soundes, and vowels both, the one flat, agréeing to his old and continued name: and the other sounde more sharpe and betwene the old sound of the old name of :*e*: and the name of :*i*: for such difference the best writers did use :*ea*: for :*e*: flat and long: & *ee*, *ie*, *eo* for :*e*: sharpe.'

This statement is identical with Pg's, pointing clearly both to [+♦ = ME *ē* and ſ♦ = ME *ī*, for there would be no sense in saying that [+♦ (or ſ♦) lay between [♦ and ʅɾ or any other diphthong; we must, therefore, assume that Bll agreed with Pg in preserving ME *ī* unchanged, or nearly so.

ē, ę̄

817. The ME sounds *ē* and *ę̄*, *ḗ* are in MnE distinguished as *ee* and *e*, *ea*: *heel*, *meet*; *heal*, *meat*, *mete* = OE *hēla* (*ǣ*), *gemētan* (*ǣ*); *hǣlan*, ME *mḗte* (OE *męte*), *mḗten* (OE *metan*). Final *ee* is shortened to *e* in subordinate words, as in *he*, *me*, which are often written *hee*, *mee* in eMn; we still write *ee* in the less familiar *thee*, partly to distinguish it from *the*. This MnE *ea* (as also the parallel *oa*) is probably a purely phonetic spelling, the *a* being added to indicate the opener sound. It occurs, however, at least once in the Ellesmere ms of Ch (*teare* 'lacrima'), and several times in TM: *cheape*, *peasse*. It is, therefore, possible that it was suggested by some tradition of the eSth spellings *heaved* etc. The ME *ie* was also employed to denote the closer sound, as in *believe*, *field* = OAngl. *gelēfan*, *fēld*. In the earliest fMn books *ea* is hardly used at all. Caxton, who often writes *ie* for ME *ē*, does not employ it, and Mr. Ellis notes that even in Palsgrave's text (1530) it is very rare, though he employs it freely in his vocabularies. Tindal is, as usual, in advance of his time in his extensive use of *ea*, although he is irregular, as the following examples will show:

ē: ye *prn*, se *vb*, fle, sene, slepe. deed, need. feale, deades.

ę̄: bred, est, este. yee 'yea,' see *sb*; breede. greate, meate. yer 'ere' *adv*, biestes.

It will be observed that Td regularly assigns *ee* final to -*ę̄*, in direct opposition to the later usage. His constant *ie*=*ę̄* in *biest* 'beast' is also a remarkable divergence from the later usage. His *ea* in *dead*='deed' may be a dialectal reminiscence of WS *dǣd*, though AR etc have *dēd*. Td has the usual MnE *ea* in *heare*, *deare*=OE *gehēran*, *dēore*, in which the *ē* was probably broadened by the *r*.

818. Pg says:

> '*E* in the frenche tong hath thre dyverse sowndes, for somtyme they sownde hym lyke as we do in our tonge in these words, *a beere*, *a beest*, *a peere*, *a beene* and suche lyke .... The sowndyng of *e*, whiche is most generally kepte with them, is suche as we gyve to *e* in our tong in these wordes aboue rehersed, that is to say, lyke as the Italianes sounde *e*, or they with vs that pronounce the latine tonge aright: so that *e* in frenche hath neuer such a sownde as we vse to gyue hym in these wordes, *a bee* suche as maketh honny, *a beere* to lay a deed corps on, *a peere* a make or felowe, and as we sounde dyuers of our pronownes endynge in *e*, as *we*, *me*, *the*, *he*, *she*, and suche lyke, for suche a kynde of soundynge both in frenche and latine, is allmoste the ryght pronunciation of *i*, as shall here after appere.'

This passage, taken in connection with those already cited from Pg himself and Bll (814, 816), is a clear statement that ME *ē* in such words as *he*, *the*, *she*, *we*, *me*, *bee*, *bier*, *peer* had the very close, *i*-like sound [˗˔, while ME *ę̄* in such words as *bear* 'ursus', *pear*, *beast*, *bean* had an opener sound, which Pg compares to the Fr and Ital. *e*. He does not tell us whether these words had the sound of the close Ital. and Fr [, or of the open (*ee*)=ʅ˔ or [˔. In the absence of any direct evidence, we may assume that ME *ę̄* kept its open sound in fMn.

819. HVg and Sb express the two sounds by Welsh *i* ʃ and *e* [respectively. Thus HVg has *wi*, *wiri*, *kwin*, *dids*; *leving*, *leding*, Sb has *tsis* 'cheese', *kwin*; *efer*, *bred* 'bread'. As Welsh has no [, the *e* does not point necessarily to (*ee*), or the *i* to ʃ˔ in E. As regards *we* etc it is, indeed, possible that the Welsh *i* may mean [˗˔, as in Pg's and Bll's pronunciation.

820. All the other authorities agree in pairing *win*, *ween* etc as containing the long and short of the same vowel. As soon as the long *i* of *wine* had become a distinct diphthong, the close (ee) of *ween* was moved up into its place, giving (wiin), a pronunciation which has lasted almost up to the present day, and of which our ɜʃ˅ʃ˄ʒ is but a slight modification.

821. The narrowing of (*ee*) into [ɨ would naturally follow the disappearance of [ɨ˄. W. says:

> '*e* profertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum *é* masculinum,' except before *r*; '*ea* effertur nunc dierum ut *é* longum: sono ipsius *a* penitus suppresso, et sono literæ *e* producto. Nempe illud solum præstat *a* ut syllaba reputetur longa. Ita *met* obviam factus, *meat* victus, *set* sisto, sedere facio, *seat* sella, etc., non sono differunt nisi quod vocalis illic correpta, hic producta intelligatur.'

Here the statement that *met*, *meat* etc differ only in length must not be taken too literally, for W.'s main object evidently is to impress on his readers that the *a* in the latter word is simply a mark of length. The expressions 'sharp' and 'clear', and the comparison with Fr *é*, which is repeated by Mg, point distinctly to narrow (ee), which W. strictly separates from the *a* of *mane*, this latter sound having itself become an open (*ee*) before W.'s time (780). All doubt is removed by Cp's pairing of *will* and *weal* ɜ[ɨɷ, *ken* and *cane* ɑɩɨʒ or ɑ[ɨʒ. It appears from Cp's lists that in sMn ME *ę̄* was regularly represented by close (ee), as in *weal*, *wean*, *break*, remaining open (*ee*) before *r* (with some exceptions) as in *bear*, *earl*, *earn*. (*ee*) also, according to Cp, in *scream*, where it is due to the preceding *r*. The other authorities do not make this distinction of (ee) and (*ee*), so their (ee) is ambiguous as regards narrowness.

822. Towards the middle of the 18th cent. the sMn (ee) became (ii), not only in *sea*, *heal* etc, but also, in the mouths of many speakers, in such words as *break*, *great*, which are now always pronounced with (ei) = sMn (ee), which was preserved by the preceding *r*.

823. There is a certain fluctuation between (ee) and (ii) in eMn. The *ea* before *r* in *hear*, *weary*, *fear*, *dear* no doubt at first indicated a real broadening, but this cannot have been general, for these words have (ii) assigned to them by numerous eMn authorities, the spelling *ea* being probably kept up partly to distinguish such pairs as *dear*, *deer*=ME *dēre*, *dēr*, *fear*, *fere*=ME *fēr*, *fēre*, *hear*, *here*=ME *hēre(n)*, *hēr*. The spellings *fere*, *here* instead of **feer*, **heer* seem to point to occasional broadening in these words also. One result of this confusion between fMn (eer) and (iir) was that many *-ear* words with *ea*=ME *ę̄* took the sound of (iir) in sMn, such as *smear*, *near*, *tear* sb. Otherwise (ii)=ME *ę̄* is rare in eMn, the chief instances being *evil* and *even*.

824. In many words, especially before the stop *d*, ME *ę̄* was shortened to *e* in fMn, and, of course, remained unchanged in the later periods: *health*, *breath*, *heavy*, *head*, *bread*, *breadth*, *threat*. So also ME *ē*, especially before *t*, as in *let*, *wet*.

825. There is a curious passage in Gill, from which it appears that the 18th cent. (ii) for (ee) had already developed itself in fMn, but only as an effeminate affectation. After observing that the eastern English are fond of thinning their words, saying (fir, kiver, deans) for (fəier, kuver, dans), *fire*, *cover*, *dance*, he goes on to say:

> '*ἰσχνότητα* autem illam magnopere affectant *πυγοστόλοι* nostræ Mopsæ quæ quidem ita omnia attenuant, vt *a* et *o*, non aliter perhorrescere videantur quam Appius Claudius z. sic euim nostræ non emunt (lɔɔn) *lawn*, et (kaambrik) *cambric*, sindonis species; sed (leen) et (keembrik); nec edunt (kaapn) *capon* caponem, sed (keepn) et ferè (kiipn); nec unquam (butʃerz meet) BUTCHERS MEAT carnem à lanijs, sed (bitʃerz miit). Et quum sunt omnes (dʒintlimin) non (dʒentlwimen) *gentlewomen*, i.e. matronæ nobiles, nec *maids* ancillas vocant (maidz) sed (meedz). Quod autem dixi de *a*, recanto; nam si quando *ô* gravistrepum audiretur, locum concedunt ipsi *a*, sic enim aliquoties ad me pippiunt (əi pre ja gii jar skalerz liiv ta plee) pro (əi prai jou giv juur skolars leev tu plai), *I pray you give your scholars leave to play*. Quæso concede tuis discipulis veniam ludendi.'

Such a pronunciation as (miit) for (meet)=*meat* would probably, as Mr. Ellis observes, have sounded as affected to Cooper and his contemporaries as it did to Gill himself.

ū

826. *ou*=ME *ū* is transcribed by the Welsh *ow* }ɨ in HVg and Sb. Thus the HVg has *now*, *owr*, *down*, *owt*=OE *nū*, *ūre*, *ofdūne*, *ūt*, and Sb has *now*, *ddow*. Cheke, Smith, Hart, and Gill also analyse the sound as (ou). They all agree in making the first element short—(nou). The diphthonging of *ū* is, therefore, quite parallel to that of (ii): ɫ‡ passed through ɫ-ɨ into }ɨ, which was afterwards diverged into (əu). Wallis says of the *ou*, *ow* in *sow*, *house*, *out* etc that it is pronounced with an obscure sound composed of obscure *ò* or *ù* (ɐ) and *w*, and Cp's description agrees (see the passages quoted in full 885, 886). Lédiard identifies the E. diphthong with the Gm *au* ɟɜ. Sheridan analyses it into (ɔu), parallel to his (ɔi)=long *i*, meaning probably the same sound as Lediard. The present sound is ɟ̲ɵ, with the first element lower than in ʅɾ˗. The older pronunciation of sMn was probably ʅɨ, of which ɟ̲ɵ and ɟɵ (still preserved in America) are independent developments.

827. We would expect that dialect of fMn which preserved ME *ī* as a monophthong—that of Pg and Bll—also to have preserved *ū*. Pg says:

> 'Ov in the frenche tong shalbe sounded lyke as the Italians sounde this vowel v, or they with vs that sounde the latine tong aright, that is to say, almost as we sounde hym in these wordes, a cowe, a mowe, a sowe, as *óvltre*, *sovdaýn*, *ovbliér*, and so ofsuche other.'

We gather with certainty from this passage that ME *ō* had not yet passed into its usual fMn sound (uu), and that the nearest approach to Fr ɫ‡ in Pg's pronunciation of E. was the old *ū* in *cowe*=OE *cū* etc. If the 'almost' is to be taken literally, we can only infer—as in the case of *ī* (815)—that old *ū* had been very slightly diphthonged in Pg's pronunciation,=ɫ-ɨ.

828. Bll says:

> '*O* hath thrée soundes, and all of them vowels; the one sound agréeing to his olde and continued name, another sound, betwéene the accustomed name of, *o*, and the old name of, *v*, and the same sound long, for which they write *oo*, (as I do also, but giuing it a proper name, according to the sound thereof), the thirde sounde

is as, *v*, flat and short, that is to say, as this sillable *ou*, short sounded: for which some of the better learned did many times use, *oo*, & *v*, according to their sounds, but most times with superfluous letters.'

He illustrates the three sounds by the words:

(1) *sonne* filius, *vpon*, *bosome* (first vowel), *corne*, *close*.
(2) *sonne* sol, *out*, *bosome* (second vowel), *come*.
(3) *loked*, *toke*, *boke*, *sone*.

'U also hath thrée soundes: The one of them a méere consonant, the other two soundes, are both vowels: the one of these vowels hath a sharpe sound, agréeing to his olde and continued name: the other is of flat sound, agreeing to the olde and continued sound of the diphthong : ou : but alwaies of short sounde.'

Here, instead of pairing (u) in *sun* with the vowel of *soon* = ME *sōne*, as Sm and the others do, he puts the latter in a class by itself, and pairs (u) with the *ou* = ME *ū* of *out*, implying that the latter was still [illegible] in his pronunciation.

829. In *room*, *stoop*, *droop* = OE *rūm*, *stūpian*, OIcel. *drūpa*, ME *ū* has been preserved up to the present time (except that in the first word the vowel is now generally shortened), evidently by the influence of the following lip-conss. The preservation of group-lengthened ME *ū* in the subst. *wound* may be due to the preceding *w*. The preservation of *ū* before (þ) in *youth* and *uncouth* is anomalous.

ṻ

See under *ēu* (861).

830. The only native *ṻ*-word preserved in MnE appears to be *bruise* = lWS *brȳsan* (Angl. *brēsan*).

ō

831. In MnE the ME *ō* and *ǭ*, *ǿ* are distinguished as *oo* and *o*, *oa*: *soon*, *stone*, *boat* = ME *sōne*, *stǭn*, *bǭt*, final *oo*, as in *too*, being sometimes shortened to *o*, as in *to*, *do*, and *oe* being often written for final *o*(*a*), as in *doe*, *toe* against *so*, *no*. The digraph *oa* was evidently formed on the analogy of *ea*, for it came into general use later than the *ea*. It is rare in Td, who writes *o* and *oo* nearly at random, as in ME. The following are examples of his spellings:

ō: boke, sone. too *prp*, floore, good. bourd, bloud. shues.

ǫ: holi, loth. soo, goo, go(o)st. moare, broade.

832. The passages already cited from Pg and Bll (827, 828) show that in their pronunciation ME *ō* had not yet been changed completely into (uu), as in the pronunciation of the other fMn authorities: Pg and Bll probably pronounced *book* exactly as the Swedish *bok*—ɒ}›ɑ.

833. The HVg and Sb identify the sound with Welsh *w* ł. Thus HVg writes *mwddyr*, *gwd*=ME *mōder*, *gōd*, and Sb writes *tw* 'to, two', *scwl*, *gwd*=ME *tō*, *twō*, *scōle*, *gōd*. The other fMn authorities (except Pg and Bll) agree, pairing *full* and *fool* etc as short and long (792).

834. In sMn we find W. identifying E. *oo* with the Gm long *u* and the Fr *ou* (803). That it was narrow,=ł•, is made certain by Cp's refusing to pair *full* and *fool* as long and short. It would be superfluous to prove that the sound ł• lasted through thMn, till it was diphthonged in the present cent. into ł‑ɪ‑, łɘ, probably through ł‑ɪ‑.

835. fMn (uu) was shortened to (u) in some words, especially before (ð), (d) and cons.-groups. The shortening is, of course, oldest in those words which are written with *u*=LE (ɐ), such as *gum*, *rudder*=ME *gōme*, *rōþer*, but we must assume an at least occasional fMn shortening in all words with LE (ɐ)=ME *ō*, as in *doth*, *other*, *mother*, *done*, *flood*, *blood*, *month*, *monday*. Td has *fludds*=*floods*.

836. There is a further sMn shortening of (uu) to (u), which (u) is of course preserved in LE, the change of the earlier (u)s to (ɐ) having been carried out before this new shortening began. With a few exceptions this shortening is general before stops, and occurs before other conss. also: (buzəm, buk, fut, stud)=*bosom*, *book*, *foot*, *stood*. The shortening in such words as (huf, spun, rum)=*hoof*, *spoon*, *room* is still later, the long (uw) being still retained by many speakers. The shortening before stops also was not general even in thMn, in which *book* still had (uu). But, on the other hand, we find (gud) as well as (guud) in fMn, although W. has only (uu). Hence the sMn doublets (gəd, gud) etc, the first coming from fMn (gud), the second from fMn (guud). These shortened sMn (u)s must have been narrow ł at first. It is uncertain whether Cp's *foot* really means >łʊ, or only >ł·ʊ with half-long vowel.

ǭ

837. Palsgrave says:

> '*O* in the frenche tong hath two diuers maners of soundynges, the soundyng of *o*, whiche is most generall with them, is lyke as we sounde *o* in these words in our tonge a boore, a soore, a coore, and suche lyke, that is to say, like as the Italians sounde *o*, or they with vs that sounde the latin tong aright.'

The last two examples show that the first word is meant for *boar*=OE *bār*, all the words having ME *ǭ* or *ó*.

838. Salesbury says:

> '*O* in Welsh is sounded according to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sound of *o* is in these Englyshe wordes: a *Doe*, a *Roe*, a *Toe*: and *o* never soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these wordes of Englysh: *to*, *do*, *two*.'

And again, speaking of English, he says:

> '*O* takes the sound of [Welsh] *o* in some words, and in others the sound of *w*; thus TO, *to*, digitus pedis; SO, *so*, sic; TWO, *tw*, duo; TO, *tw* ad; SCHOLE, *scwl*, schola . . . . But two oo together are sounded like *w* in Welsh, as GOOD *gwd* bonus; POORE *pwr* pauper.'

Here the open E. *o* in *toe*=OE *tā* etc is identified with the Welsh *o* ʒ·. The HVg has also *pop*=*pope* (OE *pāpa*).

839. Smith pairs as containing short and long '*o* latina' the following words, which are here given in their present spelling:

Short: smock, horse, hop, sop, not, rob, bot, pop.
Long: smoke, hoarse, hope, soap, note, robe, boat, pope.

All the longs are ME *ǭ*, as in *soap*, or *ó*, as in *hope*.

The others give similar pairs (802). Florio identifies the vowel in E. *stone*, *tone*, *bone* with the Italian open *o* ʒ. There can, therefore, be no doubt that ME *ǭ* and *ó* had the open sound (*oo*) in fMn, which in the next period becomes }·, pointing to fMn ʒ· rather than to ɟ· or ɉ·, one of which (probably the former) was, besides, the usual fMn sound of ME *au* (856), which is still kept quite distinct from the *o* of *stone*. It is not improbable that some fMn speakers made a distinction between ME *ǭ* and *ó*, but we have no means of proving such a distinction.

840. There is full evidence of the narrowness of the sMn *o* in *stone* etc (805), and this pronunciation continued down to the diphthonging in the present ʆɵ›.

841. In *broad* and in thMn *groat* we have (ɔɔ) corresponding to ME *ǭ*, *ó* by the influence of the preceding *r*, parallel to the retention of (ei)=sMn (ee) in *great*.

842. The development of a parasite-(u) between fMn (*oo*)= ME *ǭ* and a following *l* (cp 808) is shown in the spellings *owld*, *howld* etc=*old*, *hold* in HVg, and is confirmed by the other authorities.

Diphthongs: ai, ei

843. The lME tendency to confuse *ai* and *ei* is observable in MnE orthography also, where *ai*, *ay* is written not only for ME *ai*, as in *day*, *fair*, *nail*, *slain*, *maid*, but also very generally for ME *ei*, as in *way*, *sail*, *raise*, *rain*, *laid*, for *ēi* in *hay*, *bewray*, and for *ę̄i* in *clay*, *stairs*. *ey*, *ei*=ME *ei* is still preserved in *they*, *their*. As the representative of ME *ēi*, *ę̄i* it is more frequent; *grey*; *key*, *whey*, *either*. *ei* is always written before *gh*: *neigh*, *neighbour*, *eight*, *weight*. The spelling still varies in *gray*, *grey*. Td varies between *ay* and *ey* in *graye*, *greye*, *rayne*, *reyne*. He writes *kaye* throughout.

844. The HVg has *ei* only in *ddei*, *ddey*. In all the other words it has only *ai*, *ay*, *ae*, as in *aish* 'ask', *day*, *dae*, *away*, *awae*, *kae*, *agaynst*, *maedyn*. Sb has no example of *ei*, writing *vayne* both for *vein* and *vain* in his E. examples, and transcribing it phonetically as *vain*. In the other words he transcribes with *ay*, as in *nayl*. This fluctuation between *i*, *y*, *e* as the second element of the diphthong shows that it was not full ɾ as in the Welsh *ai* ʆɾ. Welsh *ae* is now ʆɪ, but the *ay* points rather to ʆɾ as the E. diphthong.

845. Palsgrave's distinction between *ai* and *ei* is very clear:

'*Ei* vniversally through out all the frenche tong shalbe sounded like as he is with vs in these wordes, *obey*, *a sley*, *a grey*, that is to say, the *e* shall have his distinct sounde, and the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely, as *conseil*, *uermeil*, and so of all suche other.'

'*Ai* in the frenche tong is sounded lyke as we sounde *ay* in these wordes in our tong *rayne*, *payne*, *fayne*, *disdayne*, that is to say, *a*, distinctly and the *i* shortly & confusely.'

846. Smith, on the other hand, says that the difference between them is minute, and that some words have (ei) in the mouth of one speaker, (ai) in that of another, effeminate speakers substituting (ei) for (ai) generally (probably through ɩr):

'Inter *Ai* & *Ei* diphthongos minima differentia est, præsertim apud nostrates, apud nos tamen audiuntur hi soni. (Fein) fingere, (deinti) delicatus, (peint) pingere, (feint) languidus. Sed non hæc tantum verba per *ei* pronuntiantur, sed cætera omnia per *ai* scripta mulierculæ quædam delicatiores, et nonnulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui vrbaniùs per *ei* sonant, vt hæc ipsa quæ nos per *ei* scribimus, alij sonant et pronuntiant per *ai*, tam ἀδιάφοροι sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli.'

'Est diphthongus omnis sonus è duabus vocalibus conflatus ut: AI, (pai) solvere, (dai) dies, (wai) via, (mai) possum, (lai) ponere, (sai) dicere, (esai) tentare, (tail) cauda, (fail) deficere, (faain) libens ac volens, (pain) pœna, (disdain) dedignor, (claim) vendico, (plai) ludere, (arai) vestire seu ornare. In his est utraque litera brevis apud vrbanius pronunciantes. Rustici utranque aut extremam saltem literam longam sonantes, pinguem quendam odiosum, et nimis adipatum sonum reddunt. (Paai) solvere, (daai) dies, (waai) via, (maai) possum, (laai) ponere. Sicut qui valde delicatè voces has pronuntiant, mulierculæ præsertim, explicant planè Romanam diphthongum *ae*. AE diphthongus Latina. *Pae* solvere, *dae* dies, *wae* via, *mae* possum, *lae* ponere.' 'Scoti et Transtrentani quidam Angli voces has per impropriam diphthongum Græcam ᾳ proferunt ut nec *i* nec *e* nisi obscurissime audiatur. A diphthongus impropriè Græca (paa, daa, waa, maa, laa).'

By the 'Latin diphthong *ae*' Sm probably means (*ee*), as it is not possible that he would note such a minute distinction as ɟr, ɟc, and we know that *ae* was regarded as an *e*-sound in the Middle Ages, being, indeed, often written *e*.

847. Gill (810) distinguishes (ei, eei) from (ai, aai), as in (ðei, ðeeir; daai, wai, waai).

848. Butler says:

> 'The right sound of *ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou*; is the mixed sound of the two vowels, whereof they are made: as (bait, vaut, hei, heu, koi, kou): no otherwise than it is in the Greek.'
>
> 'But *ai* in imitation of the French, is sometime corruptly sounded like *e*: as in *may, nay, play, pray, say, stay, fray, slay*: specially in words originally French, as in *pay, baili, travail*: though *plaid* have lost his natural orthography, and we write as we speak *plead*.'

Here the coexistence of the two pronunciations (ai) or (æi) and the smoothing (*ee*) is clearly stated.

In some pronunciations this smoothing had taken place much earlier. Hart in 1569 omits (ai) altogether from his list of diphthongs, and transcribes *ai* by (ee), for which he is severely blamed by Gill, writing fifty years later, who contrasts Hart's (ue, ðe) with his own (wai, ðei).

849. The diphthong survived even into the sMn period. Wallis says that *ei, ey*, were (ei) or even simply (ee) without the (i), but adds, 'Nonnulli tamen plenius efferunt, acsi per *ai* scripta essent.' The diphthong *ai* he upholds still as a diphthong, '*Ai* vel *ay* sonum exprimunt compositum ex *á* Anglico (hoc est, exili) correpto, et *y*. Ut in voce *day* dies, *praise* laus.' This would give (dæi) etc, which is also Wilkins's notation.

850. Cp says:

> 'Vera hujusce soni [vowel in *ken*] productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falsò denominatur, ut in *cane* canna .... hic sonus, quando purè sonatur,' that is when it is not (*eeə*), 'scribitur per *ai* vel *ay*; ut *pain* dolor, *day* dies; quæ hoc modo in omnibus fere dictionibus plerumque pronunciantur: per *ey* in *convey* deporto, *obey* obedio, *purvey* rebus necessariis provideo, *survey* lustro, *they* illi, *trey* trulla, *whey* serum lactis: quandoque rarò autem per *ea*; ut *pearl* margarita.

Corripitur in	Producitur in
sell vendo	*sail* navigo
sent missus	*saint* sanctus

tell	nuncio	*tail*	cauda
tent	tentorium	*taint*	inficio.'

This makes *ai* (*ee*) except in a few words. But afterwards he says:

> '*Ai* leniùs prolata sonatur ut *a* in *cane*; fortius, plenum assumit sonum diphthongi *ai*; ut *brain* cerebrum, *frail* fragilis; *ay* finalis ut *a*, sic *day* dies; *ai* ante *r* scribitur pro *a* in *affairs* res, *airy* aereus, *dairy* lactarium, *debonair* candidus, *despair* despero, *fair* pulcher, *fairy* lamia, *hair* crinis, *pair* par, *repair* reparo, *stairs* scala; cætera cum *are*; ut *are* sunt, *dare* audeo . . . . . *Ai* in *bargain* pactum, *captain* dux, *certain* certus, *chaplain* capellanus, *curtain* velum, *forrain* extraneus, *fountain* fons, *mountain* mons, *villain* furcifer, & prior *ai* in *maintain* sonatur ut *a* correptum sive *e* breve.' Again he says: 'Sonus *a* in I *can* possum; I *cast* jacio; conjunctus cum *i* sonum literæ *ee* exprimente; constituit dipthongum in *bait* esca; *caitiff* homo improbus; *ay* pro *I* vel *yea* imo; & *eight* quam vulgariter pronunciamus *ait*. Plures haud scio.' '*E* in *ken*, vel *a* in *Cane* *i* præpositus diphthongum *priori* [æi] subtiliorem constituit; ut *praise* laus: in paucis scribimus *ei* vel *ey* finalem; ut *height* altitudo; *weight* pondus, & *convey* deporto, aliaque quæ supra sub *e* ostendimus; quibus exceptis cætera scribuntur cum *ai* vel *ay* ut *hainous* detestabilis, plerunque autem in colloquio familiari, negligenter loquentes pronunciant *ai* prout *a* simplicem in *Cane*.'

The statement that *ai* is monophthongic when uttered gently, dissyllabic when uttered more strongly, seems to point to the existence of stress-doublets. There may have been a weak (ð*ee*) corresponding to a strong (ð*ee*i) or (ð*e*i).

851. In thMn *ei* and *ai* both settled down to (*ee*), which was perhaps narrowed to (ee) at the end of the period.

852. We may sum up by saying that *ai* probably passed through (æi), (*e*i) into (*ee*), being in its third stage levelled under *ei*. *ei* must have had its first element open—(*e*i)—or else it would have been smoothed into (ee), not (*ee*).

oi

853. The E. *oi*, *oy* is transcribed *oe* in HVg in *asoel*, and *oy* in Sb in *tsioynt* = *joint*. In Welsh *oi* = ʒɾ, *oe* = ʒɪ. Smith is doubtful whether it should not be written *ui*, and Gill hesitates between (oi) and (uui)—where the doubling, as in (eei, aai), perhaps only indicates length of the glide—as in (boil, buuil). This change of (oi) into (ui) seems to show that the first element of the former was close } rather than ʒ.

854. Wallis, in the next century, says:

> 'In *oi* . . . vel *oy* . . . præponitur aliquando *ŏ* apertum (ut in Anglorum *bŏy* puer, *tŏys* nugæ . . . .), aliquando *ò* obscurum, (ut in Anglorum *bòil* coqueo, *tòil* labor, *òil* oleum . . .), quanquam non negem etiam horum nonnulla à quibusdam per *o* apertum pronunciari.'

Here we see the older (oi) retained, while the (u) of (ui) undergoes its regular change into (ɐ). The resulting (ɐi) was then levelled under (əi), so that *boil* and *bile*, *toil* and *tile* etc were confounded, the *oi* being retained in writing. In the latter half of the 18th cent. the spelling caused a reaction against the pronunciations (bəil, pəizən) etc, which now survive only as vulgarisms, and the *oi* was restored. The analogy of the vb *boil* led also to the change of the sbst (bəil) = OE *bȳle* into (boil), this being the only E. word of direct Gmc origin which has (oi).

au

855. The E. *au* is transcribed *aw* in HVg, as in *grawnt*, *ffawl* 'fall' = Td's *faull* (784), and in Sb, as in *waw* = *wawe* 'wave,' *wawl* 'wall.' Welsh *aw* is]ɨ. Sb says:

> '*w* English & *w* Welsh do not differ in sound, as WAWE, *waw* unda, ... Also *w* is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following AWE . . . . . pronounced thus *a* terror.' He also says that 'sometimes *a* has the sound of the diphthong *aw* especially when it precedes *l* or *ll*, as may be more clearly seen in these words BALDE, *bawld* calvus, BALL, *bawl* pila, WALL, *wawl* murus.'

The pronunciation (aa) = *awe* is parallel to Sb's *bo* = *bow* (883), the dropping of the (u) being due to the length of the preceding vowel. Sm, however, gives this word as (au). Sb himself in another place writes *wyth aw*, in which *aw* seems to be a phonetic representation of *awe*. Hart identifies E. *au* with the Gm *au*. Bll, too, has diphthongic (au), against his smoothed *ai* (848).

856. Gill, on the other hand, who repudiates Hart's (*ee*) = *ai*, himself makes *au* a monophthong in most cases; he says:

> 'A, est tenuis, aut lata; tenuis, aut brevis est, vt in (taloou) TALLOWE sebum; aut deducta, ut in (taal) TALE fabula aut computus: lata, vt in *tâl* TALLE procerus. Hunc sonum Germani exprimunt per *aa*. vt in *maal* conuiuium, *haar* coma: nos vnico charactere, circumflexo *â*, contenti erimus.'
>
> 'A præponitur *e*, ut in *aerj* AERIE aereus. *o* nunquam; sæpius *i*, et *u*, vt, in *aid* auxilium; *bait* esca; *laun* sindonis species; & *a paun* pignus: vbi aduerte *au* nihil differre ab *â*. Eodem enim sono proferimus *a bâl*, BALL pila; et *tu bâl*, BAULE, vociferari: at ubi verè diphthongus est, *a*, deducitur in *â*, vt *âu* AWE imperium; *âuger* terebra.'

Here *au* is described as having the broad sound of Gm ɟ+, pointing probably to ɟ+. It is possible that Gill's *âu* in *awe*, *auger* really means (aau) rather than (ɔɔu); for if he had written *aau*, it would have suggested an approximation to (ææu).

857. Wallis says:

> '*Au* vel *aw*, recté pronunciatum, sonum exhiberet compositum ex Anglorum *á* brevi et *w*, [æu]. Sed a plerisque nunc dierum effertur simpliciter ut Germanorum *â* pingue [ɔɔ]; sono nempe literæ *â* dilatato, et sono litteræ *w* prorsus suppresso. Eodem nempe sono efferunt *âll* omnes, *awl* subula; *câll* voco, *caul*, *cawl*, omentum, vel etiam tiara muliebris.'

858. Cooper says:

> '*A* in *can*, *cast*, cum *u* coalescens . . . nunquam occurrit in nostrâ linguâ. *Lance* hasta, *lancet* scalprum chirurgicum, à lanceola; *lanch* navem solvere à G. *lancer*, Jaculari, *Ganch* in sudes acutas præcipitem dare, *hant* à G. *hanter* frequento; *hanch* à G. *hanche* femur; *Gant*, macer quasi *want* ab A.S. *wana* carens, *gantlet* chirotheca ferrea, *landress* à lavando, nullo modo scribi debent cum *u*; contrà enim suadent sonus et derivatio; falsò itaque scribuntur launce &c. Quædam vocabula à latinis præcipue derivata scribimus per *au* pronunciamus prout *au* vel *a* [ɔɔ] *audacious* audax; *maunder*

murmurare; à G. *maudire* maledicere ..... *O* in *loss*, *lost* conjunctus cum *u* semper scribimus per *au*, ut *audible* audibilis, *audience* audientia; *audit-or-y* auditorium, *augment* augeo, *augury* augurium, *august* augustus, *auricular* auricularis, *austerity* austeritas, *authentick* authenticus, *authority* authoritas, *cautious* cautus, *fraudulent* dolosus, *laudable* laudabilis, *laurel* laurus, *plausible* plausibilis, negligenter loquentes pronunciant prout *a*; in cæteris vocibus *au* & *aw* semper prout *a* pronunciamus.'

Cp's occasional (*o*u) reminds us of Gill's (*oo*u), both being probably the intermediate stage between (au) and (*oo*). W.'s (æu) seems to be a purely theoretical pronunciation.

859. In thMn the monophthong became universal. The sound is now narrow—ɟ+—the earlier sound being probably ɟ+. Before *lt* it is now shortened to ɟ, as in *salt*, *malt* = fMn (sault, mault).

860. In some combinations *au* dropt its *u*, and was treated like *a*, as in (laaf, laaftər) = *laugh*(*ter*) through sMn (læf, lææf). So also where *l* is dropt after parasite *u* in (haaf, haav) = *half*, *halve* through (hæf) etc. In (aamz, aansər) = *alms*, *answer*, fMn (aulmz, aunser)—which owe their *au* to the analogy of the Anglo-French *au* = Fr *a* before nasals in *aunt*, *daunt* etc—*au* seems to have passed straight into (aa) after the older *aa* had become (ææ). (aant) = *ant* 'formica' also points to a fMn (aunt) formed on the analogy of the foreign *aunt* 'amita.'

ēu, ęu

861. In MnE orthography ME *ęu* is always written *ew*, as in *hew* vb, *few*, *lewd*. So also in *strew* = OE *stręwian*, which probably had *ęu* in ME. ME *ēu* (*īu*) is also written *ew* in some words, such as *new*, *knew*, *steward*, but in others it is written *u*, *ue*, as in *hue* sb, *true*, *truth*, *tuesday*. In fMn, *u*(*e*) = the close ME *ēu* is often written in words which now have only *ew*, thus Td has *slue*, *drue* = *slew*, *drew*. Conversely, Pg writes *trewe* = *true*. This confusion between close *ew* and *u* is the result of the lME change of final Fr *u* f+ into *ēu* (691), the confusion between the traditional spelling *vertu*(*e*) and the phonetic *vertew* leading to a similar fluctuation between *trewe* and *true*, the latter prevailing. The distinction between close and open *ew* is further shown in Td's constant spelling *feawe*=*few* (ME *fęwe*), which, at the same time, shows that the first element of the open *ew*—and therefore probably of the close *ew* as well—was long.

862. In HVg and Sb close *ew* is transcribed *uw*. Thus HVg has *truwth*, *Dsiuws* 'Jews', where the *ˊs* is only inflectional,=ME *Jewes*, *Jues* (OFr *Juis*). Sb has *truw*, *vertuw*. They also transcribe *u* in words of French origin with *uw*, not only finally but also before a cons. Thus HVg has *uws* vb, *ffruwt*, Sb has *duwk* 'duke', *tresuwr* 'treasure.' It is evident that the ME diphthonging of final *ǖ* had now been extended to every *ǖ*. Welsh *uw* is Iɨ, and its use in these transcriptions must be taken as proof of a diphthongal pronunciation in the E. words cited above. If such a word as *duke* had preserved its fɵ as a monophthong, HVg and Sb would have written it simply **duk*, parallel to *busi* (809); and there can be no doubt of the diphthongal character of the final *ue* in *true* etc, for it was already ME. It would be possible to explain *uw* as an attempt to indicate a sound between I and ɩ, which f might be regarded as, but this is against the general principles of the Welsh transcriptions, which simply identify each E. sound with the nearest Welsh one. The *u* in this *uw* cannot well represent any other sound than f in E.: wẹ must, therefore, assume that in fMn ME *ēu* and *ǖ* were diphthonged into fɨ. The most probable explanation is that *ēu* became (iiu) by the regular change of *ē* into (ii), and that the (ii) was rounded by the following *u*, the resulting (yyu) or (yu) afterwards supplanting the non-final as well as the final *ǖ*.

863. Unfortunately neither HVg nor Sb give a single example of open *ew*. We must, therefore, turn to Palsgrave. He says:

> '*Ev* in the frenche tong hath two dyuerse soundynges, for sometyme they sound hym lyke as we do in our tonge, in these wordes a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe, and somtyme like as we do in these wordes, *trewe*, *glewe*, *rewe*, a *mewe*. The soundyng of *ev*, whiche is most general in the frenche tong, is suche as I haue shewed by example in these wordes, a dewe, a shrewe, a fewe, that is to saye, lyke as the Italians

> sound ev, or they with vs, that pronounce the latine tonge aryght, as *evrévx*, *irevx*, *liev*, *diev*.'
>
> '*U*, in the frenche tong, wheresoeuer he is a vowel by hymselfe, shall be sownded like as we sownde *ew* in these wordes in our tong, *rewe* an herbe, a *mew* for a hauke, a *clew* of threde, and such lyke restyng apon the pronounsyng of hym: as for these wordes *plus*, *nul*, *fus*, *usér*, *húmble*, *uertú*, they sound *plevus*, *nevul*, *fevus*, *evuser*, *hevumble*, *uertevu*, and so in all other wordes, where *v* is a vowel by hymselfe alone; so that in the soundynge of this vowel, they differe both from the Latin tong and from vs.'

We are here told that the open *ew* in *dew*, *shrew*, *few* = OE *dēaw*, *scrēawa*, *fēawe*, ME *dę̄w* etc was pronounced as the Italian (eu), while the close *ew* in *true* etc has the Fr sound fɨ. The first statement supplements Sb in the manner we would expect, the second differs from him in making long *u* a monophthongic fɨ.

864. The other fMn authorities distinctly analyse open *ew* into (e)+(u). Smith identifies it with the Greek diphthong *eu*, giving as examples: (feu) 'pauci,' (deu) 'ros,' (meu) 'vox catorum,' (ʃeu) 'monstrare,' (streu) 'spargere.' Again: '*ηυ* sonamus apertius, vt illud Gallicum *beau*, quod multi Angli *beu*: sonum etiam felium quidam *mew*, alii *meau*, quasi *με̂ν*, *μῆυ* exprimunt.' Bll writes *heu*='hew' with a comma under the *u* to indicate that it has the sound (u). Gill lengthens the first element: '*E*. sæpiùs præcedit *u*, vt, in (eeu) EAWE ovicula, (feeu) FEWE pauci, (seeuer) SEWER dapifer."

865. These same authorities agree in considering close *ew* and long *u* to be a simple fɨ. Cheke says:

> 'Cum duke tuke lute rebuke *δυκ τυκ λυτ ρεβυκ* dicimus, Græcum *υ* sonaremus,' of which he says 'simplex est, nihil admixtum, nihil adjunctum habet.'

Smith says:

> 'Y vel *υ* Græcum aut Gallicum, quod per se apud nos taxum arborem significat, taxus *υ*.' The following are his examples: '(snyy) ningebat, (slyy) occidit, (tryy) verum, (tyyn) tonus, (kyy) q. litera, (ryy) ruta, (myy) cavea in qua tenentur accipítres, (nyy) novum; (tyyli) valetudinarius, (dyyk) dux, (myyl) mula, (flyyt) tibia

Germanorum, (dyy) debitum, (lyyt) testudo, (bryy) ceruisiam facere, (myylet) mulus, (blyy) cæruleum, (akkyyz) accusare.'

'Quod genus pronunciationis nos à Gallis accepisse arguit, quòd rarius quidem nos Angli in pronuntiando hac utimur litera. Scoti autem qui Gallica lingua suam veterem quasi obliterarant, et qui trans Trentam fluvium habitant, viciniores que sunt Scotis, frequentissimè, adeo vt quod nos per V Romanum sonamus (u), illi libenter proferunt per *v* Græcum aut Gallicum (yy); nam et hic sonus tam Gallis est peculiaris, ut omnia fere Romane scripta per *u* et *v* proferunt, vt pro Dominus (Dominyys) et Iesvs (Jesyys), intantum vt quæ brevia sint natura, vt illud macrum *v* exprimant melius, sua pronunciatione longa faciunt. Hunc sonum Anglosaxones, de quibus postea mentionem faciemus, per *ẏ* exprimebant, ut verus Anglosaxonice ꞇꞃẏ. *Angli* (huur) meretrix, (kuuk) coquus, (guud) bonum, (bluud) sanguis, (huud) cucullus, (fluud) fluvius, (buuk) liber, (tuuk) cepit; *Scoti* (hyyr, kyyk, gyyd, blyyd, hyyd, flyyd, byyk, tyyk).' And again, '*O* rotundo ore et robustiùs quam priores effertur, *u* angustiore, cætera similis τῷ *o*. Sed *v* compressis propemodum labris, multò exilius tenuiusque resonat quàm *o* aut *u* (boot) scapha, (buut) ocrea, (byyt) Scoticâ pronunciatione, *ocrea*.'

The Scotch *u* is now {ɨ, but it may have been closer in Smith's time. Note that Sm. gives (yy) as the pronunciation of *yew*, where we should expect (jyy).

866. Hart calls *u* long a diphthong, and writes it *iu*, but he calls Fr *u*, with which he identifies his E. *iu*, a diphthong also, and it is clear from his description that in his *iu* the front and lip action was simultaneous, giving fɨ, so that with him 'diphthong' means simply 'compound':

'Now to come to the *u*. I sayde the French, Spanish, & Brutes [Welsh], I maye adde the Scottish, doe abuse it with vs in sounde and for consonant, except the Brutes as is sayd: the French doe neuer sound it right, but vsurpe ou, for it, the Spanyard doth often vse it right as we doe, but often also abuse it with vs; the French and the Scottish in the sounde of a Diphthong: which keeping the vowels in their due sounds, commeth of i & u, (or verie neare it) is made and put togither vnder one breath, confounding the soundes of i, & u, togither: which you may perceyue in shaping thereof, if you take away the inner part of the tongue, from the upper teeth or

Gummes, then shall you sound the u right, or in sounding the French and Scottish u, holding still your tongue to the vpper teeth or gums, & opening your lippes somewhat, you shall perceyue the right sounde of *i*.'

867. Baret says:

> 'And as for the sound of V vowel[1] whether it be to be sounded more sharply as in spelling *blue* or more grosly like *oo*, as we sound *Booke*, it were long here to discusse. Some therefore think that this sharpe Scottish V is rather a diphthong than a vowell, being compounded of our English *e* and *u*, as indeed we may partly perceyue in pronouncing it, our tongue at the beginning lying flat in our mouth, and at the ende rising up with the lips also therewithall somewhat more drawen togither.'

This statement that long *u* begins with a low-mixed vowel—for such would be the result of the tongue lying flat in the mouth—cannot be accepted. The most probable interpretation is that of Mr. Ellis's, viz. that Baret was thinking of the neutral position of the tongue *before* beginning to utter any sound. The whole passage gives the impression that Baret pronounced fɨ, but was trying to convince himself on theoretical grounds similar to those of Hart that it was a true diphthong.

868. Bll says that long *u* has a 'sharp' sound, which he identifies with Fr *u*.

869. Erondell (1605) says:

> '*v* Is sounded without any help of the tongue but ioyning of the lips as if you would whistle, say *u*, which *u*, maketh a sillable by it selfe, as *vnir*, *vniquement* as if it were written *v-neer*, pronounce then *musique*, *punir*, *subvenir* not after the English pronounciation, not as if it were written *muesique*, *puenir*, *suevenir*, but rather as the *u* in this word, *murtherer*, not making the *u* too long.'

This statement, obscure as it is, seems to agree with Sb's. He finds f in E. only as a short vowel, and although his *ue* for the long E. *u* is unintelligible, it certainly points to a diphthongic pronunciation different from (iu), which he would have expressed by *iou*, as Holiband does (870), and which therefore may have been (yu).

870. Holiband (1609) distinctly describes the (iu)-sound:

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[1] Printed *consonant*.

'Where you must take paine to pronounce our v, otherwise then in English: for we do thinke that when Englishmen do profer, v, they say, *you*: and for, q, we suppose they say, *kiou*: but we sound, v, without any helpe of the tongue, ioyning the lips as if you would whistle; and after the manner that the Scots do sound Gud.'

871. Cotgrave in 1611 says:

'*V* is sounded as if you whistle it out, as in the word *a lute*.'

Gill is not very definite, but he gives no hint of a diphthongal pronunciation of *u* long, calls it *ὐψιλόν*, and his description does not contradict that of the others:

'V, *est tenuis, aut crassa*: *tenuis* v, *est in Verbo* tu VZ VSE *utor*; *crassa breuis est* u. *vt in pronomine* us *nos*; *aut longa* ü: *vt in verbo tu* üz OOSE *scaturio, aut sensum exeo mori aquæ vi expressæ*.'

872. Butler says:

'*I* and *u* short have a manifest difference from the same long; as in *ride rid, rude rud, dine din, dune dun, tine tin, tune tun*; for as *i* short hath the sound of *ee* short; so has *u* short the sound of *oo* short. . . . *E* and *i* short with *w* have the very sound of *u* long: as in *hiw, kneew, true* appeareth. But because *u* is the more simple and ready way; and therefore is this sound rather to be expressed by it. . . . But why are some of these written with the diphthong *ew*? whose sound is manifestly different, as in *dew, ewe, few, hew, chew, rew, sew, strew, shew, shrew, pewter*.'

This statement is so ambiguous that we cannot tell whether he means that *u* long was pronounced (iu) or that *iw, eew* were pronounced (yy). As we shall see, the (iu)-sound was fully developed in the next period. All we gather with certainty from this statement is that open *ew* in *dew* etc was distinct from close *ew* and long *u*.

873. In sMn we still find Wallis insisting on the (yy) sound:

'Ibidem etiam,' that is, *in labiis*, 'sed Minori adhuc apertura,' than (uu), 'formatur *ú* exile; Anglis simul et Gallis notissimum. Hoc sono Angli suum *u* longum ubique proferunt (nonnunquam etiam *eu* et *ew* quæ tamen rectius pronunciantur retento etiam sono *e* masculi: Ut *muse*, musa, *tune*, modulatio, *lute*, barbitum; *dure*, duro; *mute*, mutus; *new*, novus; *brew*, misceo (cerevisiam coquo); *knew*, novi; *view*, aspicio; *lieu*, vice, etc. Hunc sonum extranei fere assequentur, si diphthongum *iu* conentur pronunciare; nempe ĭ exile litteræ *u* vel *w* præponentes, (ut in Hispanorum *ciudad* civitas,) non tamen idem est omninò sonus, quamvis ad illum proximè accedat; est enim *iu* sonus compositus, at Anglorum et Gallorum *ú* sonus simplex. Cambro-Britanni hunc fere sonum utcunque per *iw*, *yw*, *uw* describunt, ut in *lliw* color; *llyw* gubernaculum navis; *Duw* Deus, aliisque innumeris.'

'*U* longum effertur ut Gallorum *ú* exile. Ut in *lúte* barbitum, *múte* mutus, *múse* musa, *cúre* cura, etc. Sono nempe quasi composito ex ĭ et *w*.'

Here Wallis, while pointing out the resemblance between Spanish ſɨ, Welsh *iw* ſɨ, *yw*, *uw* Ɨɨ on the one hand and Fr fɵ on the other, states expressly that Spanish *iu* is a diphthong, Fr (yy) a simple sound, and with this latter he identifies the E. *u* long and *eu*, *ew* in some cases (meaning, of course, close *ew*). In contradiction to Sb he allows only resemblance to, not identity with the Welsh *uw*, which he evidently heard as ſɨ—its present sound in South Wales.

874. To Wallis's contemporary Wilkins, on the contrary, the Fr *u* is entirely foreign; he says:

'As for the *u Gallicum* or *whistling u*, though it cannot be denied to be a distinct simple vowel; yet it is of so laborious and difficult pronunciation to all those Nations amongst whom it is not used, (as to the English) especially in the distinction of long and short, and framing of Diphthongs, that though I have enumerated it with the rest, and shall make provision for the expression of it, yet shall I make less use of it, than of the others; and for that reason, not proceed to any further explication of it.'

Accordingly, he transliterates *communion* by (kommiuunion).

875. Holder describes (yy) very accurately (795), and says that it naturally follows (æ) and (e) in diphthongs Does this mean that he pronounced *eu* (open as well as close?) and *u* long as (iy)? The example he gives is the Lt *euge*.

876. Cooper says:

'*E* in *will*, *weal* cum *u* coalescens nobis familiarissimus est, quem vocamus *u* longum; ut *funeral* funus, *huge* inus [sic]; *juice* succus, scribimus per *ew*; ut *chew* mastico, *knew* cognovi; aliisque temporibus verborum præteritis; quando syllabam finalem claudit, additur *e*, *true* verus; rarò per *eu*, *rheum* rheuma; sic semper pronunciamus *eu* latinum, & *eu* Græcum: et Galli plerumque illorum *u*, quandoque autem subtiliùs quasi sonus esset simplex, sed hæc difficilis & *Gallis* propria.'

Cp here compares and distinguishes (iu) and (yy) very much as W. does, but only admits the diphthong in E., agreeing with Wilkins in finding (yy) a difficult sound.

877. Miege hears the E. *u* long as the Fr *u*, which is probably an inaccuracy of ear or description.

878. We must now return to the open *ew*. Wallis says:

> '*Eu*, *ew*, *eau* sonantur per ĕ clarum et *w*. Ut in *neuter* neutralis, *few* pauci, *beauty* pulchritudo. Quidam tamen paulo acutius efferunt acsi scriberenter, *niewter*, *fiew*, *biewty*, vel *niwter*, *fiw*, *biwty*; præsertim in vocibus *new* novus, *knew* sciebam, *snew* ningebat. At prior pronunciatio rectior est.'

We learn from this passage that the old (eu)=ME *ę̄u* was beginning to die out, *few* being generally pronounced with the first element 'sharper' than (e), which W. expresses by writing *fiew*, meaning, if not (fiu), at any rate something practically identical with it. But he gives as an alternative notation *fiw*, adding that this *iw*-pronunciation is especially frequent in *new* and some other (probably all) words with *ew*=ME *ēw*. Now under *u* (873) he includes *new* in a list of words pronounced with (yy). Does this imply that *few* also had the (yy) sound when not pronounced (feu), or does it mean that *few* had the (iu)-sound, *new* and the other close *ew*-words the (yy)-sound? Why then does he not expressly tell us that *new* was pronounced with '*ú* exile'? Were it not that W. has distinguished (iu) from (yy) with such clearness and accuracy in treating of *u* long, we should be obliged to assume that, after all, he was incapable of realising the distinction in practice, and that he really pronounced (iu) not only in *new*, but also in *muse* etc. But when a competent phonetician like W. says plainly that his *u* long is a monophthong identical with Fr *u*, we are bound to believe him, as long as we base our conclusions generally on the statements of contemporary phonetic authorities. The most probable solution of the dilemma seems to be this. W. himself pronounced (myyz, nyy), but was familiar with the diphthongic (miuz, niu) which he could have heard from his contemporary Wilkins, if from no one else. This latter pronunciation he has intentionally ignored, while unconsciously admitting its existence by identifying the vowel of *new* with the diphthongic (eu) in the modified form of (iu).

879. Wilkins has (eu) in *hew*. Price says that *ew* keeps its sound in *few* and *lewd* and some others (most open *ew* words), but has the sound of *iw* in *blew*, *chew* and a number of other close *ew* words. Cp has only (*i*u), and this pronunciation became general in the next cent., so that ME *ę̄u*, *ēu*, *ǖ* were all represented by (iu).

880. In attempting to sum up the results of the preceding investigation, the main question that forces itself on us is, was the eMn *u* long (and close *eu*) a monophthong or a diphthong? We have conclusive evidence of the (iu)-sound in sMn as well as late fMn, and strong evidence of the (yu)-sound in the fMn period. But there does not seem to be any direct connection between these two pronunciations, which are separated by a number of authorities who insist on the (yy)-sound with such unanimity, and, in several cases, with such clearness of description and accuracy of comparison with the known sounds of other languages, that we cannot but accept their statement. It seems simplest, therefore, to accept these facts, which point to the following conclusions. ME (eeu) became first (iiu), and then by convergence (yyu), which, by analogy, supplanted non-final ME (yy). The (u) of (yyu) was then absorbed, (yy) being the result, which in sMn was diphthonged into (iu). Another hypothesis is, that (yyu) was the only sound in fMn, which, differing so slightly from (yy), was generally identified with it, the first element being afterwards unrounded, giving (iiu, iu). The last hypothesis is, that the normal fMn pronunciation was (iu), of which Sb's *uw* is a dialectal variation. If we interpret our authorities as literally as we can, the first hypothesis is the most probable; but if we attempt to harmonise their contradictory statements, the second hypothesis gives a satisfactory explanation of their occasional identification of their (yu) with Fr (yy), for even a

trained phonetician might have some difficulty in distinguishing these sounds.

881. In thMn (iu) shifted the stress on to the second element, giving (juu). Lediard expresses the sound of initial *u* in German letters by *juh* in *juhnion*, generally writing *iuh* non-initially. He gives the rule that *u* is a long Gm *u* or *uh* after the forward conss. *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *t*, thus carrying the dropping of the (j) further than in the present E. He then makes a remark which is thus abbreviated by Mr. Ellis:

> 'According to Mr. Brightland and others, the English express the sound of French *u* by their long *u*, and sometimes by *eu* and *ew*. I cannot agree with this opinion, for although the English perhaps do not give the full sound of German *u* to their long *u* after *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *t*, yet their sound certainly approaches to this more closely than to the French *u*, which has induced me to give the German *u* as its sound, contrary to the opinion of some writers. After other consonants English long *u* is *iu*, and has nothing in common with French *u*.'

We are here told that the (j)-curtailed *u* in *rude* etc, though nearer ƚ♦ than f♦, is not identical with the former. This remark points to the mixed Ŧ♦, due probably to the influence of the lost (j).

ou

882. In MnE, as in lME, *ou*, *ow* is written for the ME diphthongs *ōu*, *ǭu* and *ou*—which latter was probably levelled under *ǭu* in lME—as in *grow*, *know*, *bow* sb = ME *grōwen*, *knǭwen*, *bowe*, OE *grōwan*, *cnāwan*, *boga*.

The fMn parasite diphthong in *old* (842) was not generally expressed in writing. The old-diphthongic *ou* was sharply distinguished from the new-diphthongic *ou* = ME (uu), as in *bow* vb, *bough* = lME *bowen*, *bough* (721) = OE *būgan*, *bōg*. The two *ou*s are separated in LE also, the old-diphthongic and parasite *ou* being represented by (ou), as in (grou, nou, bou, ould), the new-diphthongic *ou* by *au*, as in (bau). There must, however, have been a time when the two *ou*s were very close in sound, for ME (uu) passed through the (ou)-stage in fMn (826).

883. HVg and Sb transcribe old-diphthongic and parasite *ou* sometimes with *ow*, sometimes with *o*, especially when final. The following are the chief examples:

ōu. low 'mugire' *S.*

ǭu, ou. sowl, sol, owld, howld, sowld, wowld 'would'; slo, kno, bo 'arcus' *H.* kro 'cornix,' tro 'opinor,' bo 'arcus' *S.*

The dropping of the *w* in these words, contrasted with its invariable retention in *ow*=ME *ū*, points to an indistinctness of the second element, due to the length of the first.

884. Smith says:

'ΟΥ *diphthongus Græca,* (ou) *et* ωυ (oou). Ex (o) breui & (u), diphthongum habebant Latini, quæ si non eadem, vicinissima certè est ου Græcæ diphthongo, & proximè accedit ad sonum *u* Latinæ. Ita quæ Latinè per *u* longum scribebant, Græci exprimebant per ου. quæ per *u* breuem, per υ, quasi sonos vicinissimos. At ex (oo) longa & (u) diphthongus apud nos frequens est, apud Græcos rara, nisi apud Ionas: apud Latinos haud scio an fuit vnquam in vsu.

(ou), (bou) flectere, (boul) sphæra, (kould) poteram, (mou) meta fœni, (sou) sus fæmina.

ωυ. (boou) arcus, (booul) sinum aut scaphium, (koould) frigidus, (moou) metere, aut irridere os distorquendo, (soou) seminare, aut suere.'

And again in his Greek pronunciation he adds:

'ου ab omnibus rectè sonatur, & u facit Latinum quando producitur, vt aduertit Terentianus: differt ωυ granditate vocis, vt etiam ηυ ab ευ distinguimus.

ου. *bow*, βοὺ, flectere. *a hay mow*, μοῦ, fœni congeries, *a gowne*, γοῦν, toga.

ωυ. *a bow*, βωῦ, arcus. *to mow*, μωῦ, metere, vel os torquere. *gow*, γωῦ, abeamus.

υ. v breue Latinum. *a bull* taurus. *u* longum vel ου, *a bowl*, βοῦλ, globus. ωυ, *a bowle* βωῦλ, Sinum ligneum, vas in quo lac seruatur, vel vnde ruri bibitur.'

Here Sm assigns the pronunciation (ou) to Latin *ū* as well as to Gk *ou.* In E. he distinguishes old- from new-diphthongic *ou* solely by the quantity of the first element, which he makes short in the latter, long in the former. Observe the distinction between (boul) 'ball' from Fr *boule*, and (booul) 'bowl' from OE *bolla*, a confusion between which led to the occasional thMn pronunciation of *bowl* as (bəul). Bll and Gill make the same distinctions as Sm.

885. In sMn Wallis says:

'*Ou* et *ow* duplicem sonum obtinent; alterum clariorem, alterum obscuriorem. In quibusdam vocabulis effertur sono clariori per *o* apertum, et *w*. Ut in *sóul* anima, *sóuld* vendebam, venditum, *snów* nix, *knów* scio, *sów* sero, suo, *ówe* debeo, *bówl* poculum, etc., quo etiam sono et *ô* simplex nonnunquam effertur nempe ante *ld* ut in *gôld* aurum, *scôld* rixor, *hôld* teneo, *côld* frigidus, *ôld* senex, antiquus, etc., et ante *ll* in *pôll* caput, *rôll* volvo, *tôll* vectigal, etc. Sed et hæc omnia ab aliis efferuntur simpliciter per *ô* rotundum acsi scripta essent *sôle*, *sôld*, *snô*, etc. In aliis vocabulis obscuriori sono efferuntur; sono nempe composito ex *ò* vel *ù* obscuris, et *w*. Ut in *hòuse* domus, *mòuse* mus, *lòwse* pediculus, *bòul* globulus, *òur* noster, *òut* ex, *òwl* bubo, *tòwn* oppidum, *fòul* immundus, *fòwl* volucris, *bòw* flecto, *bòugh* ramus, *sòw* sus, etc. At *would* vellem, *should* deberem, *could* possem, *course* cursus, *court* aula, curia, et pauca forsan alia, quamvis (ut proximè præcedentia) per *òu* pronunciari debeant, vulgo tamen negligentius efferri solent per *oo* [uu].'

886. Cooper says:

'*O* in *full*, *fole* cum *u* conjunctus constituit diphthongum in *coulter* vomis, *four* quatuor, *mould* panifico, mucesco, typus in quo res formatur; *moulter* plumas exuere, *poulterer* avicularius, *poultry* alites villatici, *shoulder* humerus, *soul* anima; in cæteris hunc sonum scribimus per *o* ante *ll* finalem, vel *l*, quando præcedit aliam consonantem; ut *bold* audax; quidam hoc modo pronunciant *ow*.'

'*U* gutturalem [ɐ], ante *u* Germanicum *oo* anglicè exprimentem semper scribimus per *ou*; ut *out* ex; *about* circa; *ou* tamen aliquando, præter sonum priorem, sonatur ut *oo*; ut *I could* possem; ut *u* gutturalis, *couple* copulo; ut *a* [ɔɔ] *bought* emptus.'

As fMn (*oo*) became (oo) in sMn, we should expect Smith's (boou) etc to narrow their first element in sMn. Cp expressly states that the first element of E. *ou* was (oo) or its short, which he identifies with (*u*), by which he probably means that it was narrow (o)—}ɨ. W.'s '*o* apertum' would literally mean (*o*), but if so, it would be difficult to understand how the dropping (or absorption) of the *w* could change (sn*o*u) into (snoo) with }ɪ. It is therefore probable that by open *o*

W. meant short }, which he hardly recognizes as a distinct sound. The epithet 'open' seems to be meant merely to exclude 'obscure *o*'=1.

887. Price and Miege identify E. *ou* with long *o*, meaning (oo), which became fixed in thMn, so that *no* and *know* were levelled under (noo), to be diphthonged into (ou) in LE.

CONSONANTS.

h

888. Initial *h*, which was preserved throughout fMn and sMn, began to be dropt everywhere in colloquial speech towards the end of thMn, but has now been restored in refined speech by the influence of the spelling, which has introduced it into many Fr words where it was originally silent, as in *humble*.

889. Already in ME the alternation of such forms as *hīh* pl *hīe* led to the irregular dropping of the *h* in the uninflected *hī*. That these curtailed forms were preserved in eMn is shown by such spellings as *hye*=*high* in Td and the phonetic transcription *nei*=*nigh* in HVg, *enough* pl *enow* being, on the other hand, an example of the faithful retention of the phonetically divergent forms. The retention of the silent *gh* in such words as *high*, *neigh* was no doubt partly due to the striving after graphical distinctiveness, the spelling *hye*, *hie* being reserved for the verb *to hie*='hasten.'

890. Sb says of the E. *gh*:

> '*Gh* has the same sound as our [Welsh] *ch*, except that they sound *gh* softly, not in the neck, and we sound *ch* from the depth of our throats and more harshly, and it is disagreeable to the English to hear the grating sound of this letter, so Welshmen in the South of Wales avoid it as much as possible.'

The North Welsh *ch* is cɹ, the South Welsh sound being c without any trill. This 'harsh,' 'grating' trill was absent from the E. *gh*, according to Sb, who also tells us that the E. sound was not formed 'in the depth of the throat,' which is evidently meant to apply to the front ᴖ in *night* etc. Whether the statement is to be applied literally to the *gh* in *laugh* = ME ɑ, is uncertain. If so, it would imply that this latter sound had been weakened to the ɔ in *what*, which is by no means improbable. Sb and the HVg transcribe *gh* by *ch*, never omitting it except where it was already liable to be dropped in ME.

891. The other fMn authorities indicate a very weak sound of *gh*. Smith denotes it by *h*, saying:

> 'Scio *tauht*, *niht*, *fiht* & cætera ejusmodi scribi etiam *g* adjuncta, vt *taught*, *night*, *fight*, sed sonum illius *g* quærant, quibus ita libet scribere, aures profecto meæ nunquam in illis vocibus sonitum *τοῦ g* poterant haurire.'

Hart agrees, writing *lauht*, *oht* = *laught*, *ought*. So also Bll has *liht*, *bowht* = *light*, *bought*. Gill uses a stem-crossed *h* to denote the sound, and says:

> 'X. ch. Græcorum in initio nunquam vsurpamus, in medio, et fine sæpe; et per *gh*, male exprimimus: posthac sic [crossed *h*] scribemus: vt in (waixt enux) WEIGHT ENOUGH satis ponderis.'

892. It seems clear, then, that the regular fMn pronunciation of *gh* reduced it to a mere breath—probably a breath-glide modified by the preceding vowel—ℸʃᵒʊ (=ℸʃɾːʊ), ʄᵒʊ, weakenings of earlier ℸʃɷʊ, ʄɔʊ, ʄɑʊ. But even in this period the front *gh* must have been silent in the pronunciation of the majority. Sm gives both (liht) and (leit) = *light*, and (feit) = *fight*. Such forms as (leit) can only be explained as diphthongings of an earlier (liit), itself derived from (liht) by absorption of the *h*. If (liht) had really been generally preserved in the beginning of the 17th cent., it could only have been contracted into (liit), which would have been preserved unchanged in LE, for the earlier (ii) had already become (əi). We see, therefore, that the forms (ləixt) etc of Gill are really half-artificial blendings of the older (liht) and younger (ləit). There was no doubt a strong—though, of course, hopeless—reaction against the dropping of *gh*, which was natural at a period when all the other conss. which are now silent, such as the *k* and *w* in *know* and *write*, were still sounded. The first admission of the dropping of *gh* is made by Gill's contemporary

Butler, who uses a crossed *g* to denote it, saying 'the Northern dialect doth yet rightly sound' it, implying that it was lost in the South. The lip *gh* must, however, have been preserved longer, for not only does it remain to the present day in such words as *laugh* in the form of (f), but the present (ɔɔ) in the contracted forms *sought* etc shows that it must have been preserved here also till after the narrowing of (*oo*) into (oo)—that is, till sMn—for otherwise the contraction of (s*o*ht) into (s*oo*t) would have resulted in LE (sout). It must, however, be noted that the form (soot) actually occurs in sMn by the side of (sɔɔt), showing that in some pronunciations the *gh* in these words must have been dropped early in fMn.

893. We can now proceed to the sMn authorities. Wallis, after noticing that initial *gh* is simply (g), adds:

> 'alias vero nunc dierum prorsus omittitur; syllabam tamen producendam innuit. A quibusdam tamen (præsertim Septentrionalibus) per molliorem saltem aspirationem *h* effertur, ut *míght* potestas, *líght* lux, *níght* nox, *ríght* rectus, *síght* visus, *sígh* singultus, *weigh* pondero, *weight* pondus, *though* quamvis, *thóught* cogitatio, *wróught* operatus est, *bróught* attulit, *taught* docuit, *sought* quæsivit, *fraught* refertus, *nought* nihil, *naught* malus, &c. In paucis vocabulis effertur plerumque per *ff*; nempe *cough* tussis, *tróugh* alveolus, *tough* teuax, *rough* asper, *laugh* rideo proferuntur *cōff, trōff, tuff, ruff, laff.* *Inough* (singulare) sat multum, sonatur *inuff*; at *inough* (plurale) sat multa, sonatur *enow.*'

894. Here Smith's (riht) etc appears only as a Northern provincialism.

895. Wilkins, after saying that *gh* might have been (ʒ) adds:

> 'This kind of sound is now by disuse lost among us.'

Price, however, in the same year, says:

> 'Gh sounds now like *h* in *Almighty, although,*' etc.,

adding in the margin:

> 'But the Ancients did, as the Welch & Scots do still, pronounce *gh* thorow the throat.'

He notes that *gh* sounds as (f) in *cough, laughter, enough, rough.* Cooper says:

> 'hodiè apud nos desuevit pronunciatio *gh*, retinetur tamen in scripturâ,'

but he makes it (f) in *cough*, *laugh*, *rough*, *tough*, *trough*, and makes Wallis's distinction between *enough* and *enow*. Miege says also that *gh* is generally mute, but is (f) in *laugh*, *draught*, *rough*, *tough*, *enough* (not distinguishing *enow*), but adds:

> '*Sigh*, un Soupir, et le Verbe *to Sigh* soupirer, ont un son particulier qui approche fort de celui du *th* en Anglois.'

Jones (1701) extends both the (f) and the (th) list. According to him (f) is heard regularly in *draught*, *draughts*, *laugh*, *cough*, *enough*, *hough*, *rough*, *lough*, *trough*; and he adds:

> 'Some also sound *daughter*, *bought*, *nought*, *taught*, &c., as with an f, saying *daufter*, *boft*, &c.'

And he states that *gh*, *ght* are *th*

> 'in *sigh*, sounded *sith*; in *drought*, *height* sounded *drouth*, *heith*,'

but in other parts of his book he also admits the sounds (səi, drɔɔt, heet).

896. It will now be desirable to consider the changes of *gh* in connection with the preceding vowel. The following are the ME combinations with front *gh* and their Mn equivalents:

ī(h): *high* (hai), *nigh* (nai), *thigh* (þai).

iht: *right* (rait) etc through (riit). *whit* (whit) is an anomalous weak form of *wight* (wait).

ei(h): *neigh* (nei), *neighbour* (neibər).

eiht: *eight* (eit), *weight* (weit). *height* (hait) owes its vowel to the infl. of *high*.

897. The combination back vowel + lip-*gh* inserts an *u* before the *gh*, which, however, does not seem necessarily to form a full diphthong with the preceding vowel, being sometimes omitted, as in Td's *doghter* by the side of *doughter*, *wroght*, and *ocht* = *ought* in HVg. Such forms as (sɔɔt) *sought*, (laaf) *laugh* point to an *u*-less pronunciation in fMn, while such as (tɔɔt) *taught* postulate a full diphthong. It will be observed that final lip *gh* is regularly preserved in LE as (f), except in weak words, such as *though*, and, of course, where analogy has been at work, as in *drew*:

uh: *through* (þruu) from *þruh* = OE *þurh* is a weak form. The strong form would be (*þrɐf), as in *rough*.

auh: *laugh* (laaf).

auht: *laughter* (laaftər), *draught*, *draft* (draaft). (*n*)*aught* (ɔt, nɔt), *slaughter* (slɔtər), *taught* (tɔt), *daughter* (dɔtər).

uht: *doughty* (dauti), *drought* (draut) through (duuti) etc.

ūh = OE *ūh*: *rough* (raf).

ūh = OE *ōh*: *tough* (taf), *enough* (inaf). *slough* (slau), *plough* (plau), *bough* (bau). *slew*, *drew* owe their (uu) = earlier (iu) to the analogy of the old *ew*-preterites *knew*, *crew* etc.

o(u)h: *cough* (kɔf), *trough* (trɔf). *though* (ðou) is a weak form of the obsolete vg (þɔf).

o(u)ht: *ought* (ɔt), *thought* (þɔt) etc.

ō(u)h: *hough* (hok) earlier (hof). (*haf) would be the regular form (cp *ūh* = OE *ōh* above).

ǭ(u)h: *dough* (dou).

j

898. There was evidently a dislike to the combination of (j) with its cognate vowel (i), which led to the substitution of *yes*, *yet* for *yis*, *yit*, which seem originally to have been the more usual fMn forms. Whether Hart's (iild) really means that he dropt (j) before (ii) is doubtful, as it may be simply a result of his theoretically identifying (j) with (i), as he does. But cp *w* (920).

r

899. Sb says:

> 'R is of the same nature in the two languages, except that *r* is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.'

This identifies E. *r* with the Welsh *r* ωɩ, and excludes the aspirate, now written *rh* υɩo.

900. Ben Jonson says:

> 'R is the *Dogs* letter, and hurreth in the sound; the tongue striking the inner palate, with a trembling about the teeth. It is

> sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more *liquid* in the middle, and ends: as in *rarer. viper.* and so in the Latine.'

If taken literally—and there seems no reason why it should not—this means that *r* was a point trill ωɩ initially, and was untrilled— = the present ω—before a vowel.

901. Cooper, however, says that final *r* is trilled:

> 'Verba Anglicana & latina derivativa quæ in origine scribuntur cum *er* scribimus item *er*, pronunciamus autem *ur* [ɐr], non quia sic proferri debet, sed quia propter literæ *r* vibrationem vix aliter efferri potest; ut *adder* coluber, *prefer* præfero, *slender* tenuis.' '*r* sonatur post *o* in *apron* gremiale, *citron* citreum, *environ* circundo, *gridiron* craticula, *iron* ferrum, *saffron* crocus; quasi scriberentur *apurn*, &c.'

But here the mention of the vibration seems to be nothing but a part of the traditional definition of *r*. It is remarkable how people cling even now to the idea that the E. *r* is trilled, probably confounding trilling with the voice-vibration in the glottis. Walker even imagines a trill of the root of the tongue in one of his pronunciations of *r*. Lediard (1725) says of E. *r* that it agrees entirely with the Gm *r*, which at that time was no doubt ωɩ all over North Germany, as it still is in the remoter districts, having been supplanted by the back є in the towns.

902. In LE *r* is ω before a vowel, being always dropt before a pause or another cons., leaving only an (ə)-glide behind it, which is absorbed by a preceding obscure vowel. We have now to trace the development of this voice-glide.

903. Sb transcribes E. weak *er* by *er*, *yr*, *ir*, *r*, as in *kwarter*, *papyr*, *tsintsir* 'gynger,' *thwndr*, *wndr* 'wondre,' which points to an indistinct (ər). Bll has special signs for syllabic *l*, *m*, *n* in *fable* etc, but none for syllabic *r*, which shows that Sb's *thwndr* really means (þ*u*ndər).

904. We have now to consider the influence of *r* on preceding vowels, which has played so important a part in the development of the LE vowel-system. The change of *e* into *a* before *r*, as in *far*, reaches back, as we have seen (789), into the ME period. The first traces of the specifically Mn changes are found in sMn. Wallis tells us (793) that *e* before *r*, as in *vertue*, had the sound of Fr '*e* feminine,' which we have identified as ʅ or ʅ. He expressly distinguishes *er* from *ur* in *turn*, where the *u* kept its regular sMn sound, but still, *her*, *turn* ƍʅω, ʊlωɜ had now approximated their vowels considerably, and the beginning was made of that levelling of vowels which has now been carried out in such words as *her*, *fur*, *fir* (həər, fəər, fəər). Cp, in the passage quoted just above (901), seems to identify the sound of *er* completely with that of *ur*. He also gives the same sound to the *ir* in *bird* etc.

905. The following examples will show how the ME vowels have changed before *r* in MnE and LE. Observe that (r) followed by a vowel in the same word has no effect on a preceding short vowel; thus (nærou) keeps the regular short (æ) of (mæn).

ar: *narrow* (nærou). *far*, *hard* (faar, faa; haad). *quarrel* (kworəl). *war*, *warm* (wɔr, wɔə; wɔm).

ir: *stirrup* (stirəp). *stir*, *first* (stəər, stəə; fəəst).

er: *herring* (heriŋ). *her*, *were* (həər, həə; wəər, wəə), *herd*, *heard*, *learn* (həəd, ləən). As *er* was regularly lengthened to *ē̂r* in ME in strest syllables, except when followed by certain conss., final *er* could become (əər) only in weak forms such as *her* and *were*, which latter is a shortened ME *wę̄re*. The (əə) in *heard*, *learn* etc points to eMn (herd) etc by the side of (heerd). *tarry* (tæri). *far*, *dark* (faar, faa; daak.)

ur: *furrow* (farou). *spur*, *further*, *worth* (spəər, spəə; fəəðər, wəəþ). *word* (wəəd) points to fMn (wurd) with shortened (uu) = ME *ō*.

or: *sorrow* (sorou). *for*, *north* (fɔr, fɔə; nɔþ). Final *-or* only in weak syllables (cp *er*).

ār: *care* (kεər). Cp *name* (neim).

īr: *fire* (faiər).

ēr: *deer* (diər), *fear* (fiər), *here* (hiər).

ę̄r: *ear* (iər), *tear* sb (tiər), *beard* (biəd). *bear* (bεər), *tear* (tεər) vb.

ūr: *sour* (sauər).

ǖr: *cure* (kjuər). *lure* (luər).

ōr: *moor* (muər). *floor* (flɔr).

ǭr: *more* (mɔr). *hoarse* (hɔs).

air: *fair* (fεər).

eir : *their* (ðɛər).
ę̄ir : *stairs* (stɛəz).
our : *four* (fɔr). *fourth* (fɔþ).

l

906. In eMn *l* must have had the same deep pitch as at present, as shown by its development of a parasite *u* between it and a preceding back vowel (784, 842).

907. (l) is regularly dropt between its parasite (u) and a following cons. in the fMn combinations *aulf*, *aulv*, *aulm*, *aulk*, *oulk*, as in *half*, *halve*, *calm*; *walk*; *folk* (haaf, haav, kaam; wɔk; fouk). Also in *should*, *would*, *could* (ʃud, wud, kud). This loss of *l* began in fMn. In the last three words (the last of which,=ME *cūþe*, *cūde*, owed its *l* to the analogy of the other two) the *l* seems at first to have been dropped only in the weak forms.

908. Sb notes the provincial dropping of *l* in *bowd*, *bw*, *caw*, as he writes them,=*bold*, *bull*, *call*. There are traces of this in the literary language, for we can only explain Td's curious spelling *rayneboll*=*rainbow* on the supposition that he pronounced *bowl* and *bow* 'arcus' alike as (bou).

þ, s, ʃ, f.

909. In some words MnE final (þ) corresponds anomalously to medial ME *th*=(ð), as in *pith*, *beneath*, *both*, *earth*, *fourth* etc. Final (z)=ME (s) in *arose*, *chose* is due to the infl. of the inf. *rise*, *chose*. The (z) of *wise* adj. must also be due to some analogy—either of the inflected ME *wīse* or of *wisdom*.

910. *f*=ME *v* in *belief*, *sherrif*, and a few others.

911. The present distinction between initial (þ) and (ð) is fully confirmed for fMn by HVg, which writes *dde*, *dden*, *ddat*, *ddei*=*the*, *then*, *that*, *they* with the Welsh *dd*=(ð), writing Welsh *th*=(þ) in other words.

912. In HVg *with* and *of* are written *wyth* and *off*=strong (wiþ, of). Td writes both *of* and *off* for the prp. The other authorities give (þ) in *with*. Hart, however, has (uið). There can, of course, be no doubt that (wiþ, wið, of, ov) existed side by side in fMn as strong and weak forms respectively. (wiþ) is now almost extinct, and (ɔf) is entirely restricted to its adverbial function.

913. The fMn change of (ð) into (d) takes place mainly after *r*, as in *murder*, *burden*, or before *r*, where *ð* and *d* were confused (931), as in *rudder*, and *l*, as in *swaddle*, *fiddle*.

914. *sh* in fMn does not seem to have differed from the present sound. Sb says:

> '*Sh* when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination *ssi*, thus SHAPPE *ssiapp*, SHEPE *ssiip*. *Sh* coming after a vowel is pronounced *iss*, thus ASSHE *aiss*, WASSHE *waiss*. And wherever it is met with, it hisses like a roused serpent, not unlike the Hebrew letter called *schin*. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil.'

So also HVg writes *siak*=*shake*, with the variations *syts* 'such,' *aish* 'ask,' *shio* 'shew.'

915. *s* in Welsh is (ʃ) in such words as *ceisio*, where it has developed out of the combination (sj), but this is a very recent development. It is possible, however, that even in Sb's time *s* was palatalized in this combination—s\ɷ. This was probably also the beginning of the LE (ʃ)-sound of *s* in such a word as *nation*, which Gill writes (naasion). In sMn Wallis recognizes (ʃ) in such words, but Wilkins still writes (resərreksion)= *resurrection*, and Price (1668) only recognizes 'hard *s*' in *passion*. Cooper (1685) admits *shure*, *shugar*,=*sure*, *sugar* 'facilitatis causâ,' although he stigmatizes the *sh*-pronunciation as barbarous.

916. Miege (1688) writes *chûre*, *pennchoun* in French letters for *sure*, *pension*, states that in the termination *-ision*, *s* sounds as French *g* or *j*, and writes *újual*, *traîngient*, *léjeur*, *ôjer*, *hôjer*, *crôjer* for *usual*, *transient*, *leisure*, *osier*, *hosier*, *crosier*. This passage contains the first notice of the sound (ʒ), which had previously been known only in the combination (dʒ)=*j* and 'soft' *g*. It is not noticed even by Lediard (1725), who seems to pronounce *decision* etc with (ʃ). Sheridan (1780) fully recognizes it.

W

917. Gill distinctly recognizes *wh* as a simple cons.:

'*W*, aspiratum, consona est, quam scribunt per *wh* et tamen aspiratio præcedit. Illæ namque voces quæ per *wh* scribuntur; possunt atque etiam ad exempla maiorum scribi debent per (hw) aut (hu); ita enim, nihil aliud inde colligi queat, quàm quod ex ipso *wh*, intelligimus; vt (wiil) sive (uiil) WEELE nassa, (hwiil) sive (huiil) WHEELE rota. Tamen quia nostra experientia docet, (w) et (wh) veras esse simplicesque consonas, in quarum elatione (u) suggrunnit tantum, non clara vocalis auditur; ideo illud (w) ante vocales aut diphthongos ius assignatum obtinebit; at (wh) mala tantum consuetudine valebit in (what) quid, (wheðer) uter & similibus.'

918. Towards the close of thMn (wh) began to be levelled under (w), and in the present cent. the change was carried out universally, even among those who still retained (h) as a mark of gentility. But of late years it has begun to be restored in Southern educated speech, partly by the influence of the spelling, partly by that of Scotch and Irish pronunciation, so that in another generation it will probably be completely restored. It is now pronounced in unstrest words, where it was probably weakened into (w) in the period when it was a natural sound.

919. The now silent *w* before *r* is preserved not only in HVg, as in *wricht* 'wright,' but also by all the other fMn authorities. Those of the sMn period drop it. Jones, however, says '*r*- may be *wr*-.' Lediard (1725) says that in *wr* the *w* is 'little or scarcely heard, as in *wrack*, *wrench* etc, in which I can only find a soft aspiration before *r*.' The development of (ɔ) in *wrath* and of (o) in the vg (rop) = *wrap* shows clearly that *w* was not simply dropt before *r*, but that it first rounded it, and then was dropt itself as superfluous: ɜω, ɜωɘ, ωɘ, ω. In LE *r*, whether answering to old *wr* or to simple *r*, is often rounded, especially in emphatic speaking. Perhaps it is to some such practice that Jones is alluding in the remark cited above.

920. Sb's writing *wnder*, *w* for *wonder*, *woo* would seem to be the result of Welsh habits, as also Jones's sMn (umæn) = *woman*. But that there was a real dislike to the sequence

(w) + (u) is shown by *ooze* = OE *wōs*. *w* has also been dropt after *o* in *thong* and *so*, the last being eME.

921. The loss of the *w* of *answer* is the result of want of stress.

ng

922. Gill appears to be the first writer who recognizes (ŋ) as a separate element. He says, leaving his notation unaltered:

> '*N* in illis [literis] est quas nihil mutare diximus: at si *k*, aut *g*, sequatur paulùm minuenda est nostra sententia: neque enim (si accuratè expendas) planè ita profertur in *thank* et *think* quemadmodum pronunciatur in *hand* manus, et *nön* NONE nullus. Sed ne adeo nasutuli videamur ut nihil vetustate rancidum ferre possimus: quia *k*, ibi clarè auditur, nec congruum esse reor quicquam veritati propinquum immutare; monuisse tantum volui, sed te invito non monuisse tamen. At si *g* subsequatur vt in *thing* res et *song* canticum; quia sonus literæ *g* ibi nullus est, at semivocalis planè alia quæ ab *n* non minùs distat quàm *m*; literæ *ng*. una erit ex illis compositis, quibus fas esse volui sonum simplicem indicare, ut in *sing* canta, et *among* inter. huc etiam refer illa in quibus *g*, ab *n*, ratione sequentis liquidæ quodammodo distrahitur, *a spangl* nitella, *tu intangl* implicare.'

This quite agrees with the present usage, which pronounces *ng* finally as (ŋ), keeping the *g* before *l* (spængl), as also before a vowel, as in (haŋgər) *hunger*, except where the analogy of the forms in which (ŋ) is final have introduced it medially also, as in (siŋər) *singer*, (siŋiŋ) by the infl. of (siŋ). Medial (g) is, however, preserved in the comparison of adjectives, as in (loŋgər, loŋgist). The fMn usage was no doubt the same.

k, g

923. Initial *k* before *n* is written not only in HVg, as in *knicht* 'knight,' but also by all the other fMn authorities. The sMn Wallis also allows *k* in *know*, *knew*. Jones also says that initial *kn* 'may be sounded *kn*.'

924. Cooper says:—

'*Kn* sonatur ut *hn*; *knave* nebulo . . . quasi *hnave* etc.'

Lediard (1725) says:

> 'K before *n* at the beginning of a word is only aspirated, and spoken as an h; *knack* hnäck, *knave* hnäve, *knife* hneif, *knee* hnie, *knot*, *know*, *knuckle*, etc. M. Ludwick says that *k* before *n* is called *t*; Arnold and others declare that it is pronounced *d*. But any one experienced in English pronunciation must own, that only a pure gentle aspiration is observable, and by no means so hard and unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing *d* or *t* to *n*.'

This, of course, means that *kn* did not become the present (n) by mere dropping of the *k*, but the *n* was unvoiced by the off breath-glide of the *k*, which was then itself dropt as superfluous. ℸ was afterwards levelled under the more frequent ℸ. The same change of *kn-* into ℸ has taken place in MnIcel., where *kníf* is pronounced ℸʃɨ>. The *tn* of the Germans was, no doubt, only a clumsy way of indicating the voiceless *n*.

925. Initial *gn* does not occur in the fMn authorities, but was no doubt (gn), parallel to (kn). Jones in sMn makes it simple *n*. Lediard, however, says:

> 'Initial *g* before *n* sounds as an aspiration or *h*, not like a hard *g*, as *gnash* hnäsch not gnäsch, *gnat* hnät not gnät, *gnaw* hnah not gnah, *gnomon*, *gnostick*.'

It is possible that *gn-* was levelled under the more frequent *kn*, but a comparison of this statement with that about *wr-* (919), where the term 'aspiration' is used without any apparent meaning, makes it altogether doubtful.

926. The old-fashioned fronting of *k* and *g* after (aa) in (kjaat, gjaadn) *cart*, *garden* etc, is evidently the result of the sMn pronunciation of these words with (ææ). When (ææ) became (aa) the preceding front-modified *k*s and *g*s retained and exaggerated the front glide on to the (aa).

t, d; tʃ, dʒ

927. The change of (tj, dj) into (tʃ, dʒ) in thMn, as in (neitʃər, vəədʒər) *nature*, *verdure*, through (næætjur) etc is quite parallel to that of (sj) into ʃ (915).

The old *ch, j* had already developed into their present sound of (tʃ, dʒ) in fMn, as shown by the insertion of *t* and *d*, which is common in Td, as in *fetche*, *watche*, *knoledging* by the side of *knowlege.*

928. The voicing of ME *ch* in *knowledge* = ME *knǭwlę̄che* is evidently parallel to the (z) of *speeches* etc, being due to want of stress. In the LE (grinidʒ, wulidʒ) = *Greenwich* (OE *Grēnawīc*), *Woolwich*, the same change has taken place. We may therefore confidently assume an earlier alternation of strong (eetʃ, whitʃ, sutʃ) *each*, *which*, *such* with weak (eedʒ, widʒ, sudʒ) in *whichever* etc, and this is confirmed by Lediard's (1725) (iidʒ, whidʒ).

929. In LE *t* preceded by the hisses *s* and *f* and followed by the vowellikes *l*, *n*, *m* is regularly dropped, as in (þisl, faasn, tʃesnət, krisməs) *thistle*, *fasten*, *chestnut*, *christmas*, (ɔfn) *often*. It will be observed that in most of the examples the vowellike cons. is final, and therefore syllabic; it is probable that the dropping of the *t* began in such words. In fMn the *t* was still preserved, as shown by Sb's transliteration *thystl* etc, but not in sMn, so that Buchanan's preservation of it in thMn must be a Scotticism, the *t* in *castle* etc being still preserved even in refined Scotch pronunciation.

930. The triple consonant-groups (ltʃ, ntʃ) are lightened in the same way by throwing out the *t*, as in *milch*, *bench*. So also (ndʒ) becomes (nʒ), as in *singe*, (ldʒ) as in *bulge* being kept.

931. ME *d* preceded by a vowel and followed by *r*—generally with a vowel between—became (ð) in many words in fMn, such as *father*, *gather*, *together*, *hither*, *mother*.

932. The change of *t* into (þ) after *r* in *swarth*(*y*) seems to be not earlier than thMn.

p, b

933. The loss of final *b* after *m* occurred already in fMn, thus Gill has (lam) = *lamb*. Td has *lambe* but *domme*, *domm* = *dumb*, which shows that both pronunciations must have existed in the earliest fMn. Such spellings as *limb* and *numb* = ME *lim*, *numen* seem, indeed, to point to a complete confusion between final *m* after a short vowel, and *mb*, in pronunciation as well as spelling, *lamb* being pronounced (lam, lamb), *limb* being pronounced (lim, limb) indifferently; perhaps the *b* was only sounded before a vowel beginning the next word. Unstrest *b* after *m* was dropt in writing as well as pronunciation in *oakum*=OE *ācumba*.

934. *b* has, on the contrary, been inserted between *m* and *l* in such words as *thimble, bramble.* This insertion began in lME.

LIVING ENGLISH SOUNDS.

935. If we compare the fMn orthography with that of LE, we see at once that the latter is distinguished (1) by its entire dissociation from the spoken language, and (2) by its fixity. The present E. orthography is practically a system of letter-groups which are partly arbitrary hieroglyphs, partly imperfectly phonetic representations of the language of the 16th cent.

936. If we compare the sound-systems of the two periods, we are struck (1) by the great changes that have taken place —changes which have not been in any way retarded by the increasing fixity of the orthography—and (2) by the greater uniformity of the present pronunciation, which is the result of the greater facilities of communication.

937. In the fMn and sMn periods the influence of spelling on pronunciation seems to have been very slight. But as standard E. came to be spoken over a continually widening area, and as the distinction of polite and vulgar pronunciation developed itself more and more, there arose a strong reaction against the colloquialisms of the sMn period, and in the thMn period many older pronunciations were restored by the influence of the written language, schoolmasters and pronouncing-dictionaries working hand in hand. Thus, in the 17th cent. such a pronunciation as (bækərd)=*backward* was the regular one, and our present (bækwəd) would have seemed—what it no doubt was at first—a pedantic following of the spelling. We see the same process in the present pronunciation of *towards* as (təwɔdz) which seems likely to supplant the older and still commoner (tɔdz).

938. In the case of words which have become rare and obsolete, a refashioning of the pronunciation through misinterpretation of the spelling is inevitable, as in our present pronunciation of *behove* as (bihouv) instead of (bihuwv) with the regular (uw) = ME *ō*. These influences have not so much affected the E. part of our vocabulary as they have the Fr and foreign words, where, indeed, the corruption of spelling as well as of pronunciation—the latter the consequence of the former—have been carried to such an extent as to make our present written language almost useless for purposes of historical investigation.

STRESS.

939. The most characteristic feature of LE is the extreme sensibility of its vowels to stress-influence. Most words which occur frequently as unstrest members of a sentence develop a *weak* form alongside of the original *strong* form by modification of the vowel and occasionally by consonant-dropping. Thus, in the sentence (-ðəz noubədi ·ðɛə) *there is nobody there*, (ðə) is the weak form of the strong (ðɛə). Here there is a distinction of meaning, but in many cases the strong form is simply more emphatic than the weak one, as in (:whot ·aa -ju duwiŋ) *what are you doing?* compared with (whot -ə -ju duwiŋ). Unstrest vowels all tend to weakening, generally in the direction of the mixed vowels, and there are several vowels which occur only in unstrest syllables: ſ˗, ʅ, ᵻ, ʅ̵. as in (meni, betə, vælju, felou >ſωʅ̵ɫ) *many*, *better*, *value*, *fellow*. The last two are weakenings of (uw) and (o, ɔ) resp. The first two are weakenings of a variety of vowels and diphthongs.

940. The history of MnE and LE stress and stress-influence offers great difficulties, because of our defective knowledge of the earlier periods. It is certain that many of our present weak forms are of sMn, some of fMn origin, while the alternation of such forms as (hiz) and (iz) can be traced back to OE (500).

941. The history of MnE sentence-stress cannot be attempted at present. The most characteristic feature of LE as compared with OE sentence-stress is its development of level stress. In such an attributive group as (big blæk dog), where in OE the first element would have had a stronger stress than the others, we stress all three words equally. We even separate the elements of a traditional compound in the same way, if the first word is attributive, as in (ijvniŋ staa) *evening star* = OE *·ǣfen-steorra*, and, what is still more remarkable, we isolate inseparable prefixes by means of an independent stress, if they have a full meaning, as in (·an·kuwþ) *uncouth* = OE *·un-cūþ*, the Scotch *unco* (ɐŋkə) still preserving the older stress. All this, as well as the many delicate gradations of stress which in our syntax supply the place of inflection, must be of comparatively late origin.

QUANTITY.

942. In LE long vowels occur only finally, as in (faa) *far*, and before voiced conss., as in (haad) *hard*, being shortened to half-long before voiceless conss., as in (haat) *heart*.

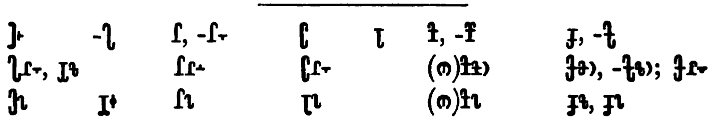
943. Final voiceless conss. are short after a long vowel, as in (haat), long after a short vowel, as in (hæt) *hat*. If a final voice cons. follows a short vowel, as in (bæd) *bad*, the length seems to be generally distributed over both vowel and cons., although it is sometimes confined to the vowel. In vgE there is a tendency to lengthen the vowel before voiceless conss. as well.

944. These rules apply only to strest syllables, unstrest syllables being generally short. A strest short vowel is never followed by a short single cons., unless the cons. is followed by a short stressless vowel without any pause between them, as in (betə) *better*. If such a word is drawled out, the length is thrown on to the stressless vowel, as in (:whot ə piti) :ɔɟʊ -ʅ ɒſʊſɨ, *what a pity!*

VOWELS.

945. The following is the LE vowel-system, weak vowels being marked by a preceding (-):

a	-ə	i, -i	e	æ	u, -u	o, -o
ai, au		ij	ei		(j)uw	ou, -ou ; oi
aa	əə	iə	ɛə		(j)uə	ɔ, ɔə



946. The first row consists of *monophthongs,* all of which, though normally short, occur also long (943), the only monophthong among the normally long vowels being (əə). The remaining diphthong-vowels may be classified as *divergent* diphthongs (ai, au, oi), *mid* diphthongs (ei, ou), *high* diphthongs (ij, uw), *murmur* diphthongs (iə, ɛə, uə, ɔə), and *murmur longs* (aa, ɔ). In these last the murmur is only just audible, while in (əə) it is completely absorbed. There are also the triphthongs (aiə) etc. All these (ə)s are parasite developments due to a following *r* (905).

947. (a)=(1) ME *u*, as in (kam) *come.* (2) *ü*, as in (kratʃ) *crutch.* (3) *o*, as in (avn) *oven.* (4) *ō*, as in (dan) *done.* The full back] is heard in the West of E. and in Scotland. In Vg this vowel tends to widening and lowering, becoming nearly ɪ. American and Irish E. agree in making (a) a sound intermediate to] and ɪ —]⊢. The StE sound must be the older, as being nearer the sMn l or l.

948. (i)=(1) *i*, as in (liv) *live.* (2) *ü*, as in (mil) *mill.* (3) *e*, as in (striŋ) *string.* (4) *ē*, as in (sik) *sick.* In *children* (i) has been absorbed by an (u)-modified (l), the glide between them developing into a full (u)—(tʃuldrən). In *milk* the same rounded (l) has become syllabic, and the preceding vowel has become a glide-vowel—(mjlk), sometimes (mjulk).

949. (e)=(1) *e*, as in (west, best) *west, best.* (2) *a*, as in (meni) *many.* (3) *ī* (*i*) in (ʃerif) *sheriff.* (4) *ę̄*, as in (dred) *dread.* (5) *ē*, as in (frend) *friend.* (6) *ü*, as in (beri) *bury.*

950. æ=(1) *a*, as in (mæn) *man.* (2) *e*, as in (þræʃ) *thresh, thrash.* (3) *o* in (stræp) *strap.* Tends to [in Vg.

951. u=(1) *u*, as in (ful) *full.* (2) *o*, as in (ʃud, wud) *should, would.* (3) *ŭ* in (kud) *could.* (4) *ō*, as in (fut) *foot.*

952. o=(1) *o*, as in (lot) *lot.* (2) *a*, as in (wont, solt) *want, salt.* (3) *ǭ* in (hot) *hot.*

953. ai=(1) *ī*, as in (laif) *life.* (2) *ṻ*, as in (braid) *bride.* (3) *ih*, as in (brait) *bright.* (4) *ē̆* in (braiər) *briar.* Broadened to ʃɾ˗, ɹɾ˗, ɟɾ˗ in Vg, the second element being often obscured—ɹı. Before (l) it is almost completely absorbed in Vg, *mile* being confused with *marle.*

954. au=(1) *ū*, as in (haus) *house.* (2) *uh* in (dauti) *doughty.* Becomes ɿɩ in Vg.

955. ij=(1) *ē*, as in (hij, strijt) *he, street.* (2) *ę̄*, as in (ijst) *east.* (3) *ḗ*, as in (ijt) *eat.* In Vg the first element is lowered, so that the diphthong approximates to (ei).

956. ei=(1) *ā*, as in (neim) *name.* (2) *ai*, as in (dei) *day.* (3) *ei*, as in (ðei) *they.* (4) *ēi*, as in (hei) *hay.* (5) *ę̄i*, as in (klei) *clay.* In Vg the first element is broadened to ɭ, so that this diphthong is confused with St (ai), except when this latter is broadened (953).

957. uw=(1) *ō*, as in (kuwl) *cool.* (2) *ū*, as in (stuwp) *stoop.* (3) *ṻ* in (bruwz) *bruise.* (4) *eu*, as in (struw) *strew.* (5) *ēu*, as in (gruw) *grew.* Becomes fɟ) in Vg.

958. juw=(1) *ṻ*, as in (tjuwn) *tune.* (2) *eu*, as in (njuwt) *newt.* (3) *ēu*, as in (njuw) *new.* (4) *ę̄u*, as in (fjuw) *few.* Becomes ɷfɟ in Vg initially, fɟ) non-initially, as in (nuw) *new.*

959. ou=(1) *ǭ*, as in (stoun) *stone.* (2) *ṓ*, as in (koul) *coal.* (3) *ō*, as in (wouk) *woke.* (4) *ou*, as in (floun) *flown.* (5) *o*(*l*), as in (fouk, boult) *folk, bolt.* (6) *ōu*, as in (flou) *flow.* (7) *ǭu*, as in (slou) *slow.* Becomes ɭɩ) in affected, ʃɩ in Vg speech. Weak (ou), as in *narrow*, becomes (ə) in Vg.

960. oi=(1) *oi*, as in (vois) *voice.* (2) *ṻ* (*ī*) in (boil) *boil* sb.

961. aa=(1) *a*, as in (graas, haad, haaf) *grass, hard, half.* (2) *e*(*r*), as in (staar) *star.* Broadened to ɹɩ, ɹɩ in Vg.

962. əə=(1) *ir*(*ür*), as in (bəətʃ, bəədn) *birch, burden.* (2) *er*, as in (əəþ) *earth.* (3) *ur*, as in (təəf) *turf.* (4) *ōr* in (wəəd) *word.*

963. iə=(1) *ēr*, as in (stiər) *steer.* (2) *ę̄r*, as in (niər) *near.* (3) *ḗr*, as in (spiər) *spear.*

964. ɛə=(1) *ēr* (?), as in (hɛər) *hair.* (2) *ę̄r*, as in (ɛər) *ere.*

(3) *ér*, as in (swεər) *swear*. (4) *air*, as in (fεər) *fair*. (5) *eir*, as in (ðεər) *their*. (6) *ę̄ir*, as in (stεəz) *stairs*.

965. uə = *ōr*, as in (muər) *moor*.

966. juə = *ǖr*, as in (kjuər) *cure*.

967. ɔ = (1) *au*, as in (drɔ) *draw*. (2) *a*(*l*), as in (fɔl, wɔk) *fall*, *walk*. (3) (*w*)*a*, as in (wɔtər, wɔm) *water*, *warm*. (4) (*w*)*e*(*r*), as in (þwɔt) *thwart*. (5) *or*, as in (hɔs) *horse*. (6) *ǭr* in (hɔs) *hoarse*. (7) *our*, as in (fɔti) *forty*. (8) *ou*(*h*), as in (kɔf, þɔt) *cough*, *thought*. (9) *ǭ* in (brɔd) *broad*.

968. ɔə = (1) *or*, as in (fɔər) *for*. (2) *ǭr*, as in (mɔər) *more*. (3) *ór*, as in (bifɔər) *before*. (4) *our*, as in (fɔər) *four*.

The (ə) is dropt when a cons. follows: cp (bifɔə) with (-bi fɔrit) *before it*.

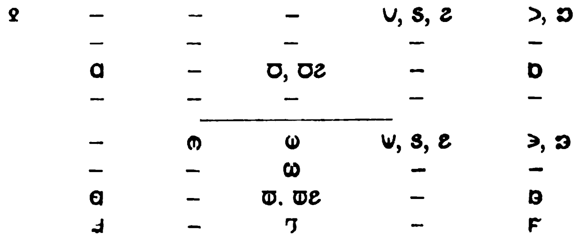
969. The characteristic feature of the LE vowel-system is its diphthonging of all the earlier long monophthongs. The diphthonging of (ei) and (ou) was first noticed by Smart in 1836, but it is probably older, as it occurs also in American E., which still pronounces ſ•, ƚ• for our (ij, uw). The broadening of (ei, ou) to (əi, au) is not old: it was almost unknown thirty years ago, but is now beginning to push its way into educated speech.

CONSONANTS.

970. The following is the LE cons.-system:

h	–	–	–	þ, s, ʃ	f, wh
	–	–	–	–	–
	k	–	t, tʃ	–	p
	–	–	–	–	–
	–	j	r	ð, z, ʒ	v, w
	–	–	l	–	–
	g	–	d, dʒ	–	b
	ŋ	–	n	–	m

◆



971. The LE consonant-system differs comparatively little from the ME. The ME back open ꞓ, ∩, ɛ are wanting, and ME *ch*, *ġ* have developed into ᴐƨ, ϖƨ. LE has also developed a voiced (ʃ) by the fronting of older (z), as in *glazier*.

972. Otherwise the main changes are the loss of initial conss. before another vowellike conss., as in LE (n)=ME *kn-*, *gn-*, (r)=ME *wr-*, and the dropping of (r) when not followed by a vowel, the last being a specially LE change.

973. In Vg—as also in most of the LE dialects (but not in Scotch, Irish, American and Australasian)—(h) is dropt, being, on the other hand, sometimes retained or added before an emphatic vowel. In Vg—as also generally in Southern StE—(wh) is levelled under (w). Vg always, and StE often, level final (ə) under (ər), adding an (r) before another vowel as in (ai·diər əv) *idea of*. Vg treats (aa, ɔ) in the same way, as in (aar -ai doun nou) *ah, I do not know*. Vg changes final weak (ŋ) to (n), as in (drɔrin) *drawing*. The older Vg (w) for (v) is now extinct.

FIRST WORD-LIST.

(OLD-MIDDLE-MODERN.)

The following list is intended to include the majority of the words of OE or Scand. origin still in common use. The first column gives the OE forms, Scand. words being marked ‡. Words which do not occur at all in OE, or do not occur in the form in which they are here given are marked*. Words whose later form-changes are irregular, owing to external influences, are marked †. The second column gives the ME forms, if possible, those of the Ormulum, which are marked †. The third column gives the present spelling. The fourth column gives the present pronunciation, words more or less obsolete in colloquial speech being marked †.

The notes give the various forms for the four periods—Old, Middle, Modern, and Living—each period being separated by a dash. If the first note is preceded by a dash, it applies to the Middle period, and so on. When the name of a text etc is not preceded by any form, it refers to the heading of its period; thus in 1 *VP* means that *earun* is the form in that text, while the note on 7 refers to the second (ME) column. ME forms which occur in unambiguous rhymes are marked † in the notes, or else a specimen rhyme is given, the rhyming words being joined by (:). ME forms in ( ) are from some other than the chief ms: from Lay.², AR¹, from any ms but Ellesm. of Ch. MnE forms in ( ) are transcriptions of the phonetic spellings of the phonetic authorities.

The OE forms are arranged primarily under their vowels in the following order: a (æ, ea), i, e (ę, eo), u, y, o, œ; ā, ǣ, ǣ (=non-WS ē), ē (œ̄), ēa, ēo, ī, ū, ȳ, ō. Scand. *ei* and *öy* go under *eg*, Scand. *ǫu* under *ō*. The words are then arranged by the cons. which follows the vowel, and lastly by the first cons. that precedes the vowel, both in the following order: h-, r, hr, l, hl, þ, s, w, hw, f; nc, ng, n, m; c, -h, g, t, d, p, b.

a (æ, ea).

	earun vb	**†arrn**	**are**	**aar**
	VP. arun *Du*, *Ru.*—†aren, are *Hv.* arn *AllP.* †are *Aud.* †er *North.* (*infl. of Scand.* eru). ar *TM.*—(aar, ar) *G.* (ær) *not* (eer) *Jn.* (er) *Bch.* (eer) *Fr.* (ær) *Sh*—(eer) *vg.*			
	hara	**hare**	**hare**	**heer**
	hæring	**hering**	**herring**	**heriŋ**
	sneare	**snare**	**snare**	**sneer**
5	**scær sn (?)**	**share**	**(plough)share**	**plauʃeer**
	scaru	**share**	**share**	**ʃeer**
	'tonsure.' landscearu 'territory' *Grein.*			
	stær	**sterling**	**starling**	**staaliŋ**
	—*also* stare.			
	starian	**staren**	**stare**	**steer**
	spær(stān)	—	**spar**	**spaar**
10	**sparian**	**sparen**	**spare**	**speer**
	wær adj	**†warr**	**ware**	**weer**
	—war : bār *prt*, Balthasār *Ch.*			
	war(e)nian	**warnien**	**warn**	**won**
	'take care,' 'avoid' — — (aa) *Bll.* (a) *G.* (ɔɔ) *EO*, *Bch*, *Sh.*			
	faran	**†farenn**	**fare**	**feer**
	mare	**mare**	**(night)mare**	**naitmeer**
15	**caru**	**care**	**care**	**keer**
	— — (ẹeə) *Cp.*			
	†ceorig	**†chariʒ**	**chary**	**tʃeeri**
	'querulous'—'mournful,' 'sober.' *infl. of* caru.			
	bær adj	**bar**	**bare**	**beer**
	— — (ẹeə) *Cp.*			
	bær prt	**†barr**	**bare** **bore**	**†beer** **bor**
	also bǽr—bar *Ld.* iber, bear (a) *Lay.* bare : þare, ber : ʒere *CM.* bar : Issakar, ber : Asser, bor *GE.* beer : heer (= hǣr), messageer, ba(a)r *Ch.* bare : fare *TM.*			
	dearr vb	**†darr**	**dare**	**deer**
	—†dāre *CM.*			

20	**pearroc**	**park**	**park**	**paak**
	bærlic sf	**†barrliȝ**	**barley**	**baali**
	usually bęre—bærlic *Ld.* barlic *Best.* barli(ch) *Wicl.* barly *Ch.* bere *Ay.*, *CM.*—(barlei) *G.* (æ) *Ld.*			
	bærs	**bace**	**bass**	**bæs**
	a fish.			
	arwe	**ar(e)we**	**arrow**	**ærou**
	arwan 'catapultas' *Aldhgl; from* *OI* ǫr, *pl* ǫrvar. *earlier* *OE* ærig *OET*, earh *Grein* — — (æru) *Pr.* (æro) *Ld.*			
	spearwa	**sparwe**	**sparrow**	**spærou**
25	**nearu**	**narwe**	**narrow**	**nærou**
	gearwe	**ȝarwe**	**yarrow**	**jærou**
	gearwe sfpl	**gere**	**gear**	**†giər**
	gęrwan, *prt* gęrede *vb.* *OI* gǫ̈rvi, *pl* gǫ̈rvar, *whence the ME* g.—gæren *pl* *Lay.*—(giir) *Cp etc.*			
	be(a)rwe	**barow(e)**	**(wheel)barrow**	**bærou**
	hærfest	**†herrfesst**	**harvest**	**haavist**
	'autumn'—a *rare*—e, a *Td.*			
30	**arn prt**	**†rann**	**ran**	**ræn**
	orn *VP*, *eWS.* arn *Ru.*—†ran *CM*, *GE*, *Hv.* ron *Kath.* ȝarn *PPl*, yarn *Ay.*; *by anal. of* earnian *etc.*			
	geearnian	**ernien**	**earn**	**əən**
	— — (eern) *Cp.* (ærn, jərn) *Ld.*			
	fearn	**ferne**	**fern**	**fəən**
	gearn	**ȝarn**	**yarn**	**jaan**
	— — (jaarn) *Bll.* (a) *G.*			
	earm	**†arrm**	**arm**	**aam**
	— — (ææ̈rm) *Bch*, *Sh.*			
35	**hearm**	**harm**	**harm**	**haam**
	—herm *Lay.*, *AR.*			
	swearm	**swarm**	**swarm**	**swɔm**
	— — (swɔɔrm) *Bch*, *Sh.*			
	wearm	**†warrm**	**warm**	**wɔm**
	— — (a) *Bll.* (ɔɔ) *Cp*, *EO*, *Bch*, *Sh.*			
	earc sf	**†arrke**	**ark**	**aak**
	ærce-biscop	**arch-**	**arch-**	**aatʃ-**
	—*also* erce-, erse-.			
40	**stearc**	**†starrc**	**stark**	**staak**
	spearca	**sparke**	**spark**	**spaak**
	mearc sf	**†merrke**	**mark**	**maak**
	'boundary.' mearcian 'mark.' marc 'mark' (coin) *lWS from OI* mǫrk—merke *from OI* męrki. *Ch has* merk 'mark' *and* mark 'coin.'			
	‡bǫrk	**bark**	**bark**	**baak**
	mearg	**marou**	**marrow**	**mærou**
	—meari *Jul.* mary(mery) *Ch.*			

45	**eart vb**	**†arrt**	**art**	**aat**
	earð *VP.* arð *Du.* earð, eart *Ru.*—ert, art *North.* (e *by infl. of Scand.* ert).			
	sweart	**swart**	**swarthy**	**swoþi**
	— — (swart) swart *Sm.* (swɔɔrþ) swarth *Bch, Sh.*			
	wearte	**werte**	**wart**	**wɔt**
	—a *rarer.*			
	teart	**—**	**tart**	**taat**
	heard	**†harrd**	**hard**	**haad**
	— — (hærli) hardly *Jn.* (hærd) *Ld.*			
50	**‡harþna**	**†harrdnenn**	**harden**	**haadn**
	—d *by anal. of* heard.			
	sweard	**sward(e)**	**sward**	**swɔd**
	'skin.'			
	sceard	**sherd**	**shard** **sherd**	**ʃaad.**
	— —(ee) *Bch.* (e) *Sh.*			
	weard sb	**ward**	**ward**	**wɔd**
	sm 'guard,' *sf* 'guardianship.'			
	-weard	**-ward**	**-ward**	**-wəd**
	— — (bakward) *G.* (bækərd) *Jn.* (ɔɔkird) *Bch,* (ɔɔkərd) *Sh* awkward —(bæked) *etc vg.*			
55	**tō-weardes**	**towardes**	**towards**	**t(ew)ɔdz**
	— — (towardz) *G.* (teuærd) toward *Pr.*			
	geard	**yerd**	**yard**	**jaad**
	—(win)iærd *Ld.* yerd : berd *Ch*—(a) *G.*			
	beard	**berd**	**beard**	**bied**
	— — (*ee*) *Cp, Jn.* (e) *Pr etc.* (ee) *Ld, Bch.* (e) *Sh.*			
	hearpe	**harpe**	**harp**	**haap**
	scearp	**†sharrp**	**sharp**	**ʃaap**
60	**wearp**	**warp**	**warp**	**wɔp**
	'stamen.'			
	‡varpa	**warpen**	**warp**	**wɔp**
	'throw.' *OE* weorpan 'throw.'			
	alu	**ale**	**ale**	**eil**
	gen. aloþ.			
	brȳd-alu	**†bridale**	**bridal**	**braidl**
	aler	**allerne**	**alder**	**ɔlder**
	alr *later.* ælren *adj.—from the OE adj*; *cp* linden.			
65	**‡sal sn**	**sale**	**sale**	**seil**
	smæl	**smal**	**small**	**smɔl**
	scæl vb	**†shall**	**shall**	**ʃæl**
	sceal *WS.* sceal, scal *Ru.*—sal *North., GE*; salle *TM*; *orig. a weak form.* ssel *Ay.*—(shal, au) *Sm.* (o) *Wk.* (ꝏ) *Cp.* (æ) *Mg.* (ʃɔɔlt) *Bch,* (ʃælt) *Sh* shalt.			
	scalu	**shale**	**scale**	**skeil**
	'husk'—*also* scale *by infl. of Fr* escale.			
	scalu	**scole**	**scale(s)**	**skeil**
	'balance'—*Prompt.*; *infl. of OI* skāl.			

	stæl-wirþe	**stalewurþe**	**stalwart**	**†stɔlwet**
	‘serviceable’—stalworþ *later.*			
70	**‡val-hnot**	**walnote**	**walnut**	**wɔ(l)net**
	— — (wɔɔlnət) *Bch, Sh.*			
	hwæl	**whal**	**whale**	**wheil**
	—qual: withal, hwel: wel *Hv.* *pl* †whalle *North., TM.*			
	fal(o)d	**†fald**	**(sheep)fold**	**fould**
	nęhte-gale	**nihtegale**	**nightingale**	**naitiŋgeil**
	talu	**†tăle**	**tale**	**teil**
	‘enumeration’— — (teeəl) *Cp.*			
75	**dæl**	**†dăle**	**dale**	**†deil**
	all	**†all**	**all**	**ɔl**
	— — awl, all *HVg.*			
	hall ṣf	**halle**	**hall**	**hɔl**
	stall	**†stall**	**stall**	**stɔl**
	‘standing.’			
	wall	**†wall**	**wall**	**wɔl**
	— — wawl *Sb.*			
80	**fallan**	**†fallenn**	**fall**	**fɔl**
	— — ffawl *HVg.* faull *Td.*			
	‡ceallian	**callen**	**call**	**kɔl**
	Grein; late. *OI* kalla— —caul *Sb.*			
	galla	**†galle**	**gall**	**gɔl**
	gallede	**galled**	**galled**	**gɔld**
	‘galled’ (*of horses*).			
	al-swā	**†allswa**	**also**	**olsou**
		†alls(e)	**as**	**æz**
	—(e)alswa, als(e) *Ld.* als(w)o, ase *Kt.* as(e) (alse) *AR.* als *North.* †als ‘also’ *Ch.*			
	fals	**†falls**	**false**	**fols**
	late; from Lat. or Fr.			
85	**salu**	**salwe**	**sallow**	**sælou**
	gen. salwes.			
	swalwe	**swalwe**	**swallow**	**swolou**
	— — (swælu) *Pr.* (swɔɔloo) *Bch.* (swoloo) *Sh.*			
	walwian	**walwen**	**wallow**	**wolou**
	— — (wæloo) *Pr, Bch.* (woloo) *Sh.*			
	falu	**falwe**	**fallow**	**fælou**
	‘pale’; *gen.* falwes.			
	malwe	**malwe**	**mallow**	**mælou**
90	**calu**	**calwe**	**callow**	**kælou**
	gen. calwes.			
	half	**†hallf**	**half**	**haaf**
	— — (hɔɔlf, hoof, hɔɔpeni) *G.* (hɔɔf) *Cp, Jn.* (hææpeni) halfpenny *Jn.* (hææpeþ) halfpennyworth *Ld.* (hææf, heepini) *Bch.* (hææf, heepeni) *Sh*—(heipni, hælpin) halfpenny, Halpin.			

	salfian	**salven**	**salve**	**sælv**
	— — (sææv) *Pr, Bch.* (sɔɔv) *Cp, Jn, EO.* (sælv) *Sh—older* (saav).			
	calf	**†callf**	**calf**	**kaaf**
	— — caulfe *Td.* (kᴀulf) *Bll.* (kɔɔf) *Cp, Jn.* (kææf) *Bch, Sh.*			
	‡ kalfi	**—**	**calf**	**kaaf**
	‘calf of leg.’			
95	**healfter**	**halter**	**halter**	**holter**
	ea, æ *lWS*—helfter *Hom.* heltir, halter *Prompt.*			
	ælmesse	**†allmess**	**alms**	**aamz**
	— almus *North.*; *from OI* ǫlmusa—(ɔɔmz) *Jn.* (æælmz) *Bch.* (ææmz) *Sh.*			
	halm	**halm**	**ha(u)lm**	**hɔm**
	cwalm	**cwalm**	**qualm**	**†kwɔm**
	‘death,’ ‘destruction.’			
	stalcian	**stalken**	**stalk**	**stɔk**
100	**walcan**	**walken**	**walk**	**wɔk**
	‘roll’— — (wɔɔlk, wɔɔk, walkeþ) *G.* (wɔɔk, wælk) *W.* (wɔɔk) *Cp, Jn, Bch, Sh.*			
	cealc	**c(h)alk**	**chalk**	**tʃɔk**
	—chalk *Wicl.* chalke, calke *Prompt.* ch *points to Kt; cp under* cald—(tʃɔɔk) *G.*			
	balc	**balke**	**baulk**	**bɔk**
	‘porca’ *WGl.* balcan ‘heaps.’ *OI* balk ‘beam.’			
	salh	**salwe**	**sallow**	**sælou**
	‘willow.’			
	galga	**galwe**	**gallow(s)**	**gælouz**
	— — (gæləs) *ES, Bch, Sh.*			
105	**tælg**	**taluh**	**tallow**	**tælou**
	‘dye’—*Prompt.*			
	halt adj	**†hallt**	**halt**	**holt**
	— — (ɔɔ) *Ld.*			
	salt	**†sallt**	**salt**	**solt**
	— —(ᴀ) *Sm.* (ɔɔ) *G, Pr, Cp, Bch, Sh.*			
	malt	**malt**	**malt**	**molt**
	— — (malt) *G.* (ɔɔ) *Ld.*			
	ald	**†ald**	**old**	**ould**
	— — owld *HVg.* (oould) *G.* (oold, ould) *W.* (ould) *Pr.* (oould) *Jn.* (oo) *Ld.*			
110	**alder-mann**	**†allderrmann**	**alderman**	**oldemen**
	haldan	**†haldenn**	**hold**	**hould**
	— — howld *HVg.* (oou) *G.* (ou) *Pr, Cp.* (hould, ʌpheuld) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	salde prt	**†salde**	**sold**	**sould**
	— — (oou) *Bll.* (ou, oo) *W.* (ou) *Cp.* (ou) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	faldan	**folden**	**fold**	**fould**
	cald	**†kald**	**cold**	**kould**
	—chald, chold *KS*—(ou, oou) *Sm.* (oou) *G.* (oo, ou) *W.* (ou) *Pr, Cp.* (ou) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
115	**talde prt**	**†talde**	**told**	**tould**

	bald	**†bald**	**bold**	**bould**
	— — (ou) *Sm.* (oou) *G.* (oo, *ou*) *W.* (ou) *Cp.* (oou) *Jn.* (oo) *Ld, Sh.* (ou) *Bch.*			
	hraþor cp	**raþer**	**rather**	**raaðer**
	— —(raaðer) *G*—*rg* (reiðər).			
	‡lǫþ sf	**—**	**lathe**	**leið**
	hwæþer	**†wheþþr**	**whether**	**wheðer**
	æ, e *Ru.*—weðer (waþer) *Lay* wheder *TM*; we ler *Aud. are weak forms.*			
120	**fæþm smf**	**fadme**	**fathom**	**fæðem**
	—*also* fedme. veþme *Lay.* fathom : com *TM.* — (fædəm) *Ld, Bch.* (fæðəm) *Sh.*			
	cwæþ prt	**†cwaþþ**	**quoth**	**†kwouþ**
	—cweð *AR.* quoð *Jul.* cod (coth) *CM.* quað, quad *GE.* quod *PPl, Ch*—(koþ) *rel* (kwoþ) *G.* (kooþ) *Jn, Sh.* (kwoþ) *Bch.*			
	pæþ	**paþ**	**path**	**paaþ**
	— — (ææ) *Cp, Bch, Sh.*			
	bæþ sn	**†baþþ**	**bath**	**baaþ**
	— — (bæþ) bath, (bææþ) Bath *Ld.* (æ) *Bch.* (ææ) *Sh.*			
	baþian	**baþən**	**bathe**	**beið**
125	**‡baþask**	**basken**	**bask**	**baask**
	‘bathe oneself.’			
	‡maþk	**maþek**	**mawk(ish)**	**mɔkiʃ**
	‘maggot’—*later* ma(u)k.			
	hæsel	**hasel**	**hazel**	**heizl**
	wæs	**†wass**	**was**	**woz**
	— — (was) *Sm, Ht.* (waz) *G.* (o) *Cp, Ld, Sh.* (oo) *Bch.*			
	græs	**†gress-**	**grass**	**graas**
	WS gærs, *pl* grasu. gers *Du.* græs- *Ru.*—gras, græs *Lay.* greaess *pl O.* gress, griss *North.* gers *Ay.* *OI* gras, *ODan.* gręs—(a) *G.* (græsopər) *Jn.* (æ) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*			
130	**grasian**	**grasen**	**graze**	**greiz**
	glæs	**glas**	**glass**	**glaas**
	—e *AR, Ay.*			
	—	**—**	**glazier**	**gleiʒər**
	— — (ʒ) *Ld.*			
	bræs	**bras**	**brass**	**braas**
	— e *AR, Ay.*			
	bræsen	**†brasenn**	**brazen**	**breizn**
	‘of brass,’ ‘bold.’			
135	**blæse**	**blase**	**blaze**	**bleiz**
	‘torch.’			
	assa	**†asse**	**ass**	**aas**
	— — (as) *Bll.* (æs) *Bch, Sh.*			
	mæsse	**†messe**	**mass**	**mæs**
	—†mes(se) *North.* †messe *Ch.* †mas(se) *AllP, Aud.*—(a, e) *Sm.* (a) *Bll.*			
	æsc	**ash**	**ash**	**æʃ**
	the tree—asche, esche *Prompt.*—aishe, aiss *Sb.*			

	asce	**†asskess**	**ash(es)**	**æʃ**	—askes *North.*, *AllP.* asshen (aisshen) *Ch.* aische *Wicl.*—asshes *Td.* a *Sm.* ai *Sb.*
140	**‡rask**	**rash**	**rash**	**ræʃ**	
	hlæst	**last**	**last**	**laast**	‘load’—e *Prompt.*
	wæscan	**†wasshenn**	**wash**	**woʃ**	—wesse *Ay.* wesh *TM.* waischen *Wicl.*—waiss *Sb.* (o) *Mg*, *Ld*, *Sh.* (ɔɔ) *Bch.*
	flæsce	—	**flask**	**flaask**	flaxe *late.*
	mæsc	—	**mash**	**mæʃ**	maxwyrt *late*—(miiʃ) meash *EO.* (æ) *Cp*, *Bch*, *Sh.*
145	**wæstm**	**†wasstme**	**waist**	**weist**	‘growth’—e *Ld*, *Lay.*
	fæst	**†fasst**	**fast**	**faast**	—æ, e, a *Lay.* a, e *North.* e *AllP.*
	fæstan	**†fasstenn**	**fast**	**faast**	
	fæstenian	**†fesstnenn**	**fasten**	**faasn**	—e *Jul.*, *AllP*, †*Hv.* *OI* festa ‘fasten’—(fæsn) *Jn*, *Sh.* (fæstn) *Bch.*
	mæst	**mast**	**mast**	**maast**	‘of ship.’
	mæst	**mast**	**mast**	**maast**	swina m.
150	**‡kasta**	**casten**	**cast**	**kaast**	—kesten (ea) *AR.* casten (keasten) *Jul.* keste *Ay.* kest *prt*: fayrest *MH.* e, a *CM.* cast: last, kest: rest *TM.* †a, †e *RBC.* a †*Harl.*, *Aud.* e *AllP.* †a *Ch*—(a) *G.* (ææ) *Cp.*
	castel	**†kasstell**	**castle**	**kaasl**	‘village.’ ‘castle’ *Chr.* 1052. *A Winchester charter of* 931 *has* ðara stanceastla *as a boundary*—(kæsl) *Ld*, *Sh.*—(kæstl) *Bch.*
	bæst	**bast**	**bast**	**bæst**	
	æspe	**aspe**	**aspen**	**æspin**	—*in* aspen leef (*Ch*) aspen *is an adj*; *cp* linden.——(aspin) *G.* (æspən) *Jn.*
	hæspe	**haspe**	**hasp**	**haasp**	
155	**wæsp**	**waspe**	**wasp**	**wosp**	wæfs *Cp*, wæps *Ef.* wæps, weaps, wæsp *Wgl*——(a) *G.* (ɔɔ) *Bch.* (æ) *Sh*—wops *vg.*
	awel	**awel**	**awl**	**ɔl**	*also* ǣl—eawles *Kath.* owel *ON*, *pointing to OE* ăwel. †oules *Ch.* el, *pl* aules *AR.* al(le) *Wicl.*
	clawu	**†clawwess**	**claw**	**klɔ**	clea *VP*—clawe *pl* *ON.* clauen *pl* *Ay.* claw, cle *Prompt.* clawe, cle *Wicl.*—(au) *Sm.*
	†habban	**†habbenn**	**have**	**hæv**	hafa *imper.*—habben, hauen *inf.* *Ld*—(haav) *Sb.* (hav) *Bll.*

	†be-habban	**behaven**	**behave**	**biheiv**
	‘enclose.’			
160	**‡hǫfn** sf	**havene**	**haven**	**heivn**
	—hævene, hafene *Lay.*			
	hafoc	**havek**	**hawk**	**hɔk**
	—hauk *Ch.*			
	hræfn	**raven**	**raven**	**reivn**
	l WS hremm.			
	‡slafra	**slaveren**	**slaver**	**slævər**
	scafan	**shaven**	**shave**	**ʃeiv**
165	**stæf**	**†staff**	**staff**	**staaf**
	— — (a) *Sm.* (æ) *Bch, Sh.*			
	stafas pl	**†stafess**	**staves**	**steivz**
	wafian	**waven**	**wave**	**weiv**
	‡vafra	**waveren**	**waver**	**weivər**
	nafu	**nave**	**nave**	**neiv**
170	**nafola**	**nav(e)le**	**navel**	**neivl**
	—noule *Best.*			
	nafo-gār	**nauger**	**auger**	**ɔgər**
	—*also* navegor.			
	cæf	**†chaff**	**chaff**	**tʃaaf**
	ceaf, *pl* c(e)afu *WS* — — (æ) *Bch, Sh.*			
	cæfer	**cheaffer**	**(cock)chafer**	**tʃeifər**
	ceafor *WS—Trevisa.*			
	‡crafian	**craven**	**crave**	**kreiv**
	uncrafod *Laws of Æþr.* *OI* krafa ‘demand’ *sbst,* krǫfja *vb.*			
175	**‡krafla**	**craulen**	**crawl**	**krɔl**
	cnafa	**knave**	**knave**	**neiv**
	Scint. *Generally* cnapa, ‘boy.’ *Neither* cnapa *nor* cnafa *in Du. and Ru.* —knape *O.* knave *Lay.*, †*Hv.* knafe *MH.* p, v *GE.*			
	gæf prt	**†ʒaff, gaff**	**gave**	**geiv**
	ea *WS*—ʒef *AR.* ʒaf *Wicl.* yaf *Ay.* yaf : staf *Ch.* gaf *North*, *GE, TM.* gef : þef *AllP*—(gəv, gən) *barbare Cp*—(giv) *vg.*			
	‡grǫf sf	**grave**	**grave**	**greiv**
	OE græf *sm.*			
	hæfþ vb	**†hafeþþ** **haþ**	**hath** **has**	**†hæþ** **hæz**
	hæfeð, hæfis *Du.* hæfþ *Ru.*—havis (has) *CM.* heþ *Ay.* hath *Ch.*			
180	**æfter**	**†affterr**	**after**	**aaftər**
	ræfter	**rafter**	**rafter**	**raaftər**
	—e *Ay.*			
	scæft	**schaft**	**shaft**	**ʃaaft**
	cræft	**†crafft**	**craft**	**kraaft**
	—e *Ay.*			
	gedæft	**†daffte**	**deft**	**deft**
	‘gentle,’ ‘suitable’—defte *Best.*			

185	hæfde prt	†haffde	had	hæd
	—hæfde, hefde, hafde, hadde, haued *Ld.* hefde *AR.* hefde, heuede (adde) *Lay.* hadde : iladde *ON.* hauid (had) *CM*; *always monosyll.* hedde *Ay.* hade : glade *AllP.* heuede, auede, hadde *GE.* †hadde, †hāde *Ch.* haide : saide (= hæfde : sægde) *TM.*			
	ancor	anker	anchor	æŋker
	— — *infl. by Lat.* anc(h)ora.			
	anclēow	ancle	ancle	æŋkl
	—*also* anclowe.			
	‡hanki	hanke	hank	hæŋk
	'hasp,' 'clasp.'			
	ranc adj	†rannc	rank	ræŋk
	'proud.'			
190	hlanc	lank	lank	læŋk
	þancian	†þannkenn	thank	þæŋk
	sanc prt	sank	sank	sæŋk
	scanca	shanke	shank	ʃæŋk
	scranc prt	shrank	shrank	ʃræŋk
195	stanc prt	†stannc	stank	stæŋk
	cranc	cranke	crank	kræŋk
	In crancstæf—*Prompt.*			
	dranc prt	†drannc	drank	dræŋk
	‡banki	†bannkess pl	bank	bæŋk
	OI bakki 'bank of river,' 'ridge.'			
	‡angr	†anngrenn vb	anger	æŋger
	'grief.'			
200	angel	angel	angle vb	æŋgl
	'hook.'			
	hangian	hangen	hang	hæŋ
	intr. hōn *tr*—hongien *Lay., AR.* hongi *Ay.* hing *North.*			
	lang	†lang	long	loŋ
	o *VP, Du., Ru.* o, a *eWS.* a *lWS*—lannge *adv O.* a *Ld.* o *Lay., AR, Best., Ch.* o, a *Ay.* a *North.* lung *adv And.*—(loŋger) *rectius* (loŋər) *W.*—(læŋ, leiŋ) Lang, Laing *are North. and Sc. forms.*			
	geþrang sn	þrang	throng	þroŋ
	þwang	†þwang	thong	þoŋ
	—thwong *Wicl., TM.* thong *also.*			
205	sang sb	†sang	song	soŋ
	—zang, o *Ay.* song : along *prt Ch.* song : emong *TM.*			
	sang prt	sang	sang	sæŋ
	—sang : emang *TM.* soong : stroong *Ch.*			
	strang	†strang	strong	stroŋ
	sprang prt	†sprang	sprang	spræŋ
	‡vrang	†wrang	wrong	roŋ
	—mid wrange *sb Ld*—wronnge *Td.*			
210	on-gemang	†(a)mang amanges	among amongst	emaŋ emaŋst

inmong *Du.*—enmang *Ld.* omang, (a)mangis, mang *North.* among *AR, Best., Harl.* amenges *KS.* amang *Ay.* emong: a song *TM* —(o) *G.* (u) *Bt.*

	mangere	mangere	-monger	maŋgər
	‡gang	—	gang	gæŋ

a Scand. form which displaced the OE gęnge 'troop.' *OE* gang *had only the sense of* 'going,' 'gait' *etc.*

	tang(e)	tange	tongs	toŋz
	‡banga	—	bang	bæŋ
215	hænep	hemp	hemp	hemp

also henep.

	lane	lane	lane	lein

Blickl. Hom. — *also* o — (*eeə*) *Cp.*

	þanon	þennes	thence	ðens

—þanon, þe(o)nen *Ld.* þanene, þ(e)onene, þ(e)onne, þenne *Lay.* þonne: monne *ON.* þeonne *Kath.* þannes *Ay.* thennes *Ch.* thine *MH.* *anal. of* heonon.

	swan	swan	swan	swon

— — (ɔɔ) *Bch.* (o) *Sh.*

	wanian	wanien	wane	wein

— — (*ee*) *Cp.*

220	hwanon	whennes	whence	whens

—hwanene, o *Lay.* hweon(e)ne *Jul.* hwannes *Ay.* whennes *Ch.* *anal. of* heonon—(i) *Mg.*

	fana	vane	vane	vein

'banner'—*Ch.* fane *Prompt.*—(faan) 'weathercock' *Sm.*

	manu	mane	mane	mein

— — (*eeə*) *Cp.*

	manig	†mani(ȝ)	many	meni

o *Du., Ru.* a, æ, e *lWS*—moni *Lay., AR.* mony *AllP, Aud.* mani *Ay., North.* many *Ch.* *also* meni; *anal. of* ǣnig (?)—(a) *G.* (e) *C.* (mæne) *sometimes Jn.* (ææ) *Ld.* (æ) *Bch.* (e) *Sh.*

	cran	cran(e)	crane	krein

—cron *Lay.* crane *infl. of Scand.* trani ?

225	ganot	gante	gannet	gænit

—*Prompt.*

	bana	bane	bane	†bein
	‡rannsaka	ransaken	ransack	rænsæk
	spann prt	span	span	spæn
	spannan	spannen	span	spæn
230	wann adj	wan	wan	†won

— — (æ) *Bch, Sh.*

	fann	fan	fan	fæn

'winnowing-fan.'

	mann	†mann	man	mæn
	cann vb	†cann	can	kæn
	canne	canne	can	kæn

235	**be-gann** prt	**†bigann**	**began**	**bigæn**
	tannian	**tannen**	**tan**	**tæn**
	panne	**panne**	**pan**	**pæn**
	gebann	**(i)ban**	**ban**	**bæn**
	an-filt(e)	**anvelt**	**anvil**	**ænvil**
	—anefelt, anefeld, anfeeld *Wicl.* *also* anvylt.			
240	**antefn**	**antem**	**anthem**	**ænþim**
	— — (þ, t) *Ld.*			
	‡vanta	**wanten**	**want**	**wont**
	—wontin *Jul.*—(ɔɔ) *Bch.* (o) *Sh.*			
	and	**†annd**	**and**	**ænd**
	—ant *Marg.*, *Lay.* an *Lay.*, *GE*, *Ay.*—an(d) *Td.* (æn) *Ld.*			
	and-swaru	**†anndsware**	**answer**	**aanser**
	ondsuere *acc. Du.*, andsuari *Ru.* andswarian, -orian *vb WS.* ondsweorian *VP.* o, e *Du.* a, æ, eo *Ru.*—anndswere *also O.* æn(d)swere, en- *Lay.* aunswere *Wicl.*—(answer) *non* (aunsuer) *G.* (ænser) *Cp etc.*			
	hand	**†han(n)d**	**hand**	**hænd**
	—o *Lay.*, *AR*, *GE.* a, o *Ay.* a *North.* oo *Wicl.* o, a *Ch*—a, o *Td.* (hænsəm) 'handsome' *Jn*—(hænsəm).			
245	**handel**	**†hanndlenn** vb	**handle**	**hændl**
	— — (hænl) *Jn.*			
	land	**†land**	**land**	**lænd**
	—oa *Procl.* o(o) *Wicl.*—londe *Td.* (æ) *Cp.* (lænlord) 'landlord' *Jn*—(lænlɔ.l).			
	sand	**†sand**	**sand**	**sænd**
	standan	**†stanndenn**	**stand**	**stænd**
	strand	**†strand**	**strand**	**strænd**
250	**‡vǫnd**	**†wand**	**wand**	**wond**
	— — (æ) *Bch.* (o) *Sh.*			
	wandrian	**wandrien**	**wander**	**wonder**
	— — (woɔndir) *Bch.* (wondər) *Sh.*			
	candel	**candel**	**candle** **cannel(coal)**	**kændl** **kænl**
	— — (kænl) 'candle' *Jn.*			
	gandra	**gandre**	**gander**	**gænder**
	band sn	**†bandess** pl	**bond**	**bond**
	—bande *pl Ld.* boondis *Wicl.*			
255	**brand**	**brand**	**brand**	**brænd**
	hamor	**hamer**	**hammer**	**hæmer**
	lama adj	**lame**	**lame**	**leim**
	‡sami	**†same**	**same**	**seim**
	scamu	**†shame**	**shame**	**ʃeim**
260	**stamrian**	**stameren**	**stammer**	**stæmer**
	fram	**fram**	**from**	**from**
	a *Ep.*, *lWS.* o *Du.*, *Ru.*—a *Ld*, *Kath.*, †*Hr*, *Ay.* o, (a) *Lay.* o, a *Ch.*			
	nama	**†năme**	**name**	**neim**
	— — (*eæ*) *Cp.*			

	gamen	**gamen**	**game**	**geim**
	—gomen *Lay.*, *AR.* geme, *pl* gemenes *Ay.* †gāme *Ch.* gam *TM.*			
	hamm sf	**hamme**	**ham**	**hæm**
265	**ramm**	**†ramm**	**ram**	**ræm**
	swamm prt	**swam**	**swam**	**swæm**
	— — (a) *G.* (æ) *Bch, Sh.*			
	crammian	**crammien**	**cram**	**kræm**
	—cremmin *Prompt.*			
	***stampian**	**stampen**	**stamp**	**stæmp**
	pīl-stampe 'pestle.'			
	***cramp**	**crampe**	**cramp**	**kræmp**
	crompeht, 'folialis,' *WGl.*			
270	**lamb**	**†lamb**	**lamb**	**læm**
	— — lambe *Td.* (lam) *G.*			
	wamb sf	**†wambe**	**womb**	**wuwm**
	—wombe *Lay.*, *AR*, *Ay.*, *AllP*, *Ch.* wambe *North.* wame : came *CM* —(womb) *Sm.* (wuum) *Bt*, *Cp*, *Bch*, *Sh.* (uum) *Jn.* (woom) *Dyche.*			
	camb	**†camb**	**comb**	**koum**
	— — (koom) *G.* (kuum) *Jn*, *EO.* (koom) *Bch*, *Sh.*			
	acan	**aken**	**ache**	**eik**
	(aatʃ) *Bull.* (hedaatʃ) *G.* (ææk) *vb Pr.* (eek) *Bch*, *Sh.* *sbst.* ęce, *ME* eche. *Mn* ache, *which was formerly pron.* (eitʃ), *is a blending of* acan *and* ęce.			
	æcer	**aker**	**acre**	**eiker**
275	**æcern sn**	**akern**	**acorn**	**eikɔn**
	—acorn *Ch.* *infl. of* corn—(æækern) *Cp.*			
	race	**rake**	**rake**	**reik**
	‡lak	**lak(k)en vb**	**lack**	**læk**
	'defective.'			
	lacu	**lak(e)**	**lake**	**leik**
	Worc. charter of 944—lak *from Fr* lac.			
	þæc	**þak**	**thatch**	**þætʃ**
	— — *blending of* þak *and the vb* þecchen *from OE* þęccan.			
280	**sacu**	**†sake**	**sake**	**seik**
	'strife.' *OI* sǫk 'sake.'			
	‡rannsaka	**ransaken**	**ransack**	**rænsæk**
	slæc	**slak**	**slack**	**slæk**
	slacian	**slaken**	**slake**	**sleik**
	'grow slack.'			
	snaca	**snake**	**snake**	**sneik**
285	**scacan**	**shaken**	**shake**	**ʃeik**
	sceacol	**scakel**	**shackle**	**ʃækl**
	stacu	**stake**	**stake**	**steik**
	spræc prt	**†spacc**	{ **spake** **spoke**	**†speik** **spouk**
	— — spoke *by anal. of ptc* sprocen.			

	on-wacan	waken	wake	weik
290	ā-wæcnian	†waccnenn	waken	weiken
	†wlacu	leuke	luke(warm)	luwkwom
	—wlech *Jul.* luke *Lay.* lheuc *Ay.* *blending of* wlacu 'lukewarm' *and* gehlōow 'sunny,' 'warm.'			
	‡flaki	flake	flake	fleik
	— — (*eeə*) *Cp.*			
	nacod	†nakedd	naked	neikid
	macian	†makenn	make	meik
	—*imper.* macc *O.*			
295	macode prt	†makedd	made	meid
	—makede *Ld*, *Lay.*, *AR.* made : brǣd *PC.* maden *pl*, imaked *ptc KS.* made, ymad *Ay.* made (aa), ymaad *Ch.*			
	‡kaka	cake	cake	keik
	cracian	craken	crack	kræk
	'resound' — — (kraakt) 'split' *G.*			
	cwacian	cwaken	quake	kweik
	†tacan	†tăkenn	take	teik
	Chron. 1072. ic betæce (insequor feras) *in Ælf. Coll. about* 1000. *OI* taka.			
300	bæc	†bacc	back	bæk
	—o bacch = on bæc *adv O.*			
	bacan	†bakenn	bake	beik
	bræc prt	†bracc	brake broke	†breik brouk
	blæc	blak	black	blæk
	gelæccan	†lacchenn	latch sb	lætʃ
	'seize'—latche *sb Prompt.*			
305	sæcc	sak	sack	sæk
	lWS sacc—sek *North.*, *AllP*, *TM*; *OI* sękk. †sakke *Ch.*			
	wæcce	†wecche	watch	wotʃ
	—a *Ch*—waitche *Sb.* (ɔɔ, o) *Cp.* (o) *EO*, *Ld*, *Sh.* (ɔɔ) *Bch.*			
	æx sf	†axe	axe	æks
	— — ags *Sb.* (aks) *G.*			
	æxl	axel	axle	ækel
	'shoulder.' æx = 'axle'—*infl. of OI* ǫxull *or Fr* aissel ?—(ekstri) 'axletree' *Cp.*			
	wæxan	†wax(x)enn	wax	†wæks
	—waxe : axe(e) *Ch.* a *TM.* (iwoxen) *ptc Lay.*			
310	wæx	wax	wax	wæks
	— — e *Td.* (æ) *Ld.*			
	flæx	flax	flax	flæks
	gesæh prt	†sahh	saw	sɔ
	ea *WS.* ae *VP.* æ *Du.* æ, ea *Ru.*—seih *Lay.*, *AR.* saw *North.* sag *GE.* seȝ *AllP.* syȝ *Aud.* zeȝ *Ay.* †saagh *TM.* †seigh, †say *Ch.* saie, siȝ *Wicl*—(sau) *Sm.* (sɔɔ) *G*, *Cp.*			
	dre(a)hnian	—	drain	drein

	æhta	**†ehhte**	**eight**	**eit**	—æhte *Ld*, *Lay*. ahte (ea) *Jul*. eihte (ea) *AR*. eȝte *Ay*. a *North.*, *TM*—(aixt) *G*. (æit) *Pr*. (ee, ææ) *Ld*.
315	**eahtoþa**	**†ehhtennde**	**eighth**	**eitþ**	—eahtuþe, eihtuþe *AR*. eȝtende *Ay*. ahtand *North*. egtende *GE*. aȝtþe *AllP*. eiȝtith, eiȝte *Wicl.*—(aixt) *G*. (eeþ) *Bch*. (eetþ) *Sh*.
	hleahtor	**lȧhter**	**laughter**	**laafter**	— — (lauhter) *Sm*. (lɔɔter) *Jn*—(laaftʃer) *vg*.
	‡slahtr	**slahter**	**slaughter**	**slɔter**	*OI* slātr.
	fæht prt	**faht**	**fought**	**fɔt**	—a *North.*, *AllP*. faught *Ch*—(fauht) *Sm*. (foot) *Jn*. fought *from ptc* fohten.
	mæhte prt	**†mihhte**	**might**	**mait**	æ *VP*, *Du.*, *Ru*. ea, æ, e *eWS*. i *lWS*—a *Jul*. a (i) *Lay*. i *AR*. †i, u, o *North*. moucte : douthe (= dohte) *Hv*. †y, †a *TM*. myghte *Ch*. —micht *HVg*. (mɔɔt, med) *barbare Cp*.
320	**‡draht**	**draht**	**draught** **draft**	**draaft**	*OI* drātt — — (drɔɔt) *Cp*, *Jn*, *EO*. (drææft) *Ld*. (drəut) *Bch*. (drɔut) *Sh*.
	‡agi	**†aȝhe**	**awe**	**o**	*OE* ęge—*also* eȝȝe *O*. eie, æie *Ld*. ei(ȝ)e, æie (eaye) *Lay*. aw *North*. eige, †age *GE*. †eye, †awe *RBC*. awe *Prompt.*, *Ch*—(au) *Sm*. (au, aa) *Sb*. (ɔɔu) *G*.
	‡ǫgn sn	**awene**	**awn**	**ɔn**	‘husks.’
	hagu-þorn	**haweþorn**	**hawthorn**	**hɔþɔn**	
	hægl	**hail**	**hail**	**heil**	hegel *VP*. hagol *WS*—haȝel (hawel) *Lay*. hail *Ch*.
325	**læg** prt	**†laȝȝ**	**lay**	**lei**	— — (lai) *G*.—(leid) *vg*.
	‡lagu	**lawe**	**law**	**lɔ**	*late OE. from Scand. pl neut.* *lagu (*OI* lǫg) — — (laau) *Sm*. (lauful) *Bll*. (lɔɔu, lɔɔful) *G*.
	ūt-laga **ūt-lah**	**utlawe**	**outlaw**	**autlɔ**	
	sage	**sawe**	**saw**	**sɔ**	‘serra.’
	sagu	**sawe**	**saw**	**sɔ**	‘saying.’
330	**slægen** ptc	**†slaȝenn**	**slain**	**†slein**	æ, e *Ep*. æ, e *Past*. æ, a *Or*. a, e *Æfc*. e *VP*. æ *Du*. æ, a *Ru*.—slawen *Lay.*, †*Hv*. slagen : fagen *GE*. sla(i)n *North*. islein *AR*. †slain, †slawe *Ch*. †slayn, †slawen *RBC*.
	†slēa vb	**†sla**	**slay**	**†slei**	slægen *ptc* — — slee *Ck*.
	snægl	**snail**	**snail**	**sneil**	

	scaga	**shawe**	**shaw**	**†ʃɔ**
	‘wood.’			
	†wagian	**waggen**	**wag**	**wæg**
	OI vaga ‘wag,’ vagga ‘cradle’—*Ay.*, *Prompt.*—(æ) *Ld.*			
	wægn	**†waȝȝn**	**wain**	**†wein**
	WS wǣn.			
335	**fæger**	**†faȝȝr**	**fair**	**feər**
	— — (fair, faair, faier, faaier) *G.* (f*ee*r) *Cp.* (fæər, feeər, feer) *Jn*			
	fægen	**fain**	**fain**	**†fein**
	—fein *Lay*, *AR.* †fagen *Best.*, *GE.* †fawe *Ch.*			
	fægnian **‡fagna**	**faunen**	**fawn**	**fɔn**
	‘rejoice’—fainen *Lay.*, *North.* au *PPl*, *Ch.*			
	nægl	**†naȝȝlenn vb**	**nail**	**neil**
	mæg	**†maȝȝ**	**may**	**mei**
340	**maga**	**mawe**	**maw**	**†mo**
	mægen	**main**	**main**	**mein**
	— — (*ee*) *Cp.*			
	on-gægn	**†(onn)ȝæn**	**again**	**əge(i)n**
	on-gægnes	**†onnȝæness**	**against**	**əgenst**
	ongea(g)n *eWS.* onge(a)n *lWS.* ongæ(g)n *Du.*, *Ru.* ongeæn *Du.*—e(a), eo, æ *Ld.* ei, ea *Lay.* ai *North.*, *AllP.* †ey *Hv.* aye, ayens *Kt.* agon : on (= ān), agen : ben (= bēon), agein : rein *GE.* agayn : slayn *Ch*—agaynst (ei) *HVg.* ageyne, agaynst, ei, agenste *Td.* (again, agenst, against) *G.* (æegen, æegeen, gæinst) *Jn.* (æegeenst) *Pr.* (ægæn) *Ld.* (ægen) *Bch*, *Sh*—(əgin) *vg.*			
	gnagan	**gnawen**	**gnaw**	**nɔ**
	— — (nhɔɔ) *Ld.*			
345	**tægl**	**tail**	**tail**	**teil**
	— — (ai) *Sm.* (*ee*) *Cp.*			
	dæg	**†daȝȝ**	**day**	**dei**
	pl dagas—dæges, dæi(g), deig, dai, *pl* dagas *Ld.* *pl* daȝhess, daȝȝess *O.* dei, dai *pl* dawes *AR.* day, *pl* daȝes, daies *Ay.* †dai, ilke †dau *North.* dai, *pl* deies *Best.*—day, dae *HVg.* (dai, daai, dee) *G.* (dæi) *W.* (d*ee*) *Cp.*			
	dæges-ēage	**daiesie**	**daisy**	**deizi**
	dagian	**dawen**	**dawn**	**dɔn**
	—*later* dawnen.			
	dragan	**†draghenn** **draggen**	**draw** **drag**	**dro** **dræg**
	—*Swed.* dragga.			
350	**pægel**	**payle**	**pail**	**peil**
	‘gillo’ *gl*—*Prompt.*			
	brægen	**brain**	**brain**	**brein**
	raggig	**ragge**	**rag**	**ræg**
	raggie (setosa, setiger) *Aldhgl.*			
	sceacga	**—**	**shag**	**ʃæg**
	‘head of hair’ = feax *Wgl.*			

	‡baggi	**bagge**	**bag**	**bæg**
355	**sægde prt**	**†seȝȝde**	**said**	**sed**
	sæde *lWS.* gd *Du., Ru.*—sæ(i)de *Ld.* seide *Jul.* said *North.* se(i)de *Kt.* sayde, seyde *Ch*—(ai, e) *G.* (e, ee) *Jn.*			
	mægden	**†maȝȝdenn**	**maid(en)**	**meid(n)**
	lWS mǣden — — maedyn *HVg.*			
	æt prp	**†att**	**at**	**æt**
	hatlan	**†hătenn**	**hate**	**heit**
	†læt adj **late adv**	**lat** **late**	**late**	**leit**
360	**lator**	**later**	**latter** **later**	**læter** **leiter**
	latost	**†late(me)st** **†lattst**	**latest** **last**	**leitist** **laast**
	— — (læest) *Cp.* (læsli) 'lastly' *Jn.*			
	þæt	**†þatt**	**that**	**ðæt**
	— — ddat *HVg, Sb.*			
	sæt prt	**†satt**	**sat**	**sæt**
	also sǽt—seet : feet *Ch*—sate *Td.*			
	sæternes-dæg	**†saterrdaȝȝ**	**saturday**	**sætedi**
	also sætresdæg—seterdai (setersdai) *CM.*			
365	**‡skata sf**	**scate**	**skate**	**skeit**
	a fish.			
	wæter	**†waterr**	**water**	**wɔter**
	— — (waater) *Bll.* (ɔɔ) *Cp, Jn, Bch, Sh.*			
	watol	**watel**	**wattle**	**wotl**
	— — (ɔɔ) *Cp.* (o) *Mg, Sh.* (æ) *Bch.*			
	hwæt	**†whatt**	**what**	**whot**
	— — (wæt) *better* (whæt) *Jn.* (whot) *Mg, Ld.* (səmæt) 'somewhat' *Jn.*			
	fæt	**†fatt**	**vat**	**væt**
	—vet *Ay.*			
370	**frætwan**	**fretted ptc**	**fret**	**fret**
	'adorn.'			
	‡flat	**flat**	**flat**	**flæt**
	cræt sn	**†karrte**	**cart**	**kaat**
	pl cratu.			
	clatrian	**clatren**	**clatter**	**klæter**
	gæt sn	**†ȝate, gate**	**gate**	**geit**
	geat *pl* gatu *WS.* æ, ea *Du.* ea *Ru.*—iateward *Ld.* ȝet *AR.* yate *North., AllP.* yate, gate *TM.* gate *Ch*—(eee) *Cp.*			
375	**be-gæt prt**	**†bigatt**	**begat** **got**	**bigæt** **got**
	ea *WS*—begæt, beiæt, beiet *Ld.* biȝeat *Lay.* biȝet *AR.* bigat : get *adv GE.*			
	‡batna	—	**batten**	**†bætn**
	'improve.'			

	hæt	**hat**	**hat**	**hæt**
	hætas *pl Lei. gl.*			
	lætt sf	**laþþe**	**lath**	**laaþ**
	—*Prompt.*—(laþ) *Bll.* (æ) *Bch.* (ææ) *Sh.*			
	mattoc	**mattok**	**mattock**	**mætek**
380	**catt(e)**	**kat**	**cat**	**kæt**
	— — (æ) *Cp.*			
	gnætt	**gnat**	**gnat**	**næt**
	— — (nhæt) *Ld.*			
	tættec-	**tatered ptc**	**tatter**	**tæter**
	tættecon *ÆfcH.* *OI* tǫtrur 'rags.'			
	prættig	**prati**	**pretty**	**priti**
	'cunning' — — preti *HVg.* (e) *Bt.* (i) *Sh.*			
	adela	**adel(ĕy)**	**addled**	**ædld**
	filth '—' addled egg.'			
385	**adese**	**adse**	**adze**	**ædz**
	hladan	**laden**	**lade**	**leid**
	hlædel	**ladel**	**ladle**	**leidl**
	sæd	**sad**	**sad**	**sæd**
	'satiated.'			
	sadol	**sadel**	**saddle**	**sædl**
390	**scadu**	**schade** **schad(e)we**	**shade** **shadow**	**ʃeid** **ʃædou**
	sceadwian *vb.* *also* scæd 'shade.'			
	spade	**spade**	**spade**	**speid**
	wadan	**waden**	**wade**	**weid**
	fæder	**†faderr**	**father**	**faaðer**
	—fader *Ch*, *TM*—ffaddyr *HVg.* a, aa *Ck.* (a, aa) *G.* (ææ) *Wk.* (ɔɔ) *Jn.* (fææðir) *Bch.* (fææðer) *Sh.*			
	mædere	**mader**	**madder**	**mæder**
395	**cradol**	**cradel**	**cradle**	**kreidl**
	gædrian	**†gaddrenn**	**gather**	**gæðer**
	a *WS.* ea *Du.*—a *Ld.* e *AR.* a, (e) *Ch*—gadre *Td.*			
	æt **tō gædre**	**†togeddre**	**together**	**tegeðer**
	æ *WS.* æ, ea *North.*—togadere (e) *Lay.* e *AR*, *TM.* i *North.*, *Kt.* togidre (e) *Ch.* togedyr, together *Aud.*—togedder, th, dth *Td.*			
	glæd	**†gladd**	**glad**	**glæd**
	bæd prt	**†badd**	**bade**	**bæd**
	— — bade *Td.*			
400	**blæd sn**	**blade**	**blade**	**bleid**
	‡gadd	**gad**	**gadfly**	**gædflai**
	'goad.'			
	apa	**ape**	**ape**	**eip**
	†læpe-wince	**lappewinke**	**lapwing**	**læpwiŋ**

	lapian	lap(p)en	lap	læp
	‘lambo.’			
405	sæp	sap	sap	sæp
	—zep *Ay.*			
	‡skapa	†shapenn	shape	ʃeip
	OE sceppan. ie, y *WS*—sh *from OE.* shippennd *sb O.* schuppinde *AR.* sseþþ *Ay.* shapen *Ch*—shappes *sb pl, Td.* ssiapp *sb Sb.*			
	scrapian	schrapen	scrape	skreip
	—*also* scrapen, *by infl. of Scand.* skrapa.			
	stapol	stapel	staple	steipl
	mapuldor	mapel	maple	meipl
410	‡gapa	gapen	gape	geip
	tapor	taper	taper	teiper
	papol-stān	pobbel	pebble	pebl
	æppel	†appell	apple	æpl
	‡happ	hap	(mis)hap	hæp
415	læppa	lappe	lap	læp
			lappet	læpit
	hnappian	nappen	nap	næp
	cæppe	cappe	cap	kæp
	—— (æ) *Cp.*			
	‡klappa	clappen	clap	klæp
	OE clæppetung.			
	tæppe	tap(p)e	tape	teip
420	tæppe	tappe	tap	tæp
	tæppet	tipet	tippet	tipit
	—typet (e) *Ch.*			
	træppe	trappe	trap	træp
	abbod	abbed	abbot	æbet
	—*also* abbod, abbot, *the latter by infl. of Lat. or OFr.*			
	sceabb	scab	scab	skæb
		shab	shabby	ʃæbi
	—scab *infl. of Scand.*: *Swed.* skabb.			
425	crabba	crabbe	crab	kræb
	‡gabba	gabben	gab(ble)	gæb(l)

i.

hire dat.	†hire	her	heer
y *lWS*—i *Ld, Jul.* i, e *North., AllP.* (hure) *PPl.* hir(e), here : swere *Ch*—(her, i) *G.*			
cirice	†kirrke	church	tʃeetʃ
lWS cyrce—chirche *Jul., Lay.* cher(e)che *Kt.* kirke *North., Best., AllP.* cherche : werche, chirche, chorche, kerke : erke (= irk *vb*) *Aud.* chirche *Ch*—ts(i)urts *Sb.* (i), (u) *vel* (yy) *Sm.* (u) *G.*			

	‡hvirfla	**whirlen**	**whirl**	**wheel**
	—— (e) *Bll.* (i) *G.*			
430	**birce**	**birche**	**birch**	**beetʃ**
	—*also* e, u, birke.			
	hirde	**†hirde**	**(shep)herd**	**ʃeped**
	i, ie *eWS.* y *lWS.* eo *VP.* io *Du.* io, eo *Ru.*—h(i)erde *Ch*—shepheerd *Td.* (ʃepherd) *G.* (ʃepərd), (keuhærd) *Jn.* (ʃepird) *Bch.* (ʃepərd) *Sh.*			
	swilian	**swilen**	**swill**	**swil**
	'wash.' *also* swillan.			
	‡skil sn	**†skill**	**skill**	**skil**
	—schil, skil *AR.* scele, skele *Ay.* skile (skil, skill), unschill (sk) *CM.* skylle *PC.*			
	mil-dēaw	**mildeu**	**mildew**	**mildjuw**
	'nectar'—*Prompt.* meldew *Wicl.*			
435	**‡til prp**	**†till**	**til**	**til**
	tilian	**tilien**	**till**	**til**
	dile	**dil(l)e**	**dill**	**dil**
	bile	**bile**	**bill**	**bil**
	‡ill	**ille**	**ill**	**il**
	—*Lay.*, *ON*, *GE*, *PC.* ille *pl*, *adv O.*			
440	**scilling**	**shilling**	**shilling**	**ʃiliŋ**
	stille	**†stille**	**still**	**stil**
	willa	**†wille**	**will**	**wil**
	wile *vb* —— i woll *Td.* (wəl) *barbare Cp.* (woont) won't *Ld*—(wount).			
	bill sn	**bil**	**bill**	**bil**
	'sword.'			
	fylmen	**fylme**	**film**	**film**
445	**seoloc**	**silk**	**silk**	**silk**
	seolcen, silcen *adj.* *OI* silki—seolke *dat. Lay.*, *AR.* *also* selk(e).			
	milce adj	**mylche**	**milch**	**milʃ**
	†gunde-swilge	**grundeswilie**	**groundsel**	**graunsl**
	later grundeswylge.			
	hilt(e)	**hilt(e)**	**hilt**	**hilt**
	spildan	**spillen**	**spill**	**spil**
	ld *VP.* ll *Or.*, *Du.*	'destroy.'		
450	**wilde**	**†wilde**	**wild**	**waild**
	milde	**†milde**	**mild**	**maild**
	cild	**†child**	**child**	**tʃaild**
	—— (ei) *G.*			
	cildru pl	**†chilldre**	**children**	**tʃuldren**
	cild *Cp*, *VP*, *Past.*, *Or.*, *Du.* cild(ru) *ÆfcH.* cildru *Ru.*—children *Jul.*, *Ay.*, *Ch.* childer *North.*, *AllP*, *TM*—(tʃilren) *Jn*—*older* (tʃildrin).			
	‡gildi sn	**gilde**	**guild**	**gild**
	'tribute, feast, guild.' geld 'payment' *OE*—ȝeld, ȝilde 'tribute.' ȝilde *Lay.*, gyylde *Prompt.* 'guild.' geldehalle (ȝilde-) 'guildhall' *Ch.*			

455	**smiþ**	**smiþ**	**smith**	**smiþ**
	wiþ	**†wiþþ**	**with**	**wið**
	— — wyth, wythout *HVg.* (wiþ), (wəþ) *barbare Cp.*			
	wiþig	**wiþi**	**withy**	**wiði**
	wiþþe ‘band.’			
	fiþele	**fiþele**	**fiddle**	**fidl**
	‡kiþ sn	**†kide**	**kid**	**kid**
460	**piþa**	**piþ(e)**	**pith**	**piþ**
	siþþan	**†siþþenn**	**since**	**sins**
	—seoþþen, u *Lay.* zeþþe *Ay.* siþ(en), siþenes *PPl.* sithen (syn, sithens) *Ch.* siþen, sen *RBC.* sythen, syn *TM*—syns *HVg.*			
	smiþþe	**smiþþe**	**smithy**	**smiði**
	—*also* smiþi, *from OI* smiþja *through* *smiþige.			
	is vb	**†iss**	**is**	**iz**
	— — ys, is *HVg.* y *Sb.* (iz) *G.*			
	his	**†hiss**	**his**	**hiz**
	— — hys, his *HVg.*			
465	**risen** ptc	**†risenn**	**risen**	**rizn**
	þis(s)	**†þiss**	**this**	**ðis**
	— — ddys *HVg, Sb.*			
	—	**þise, þese**	**these**	**ðijz**
	— — (ðiiz) *G.*			
	gise	**yis**	**yes**	**jes**
	cp nese ‘no.’ ise, ese *Du.*—yus *Lay.* yes *Shoreh., CM*—(jis, e) *Sm.* (jiis) *Mg.* (is) *Jn.*			
	wisnian	**wisenen**	**wizen(ed)**	**wiznd**
470	**glysnian**	**glis(se)nien**	**glisten**	**glisn**
	— — (glisn) *Jn.*			
	missan	**†missenn**	**miss**	**mis**
	bliss sf	**†blisse**	**bliss**	**blis**
	— — blyss *HVg.*			
	risc	**rische**	**rush**	**raʃ**
	—u *PPl, Prompt.* resse *Ay.*			
	fisc	**fish**	**fish**	**fiʃ**
	—fissk *O, from Scand.* fisk.			
475	**miscian**	**mixen**	**mix**	**miks**
	—*from* *mixian.			
	disc	**dish**	**dish**	**diʃ**
	biscop	**bisshop**	**bishop**	**biʃep**
	—bisscop *O, from Scand.* biskup.			
	þistel	**þistel**	**thistle**	**þisl**
	— — thystl *Sb.*			
	wistlian	**hwistlen**	**whistle**	**whisl**
	later hwistlian *by anal. of* hwinan, hwisprian—(whistld) *prt G.*			
480	**wrist** sf	**wriste**	**wrist**	**rist**
	— — (risbænd, rizbæn) wristband *Jn*—(rizbend).			

	mist	**mist**	**mist**	**mist**
	mistel-tān	—	**mistletoe**	**misltou**
	tān 'twig'—*only* mistil.			
	gristle	**gristel**	**gristle**	**grisl**
	twist	**twisten** vb	**twist**	**twist**
	'rope.'	first in Chron. J. S. C. 407		
485	**distæf**	**distaf**	**distaff**	†**distaaf**
	wlisp adj	**lispen** vb	**lisp**	**lisp**
	hwisprian	**whispren**	**whisper**	**whisper**
	crisp	**crisp**	**crisp**	**krisp**
	'curly-haired.'			
	lifer sf	**livre**	**liver**	**liver**
490	**sife**	**sive**	**sieve**	**siv**
	— — cyue *Sb.*			
	wifel	**wivil**	**weevil**	**wijvl**
	—*also* wevil, *by anal. of* wefan ?—(wiivil) *Bt.*			
	clif sn	**clif**	**cliff**	**klif**
	gif	†(**ȝ**)**iff**	**if**	**if**
	i *VP.* i, e *Du.* i *Ru.*—ȝef *Jul.* yef *Kt.* if (yif) *Ch.*			
	drifen ptc	†**drifenn**	**driven**	**drivn**
495	‡**þrift** sf	**þrift**	**thrift**	**þrift**
	siftan	**siften**	**sift**	**sift**
	swift	†**swifft**	**swift**	**swift**
	‡**skifta**	†**shifftenn**	**shift**	**ʃift**
	scyfte *Chron. Laud* 1046.			
	scrift sf	†**shriffte**	**shrift**	†**ʃrift**
500	**gift** sf	**ȝifte**	**gift**	**gift**
	gift (pretium) *Laws of Ine*; *OI* gift—yefþe *Ay.*			
	‡**drift** sf	**drifte**	**drift**	**drift**
	sincan	†**sinnkenn**	**sink**	**siŋk**
	slincan	**sclyncen**	**slink**	**sliŋk**
	scrincan	**shrinken**	**shrink**	**ʃriŋk**
505	**stincan**	†**stinnkenn**	**stink**	**stiŋk**
	wince	**wynche**	**winch**	**winʃ**
	wincian	**winken**	**wink**	**wiŋk**
	— — i *Sb.*			
	wrincle	**wrinkil**	**wrinkle**	**riŋkl**
	— — wrinkl *Sb.*			
	finc	**finch**	**finch**	**finʃ**
	— — (finʃ) Finch *G.*			
510	**twinclian**	**twinclen**	**twinkle**	**twiŋkl**
	— — twinkl *Sb.*			
	drincan	†**drinnkenn**	**drink**	**driŋk**
	— — i *Sb.*			

	hring	ring	ring	riŋ
	— — ring *HVg.*			
	(h)ringan	†ringenn	ring	riŋ
	— — i *Sb.*			
	þing	†þing	thing	þiŋ
	— — thing *HVg*—(nafin) nothing *vg.*			
515	singan	†singenn	sing	siŋ
	— — i *Sb.*			
	swingan	swingen	swing	swiŋ
	stingan	†stingenn	sting	stiŋ
	springan	†springenn	spring	spriŋ
	wringan	wringen	wring	riŋ
520	finger	finger	finger	fiŋgər
	cringan	—	cringe	krinʒ
	—crenchen (crengen) *Marg.*—cringe *is a blending of the strong* cringan *and a weak* *crẹngan.			
	clingan	clingen	kling	kliŋ
	‘wither.’			
	bringan	†brinngenn	bring	briŋ
	i *VP, lWS.* e *Du., elKt.* i, e *Ru., eWS*—e *Ay.*			
	in	†inn, i	in	in
	—*also* ine *Jul., Ay*; *from weak OE* innan—yn *HVg, Sb.*			
525	linetwige	—	linnet	linit
	sinu sf	sinewe	sinew	sinju
	WS. seonu *Cp*—e *Lay.* eo *Marg.* e *GE.* i *Prompt.* i, e *Wicl.*			
	scinu	schine	shin	ʃin
	spinel sf	spindle	spindle	spindl
	— — (spinl) *Jn.*			
	tin	tin	tin	tin
530	inn adv, sb	†inn	in, inn	in
	‡skinn	†skinn	skin	skin
	scynnon *Chr.* 1075.			
	spinnan	spinnen	spin	spin
	gewinnan	†winnenn	win	win
	— — wynning *HVg.* wynn *Sb.*			
	finn sm	finne	fin	fin
535	cinn	chin(ne)	chin	tʃin
	be-ginnan	†biginnenn	begin	bigin
	getwinn	†twinn adj	twin	twin
	binn sf	binne	bin	bin
	winter	†winnterr	winter	winter
540	flint	flint	flint	flint
	minte	minte	mint	mint
	hind sf	hinde	hind	haind
	be-hindan	†bihinndenn	behind	bihaind

	hindrian	**hindren**	**hinder**	**hinder**
545	**rind sf**	**rinde**	**rind**	**raind**
	— — (rəin) *Jn.*			
	lind sf	**linde**	**linden** **lime**	**†lindin** **laim**
	linden *adj*—linde tree *became* linetree, *whence in the* 18*th cent.* lime-tree.			
	sinder	**sindir**	**cinder**	**sinder**
	— — cinder *by conf. with Fr* cendre.			
	wind	**†wind**	**wind**	**wind**
	— — wynde, wyndds *Td.* ij *Ck.* (əi) *G.* (əi) *Cp.* (winmil) *Bch.* (waindmil) *Sh.*			
	windan	**†winnde(clut)**	**wind**	**waind**
550	**‡vind-ās**	**windas**	**windlass**	**windles**
	‘winding-beam’ — — (windlæs) *Ld.* (winlis) *Bch.* (winles) *Sh.*			
	‡vind-ǫuga	**windowe**	**window**	**windou**
	‘wind-eye’—eieþurel (windohe) *AR.* windoge *GE.* wyndowe : ycrowe *Ch.*			
	windwian	**†winndwenn**	**winnow**	**winou**
	findan	**†findenn**	**find**	**faind**
	grindan	**†grindenn**	**grind**	**graind**
	— — (grəinstən) *Jn*—(grainstən) grindstone, *vg* (grinstən).			
555	**bindan**	**†bindenn**	**bind**	**baind**
	— — ij *Ck.* (əi) *G.*			
	blind	**†blind**	**blind**	**blaind**
	him	**†himm**	**him**	**him**
	— — hym *HVg.*			
	rima	**rime**	**rim**	**rim**
	lim sn	**†limess pl**	**limb**	**lim**
	— — (lim) *Sm.*			
560	**scimerian**	**shymeren**	**shimmer**	**ʃimer**
	†ymriendes (cerulei gurgitis) *BoGl.*			
	†numol	**nimel**	**nimble**	**nimbl**
	‘capax’—*infl. of vb* niman ‘take.’			
	swimman	**swimmen**	**swim**	**swim**
	grimm	**†grimm**	**grim**	**grim**
	dimm	**dim**	**dim**	**dim**
565	**impa**	**ympe**	**imp**	**imp**
	‘graft.’			
	***climban**	**†climbenn**	**climb**	**klaim**
	clom *prt Or.* clumben *prt pl Chr* 1070 — — (kləim) *G.*			
	timber	**†timmbredd ptc**	**timber**	**timber**
	ic	**†icc, i**	**I**	**ai**
	sægdig *etc Du.*—ic, †i *North.* hic *KS.* ich *Jul, AR.* †i, thee’ch : beech *Ch*—ei, i *HVg.* ei *Sb.* (əi) *non* (ei) *G.*			
	sicol	**sikel**	**sickle**	**sikl**

570	stice	stiche	stitch	stitʃ
	‘stitch (in side).’			
	stician	stikien	stick	stik
	‘pierce,’ ‘adhere’—steke fast *Td.*			
	gestricen ptc	striken	stricken	†striken
	wice	wiche	wich(elm)	witʃ
	wicu	†wuke	week	wijk
	also wucu *in* *WS*—wike *Lay.* wuce *Ld.* woke *Ay.* wowke, wyke (e) *Ch*—(ii) *Sm.*			
575	ficol	fikel	fickle	fikl
	flicorian	flikeren	flicker	fliker
	‘flutter.’			
	micel	†mikell	much	matʃ
	y *lWS by anal. of* lytel—mikel *North.*, *Best.*, *GE*, †*Hv*, †*RBC*; *from Scand.* mikil. muche(l) *Jul.* much, mukel *AllP.* michel *KS.* moche *Ay.* muche(l) (o) *Ch.* mekyl, moche *Aud.* mekylle, mych *TM*—(u) *Sm*, *G.* y *Sb*—(mitʃəl) Mitchell.			
	cicen	chiken	chicken	tʃikin
	cwic	†cwicc	quick	kwik
	lWS cucu. cucum (*and* cwicum) *also in Past.*			
580	ticia	tike	tick	tik
	pic	pich	pitch	pitʃ
	prician	priken	prick	prik
	pricel	prikil	prickle	prikl
	liccian	likken	lick	lik
585	‡bikar	biker	beaker	bijker
	þicce	þikke	thick	þik
	—kk *from Scand.* þykk.			
	sticca	stikke	stick	stik
	wicce	wicche	witch	witʃ
		†wikke	wicked	wikid
	—wicci ræd ‘bad advice’ *Ld* 1140; wikke *in* *O* ‘worthless,’ ‘feeble;’ *infl. of* wāc? wyckede *Ay.* †wikke, wikked *Ch.*			
	flicce	flicche	flitch	flitʃ
590	giccan	ȝicchen	itch	itʃ
	twiccian	twicchen	twitch	twitʃ
	— *the* cch *points to* *twiccan.			
	bicce	bicche	bitch	bitʃ
	gesihþ sf	†sihhte	sight	sait
	—isihðe, siht *Lay.*			
	be-twix	bitwixe	betwixt	†bitwikst
	i *Ru.* eo, u *Past.* y *lWS.*			
595	wiht sf, sn	†wihht	wight	†wait
			whit	†whit
	gewihte sn	†wehhte	weight	weit
	—wiht *Lay.* wyȝte *Ay.* wyghte, weighte *Ch.* e *due to infl. of* wegan			

	'carry,' 'weigh'—(waixt) *G.* (wæit) *Pr.* (weet) *Mg.* (ee, ææ) *Ld.* (ee) *EO, Bch, Sh.*			
	dihtan	**dihten**	**dight**	**†dait**
	pliht	**†plihht**	**plight**	**plait**
	stigu	**stie**	**stye**	**stai**
600	**stigel** sf	**stile**	**stile**	**stail**
	Frige-dæg	**fridai**	**Friday**	**fraidi**
	nigon	**†nighenn**	**nine**	**nain**
	—†nin *CM.* neghen *PC.* neȝen *Ay.* neyn *TM.* nyn *Ch.*			
	ti(o)gole	**tile**	**tile**	**tail**
	—tigel *GE.* teȝele *Ay.*			
	twig sn	**twig(ge)**	**twig**	**twig**
	twiggo, twicgo *pl Du.*—twigge *Prompt.* tuyg, tuyegges *Ay.*			
605	**†licgan**	**†lin**	**lie**	**lai**
	'jacere.' *imper.* lige—lien *inf. Ld.* lie *North.* ligge : brigge, †lie *Hv.* †lie *Ch.* †lye *RBC.* †ly, lig *TM*—(lei) *G*—*vg* (lei).			
	ēar-wicga	**erwigge**	**earwig**	**iewig**
	hit	**†itt**	**it**	**it**
	—it *Ld, North.* hit *AR, Kt, Ch*—(h)yt *HVg.* hyt, hit *Td.*			
	þritig	**þrittiȝ**	**thirty**	**þeeti**
	tt *Du.* tt, t *Ru.*, *WS*—þritti *Ld, Jul., CM.* thritty *Ch.* thretti *Wicl., Prompt.* thirti *Prompt.*			
	sliten ptc	**sliten**	**slit**	**slit**
610	**smiten** ptc	**smiten**	**smitten**	**smitn**
	spitu	**spite**	**spit**	**spit**
	'veru'—i, e *Prompt.*			
	witan	**†witenn**	**(to) wit**	**†te wit**
	writen ptc	**†writenn**	**written**	**ritn**
	— — writin *Ck.* (wriitn) *Bll.* (writn) *G.*			
	†citelian	**tikelen**	**tickle**	**tikl**
	—*Ch.* *also* kitelinge.			
615	**‡glitra**	**glit(t)eren**	**glitter**	**gliter**
	glæterian *OE.*			
	‡drit sn	**drit**	**dirt**	**deet**
	— — (durt) *G.*			
	bite	**‡bite**	**bit**	**bit**
	biten ptc	**biten**	**bitten**	**bitn**
	biter	**†bitterr**	**bitter**	**biter**
	t *WS.* t(t) *VP.* tt *Du., Ru.*—tt *Jul.* t *Kt.*			
	bitol	**bit(t)il**	**beetle**	**bijtl**
	'blatta'—*also* betil.			
620	**‡hitta**	**hitten**	**hit**	**hit**
	'find'—*Lay.*			
	sittan	**†sittenn**	**sit**	**sit**
	— — — *vg* (set).			
	spittan	**spitten**	**spit**	**spit**

	gewitt	**iwit**	**wit**	**wit**
	fitt sf	**fit**	**fit**	**fit**
	'song.'			
625	**hider**	**†hiderr**	**hither**	**†hið̌er**
	— — hydder *Td.* (heðer) *Bt.* (hiðer) *G.* (ə) *Mg.* *almost short* (e) *Ld.*			
	bed-rida	**bedrede**	**bedridden**	**bedridn**
	also -reda — — bedreed *Ck.*			
	riden ptc	**riden**	**ridden**	**ridn**
	hlid sn	**lid**	**lid**	**lid**
	þider	**†þiderr**	**thither**	**†ð̌ið̌er**
	—thider *Ch*—thyder, thether *Td.* *almost short* (e) *Ld.*			
630	**sliden ptc**	**sliden**	**slid**	**slid**
	widwe	**†widdwe**	**widow**	**widou**
	i, u *WS*—widewe *AR.* wydwe *Ch.* wodewe *Ay.*			
	hwider	**hwider**	**whither**	**†whið̌er**
	i, y *lWS*—quider *North.* i *Kt, Ch.* u (o) *Lay.* u *AR*—(e) *Bll, Bt.*			
	cwidu	**quide** **†cŭde**	**quid** **cud**	**kwid** **kad**
	hwītquidu *Ep.*, -cudu *Cp*—code (quide) *Wicl.* 'cud.'			
	gidig	**gidi**	**giddy**	**gidi**
	'insane.' i *for* y?			
635	**biden ptc**	—	**bid(den)**	**bid(n)**
	—bedenn 'commanded' *O.* beden (bode) *Wicl.*			
	þridda	**†þrid(d)e**	**third**	**þəəd**
	ðirda *Du.*—þrid *CM.* thred *PC.* þryde *AllP.* thridde *Ch.* †thryd thyrd *TM.* thred *Aud.*—thrid, thyrd *Td.*			
	middel	**middel**	**middle**	**midl**
	tō-middes	**amiddes**	**(a)midst**	**(ə)midst**
	onmiddan—amidden, amidde(s)—in the mydd(e)s of *Td.*			
	biddan	**†bid(d)enn**	**bid**	**bid**
	'pray.'			
640	**bridd**	**†bridd**	**bird**	**bəəd**
	birdas *Du.*—†brid *North.*, *Ch.* bred *Aud.* byrd : betyde *prt* *TM*—brydd *Td.* (bird, burd) *G.*			
	slipor	**sliper**	**slippery**	**sliperi**
	scip sn	**ship**	**ship**	**ʃip**
	gripe	**gripe**	**grip**	**grip**
	lippa	**lippe**	**lip**	**lip**
645	**‡klippa**	**†clippenn**	**clip**	**klip**
	ribb sn	**rib(be)**	**rib**	**rib**
	†libban	**†libbenn**	**live**	**liv**
	he leofaþ *WS, VP, Ru.* lyfaþ *lWS.* lifeþ *Du.* *pl* lif(i)gaþ *VP, Kt, Du., Ru.*—liuen *inf.* *Ld.* he lifeþþ *O.* leues *Aud.*—levith *Td.*			
	god-sibb	**†sibb adj**	**gossip**	**gosip**
	—gossib (p) *Ch.*			

e (eo).

	†se	**þe**	**the**	**ðí, ðe**
	se, þe *Du., Ru.* þe *by anal. of* þone *etc* — — dde *HVg, Sb.* (e) *short Ld.*			
650	**heorot**	**hert**	**hart**	**haat**
	— — hart *Sb.*			
	swęrian	**†swerenn**	**swear**	**sweer**
	— — (forsweer) *Cp.* (forseer) *Js.* (seer, sweer) *Ld.* (sweer) *Bch, Sh.*			
	smeru	**smere**	**smear**	**smier**
	smir(w)an *vb*—smerenn *vb O.*—(ii) *Cp, Mg.*			
	sceran	**sheren**	**shear**	**ʃier**
	scieran, y *WS* — — (*ee*) *Cp.* (ʃiirz) shears *Cp.*			
	spere	**spere**	**spear**	**spier**
	— — (ee) *G.*			
655	**węr sm**	**were**	**wier**	**wier**
	†wer-mōd	**wermod**	**wormwood**	**weemwud**
	węrian	**weren**	**wear**	**weer**
	'wear clothes' — — (ee) *Cp.*			
	fęrian	**ferien**	**ferry**	**feri**
	'carry'—feri 'ponto' *sb Prompt.* fęrja *sf* 'ferry' *OI.*			
	męre sm	**mere**	**mere**	**†mier**
660	**męre sf**	**mere**	**mare**	**meer**
	—mere, mare *Ch.*			
	te(o)ru	**tere**	**tar**	**taar**
	scipt(e)aro *Leechd.*—ter *GE.* tar *TM*—(tær) *Cp.*			
	teran	**teren**	**tear**	**teer**
	— — (*ee*) *Cp.*			
	teorian	**tiren**	**tire**	**taier**
	eo, y *lWS.* eo *Ru.*—eo, i.			
	peru	**pere**	**pear**	**peer**
665	**bera**	**bere**	**bear**	**beer**
	— — (baar) *Bll.* (sææ) *Mg.*			
	beran	**†berenn**	**bear**	**beer**
	— — (ee) *G.* (*ee*) *Cp.* (ee) *EO, Bch.*			
	steorra	**sterre**	**star**	**staar**
	—steorrne *O from EScand.* stjerna. sterne *North., AllP, †Hv, †RBC.* starnys : tharnys *TM*—starre *Td.* sterr *Ch.* (star) *G.*			
	feorr	**†fe(o)rr**	**far**	**faar**
	męrran	**marren**	**mar**	**maar**
	—me(a)rren *Jul.* merre, mired *North.* a *AllP, Aud., TM*—(a) *Sm.*			
670	**cęrr**	**char**	**char** **ajar**	**tʃaar** **edʒaar**
	'turn,' 'time'—chearre, chere *Jul.* cherre *AR.* charre *inf*: waire (= wær *adj*) *MH.* †charen *GE.* cayre, †charde *prt AllP.* *OI* keyra.			
	ẹorl	**†eorl**	**earl**	**eel**
	—eorl, earl *Ld*; *infl. of Scand.* iarl (?)—(eerl, erl) *G.* (*eer*l) *Cp.* (ee) *Ld*			

	ceorl	**†cherl**	**churl**	**tʃeel**

—cheorl *Lay.*, *AR.* †cherl *Ch.* e, (u) *PPl.* carl, chorl *AllP.* i *Wicl.* *OI* karl—(u) *Bll.*

	cęrlic	**carloc**	**charlock**	**tʃaalek**
	eorþe	**†e(o)rþe**	**earth**	**eeþ**

—urþe *AllP.* erþliche, yerþe *Ay.*—yerth *HVg.* (ʋrþ) *G.* (eerþ) *Bll.* (erþ), (jʋrþ) *barbare Cp.* (jerþ) *pas du bel usage Mg.* (æ) *Ld.*

675	**heorþ**	**herþ**	**hearth**	**haaþ**

— — (e) *G.* (æ) *Cp.*

	weorþ	**†wurrþ**	**worth**	**weeþ**

weorþ *sb.* u, y *lWS.* o *Du.* eo *Ru.* *adj* weorþ, wierþe *WS*, wyrþe *lWS.* worþ, wyrþe *Du.* wyrþe *Ru.*—wurþe *adj AR.* wurþ *adj Kath.* worþ *sb*, *adj Kt*—(u) *Bll*, *G.* (penʋrþ) 'pennyworth' *Jn.* (uu, ʋ) *EO*, *Bch*, *Sh*—(peneþ).

	weorþ-scipe	**†wurrþshipe**	**worship**	**weeʃip**

—wur(ð)scipe *Ld.* worscip (i) *CM.* wor(þ)ssipe *Ay.*—(wurʃip) *G*, *EO.* (ʋ) *Bch*, *Sh.*

	‡gjǫrþ	**gerþ**	**girth**	**geeþ**
	þerscan	**†þresshenn**	**thresh** **thrash**	**þræʃ**

— —(e) *Bll.* (u) *barbare Cp.*

680	**þerscold**	**þreshwold**	**threshold**	**þreʃould,-eld**

Past. þrexwold, þræ-, þreo-, þerxwold *later.*

	fersc	**fresh**	**fresh**	**freʃ**
	męrsc	**mersh**	**marsh**	**maaʃ**

— — (mæʃ) *Jn*, *Ld.*

	berstan	**†bresstenn**	**burst**	**beest**

—beorstan *Ld.* bresten †*North.*, *AllP*, †*Ch*; *from Scand.* bresta. bersten *AR.* †bryst, †brest, †brast *TM.*

	sweorfan	**swerven**	**swerve**	**sweev**

'file, rub off' — — (swerv, a) *G.*

685	**steorfan**	**sterven**	**starve**	**staav**

'die of pestilence.'

	ceorfan	**kerven**	**carve**	**kaav**
	cerfelle	**chervelle**	**chervil**	**tʃeevil**
	eornan	**†e(o)rnenn**	**run**	**ran**

rinnan 'coagulate.' eornan *VP*, *Du.* ie, i *eWS.* y *lWS.* rinna, ę *OI* —eornen *AR.* eornen, irnen, urnen *Lay.* yernen *Ay.* rin(ne) *North.* †ryn *TM.* renne(n) *Ld*, †*Best.*, †*Hv*, *AllP*, *Aud.*, †*Ch.* runnande *MH*—runne *Td.*

	eornest	**ernest**	**earnest**	**eenist**

— — (ee) *G.* (*ee*) *Cp.* (æ) *Ld.*

690	**leornian**	**†lernenn**	**learn**	**leen**

— — (ee, e) *G.* (*ee*) *Cp.* (æ) *Ld.* (læærniŋ) *Bch.* (lʋrniŋ) *Fr.* (lerniŋ) *Sh.* (ʋnlææernid) *Bch*, (ʋnlærnd) *Fr*, (ʋnlernid) *Sh* unlearned—(laan) *vg.*

	stęrne adj	**†stirne**	**stern**	**steen**

ie, y *WS*—sturne *RGl.* st(i)erne *Ch.*

	georn adj	**†ʒe(o)rnenn**	**yearn**	**jeen**
	girnan *vb*—geornen, iærnen *Ld.* yernen, yarnen *TM*—(jiirn) *EO.* (e) *Bch, Sh.*			
	bęrn sn	**†berrne**	**barn**	**baan**
	= bęre-ærn 'barley-house.' berérn *Du.*—berne : yerne *Ch*— (baarn) *Bll.*			
	beornan intr	**†bærnenn**	**burn**	**been**
	bærnan tr	**†brennenn**		
	intr beornan *VP, Du., Ru.* i(e) *eWS*; y *lWS*—eo *Lay., Marg.* birne *Hom.* brinnen *North.*, †*Ch.* burne *TM.* *The trans. and intr forms are confused in ME. Infl. of OI* brinna *intr and* bręnna *trans.*—burne, y, burnt, brent *Td.* (u) *Bll.* *trans.* e *VP*—bernan, æ *Ld.* be(a)rnen *Jul.* brennen †*Hv, AllP, Ch.* brenne, brinne *North.*			
695	**beorma**	**†berrme**	**barm**	**baam**
	sme(a)rcian	**smirken**	**smirk**	**smeek**
	weorc	**†werrk**	**work**	**week**
	w(e)orc *lWS.* werc *VP, Du.* we(o)rc, wærc *Ru.*—we(o)rc *Ld.* werc (o) *Lay.* werc *Jul.* werk †*North., AllP,* †*Hv,* †*Ch, KS.* work *Ay.* wark *TM*—oo *Ck.* (u) *Bll.* (uu, ə) *EO.* (ə) *Bch, Sh.*			
	deorc	**derk**	**dark**	**daak**
	—a, (o) *Jul.* a *Marg.* (dorck) *Lay.* (u) *PPl.* e *AllP.* †e, i *Ch.* a *Aud., TM.* *also* eo—a, e *Td.* e *Ck.* (a) *G.*			
	beorcan	**berken**	**bark**	**baak**
700	**beorht**	**†brihht**	**bright**	**brait**
	-breht *eWS.* -bryht *lWS.* berht *VP, Du., Ru.* brehtum *Du., Rit.*—briht *Jul.* bricht *KS.* bright *North., Ch*—bricht *HVg.*			
	hęrgian	**herʒien**	**harry**	**†hæri**
	—hærʒien, her(i)ʒen *Lay.* herhien *Kath.* heri, hared *North.* haryen, harewen *Ch.*			
	tęrgan	**tarien**	**tarry**	**tæri**
	'torment'—y *lWS*—terwin *Prompt.* terren 'provoke' *Wicl.* targi *KS.* †tarien *Ch.*			
	dweorg	**dwergh**	**dwarf**	**dwof**
	—*also* dwerwe, dwerf—(dwɔɔrf) *Bch, Sh*—*vg* (dwɔft).			
	beorg	**bergh**	**barrow**	**bærou**
	'mountain'—berhʒe (borewe) *dat. Lay.*			
705	**bęr(i)ge**	**berʒe**	**berry**	**beri**
	heorte	**†herrte**	**heart**	**haat**
	—†herte *Ch.* hert *Aud.* hart : quart *TM*—herte *Td.* hart *Sb.* (æ) *Cp, Jn, EO.* (ææ) *Bch, Sh.*			
	‡þvert av	**†þwerrt**	**thwart**	**þwɔt**
	—ouerthwart (-twert, -twart) *Ch*—(overþwart) *Bull.* (þært) *Jn.*			
	smeortan	**smerten**	**smart**	**smaat**
	heord sf	**heerde**	**herd**	**heed**
	— — heerd *Td.*			
710	**sweord**	**†swerd**	**sword**	**sɔd**
	eo, u *lWS.* o *Du.* eo *Ru.*—eo, e, (e) *Lay.* eo *ÀR.* †o *North., Ay.* e †*Hv,* †*RBC,* †*Ch*—sweard(e) *Td.* (swuurd, u) *Bt.* (swərd) *Pr.* (suurd) *Cp.* (soord) *Ld.*			

	gęrd sf	**†ȝerrde**	**yard**	**jaad**
	‘rod’— — yarde *Td.*			
	stelan	**stelen**	**steal**	**stijl**
	— — (ee) *W.*			
	wel	**†wel(l)**	**well**	**wel**
	—wele : fele *vb North.* wel : del (= dǣl) *RBC.* we(e)l : deel, wheel, fel *prt Ch.*			
	wela	**wele**	**weal**	**†wijl**
	— — (ee) *Cp.*			
	węlisc	**walsh**	**Welsh**	**welʃ**
	węlhisc *Kt oh as prop. name.* wylisc *lWS—PPl.* wælsc, e (wals) *Lay.* — — (wolʃ) Walsh.			
715	**weoloc**	**whelk**	**whelk**	**whelk**
	†felo-for	**feldefare**	**fieldfare**	**fijldfeer**
	—*Ch.* fel(de)fare *Prompt.*—(feldfeer) *Cp.* (fiilfæær) *Jn.*			
	cęle	**†chĕle**	**chill**	**tʃil**
	ie, y *WS*—chylled *prt AllP.*			
	‡kjǫl	**kele**	**keel**	**kijl**
	OE cęle—*also* u.			
	ęlles	**elles**	**else**	**els**
720	**elle(r)n sn (?)**	**eller(ne)**	**elder(tree)**	**elder**
	—eldyr, hyldyr, hillerne tree *Prompt.*			
	hęll sf	**†helle**	**hell**	**hel**
	sęllan	**†sellenn**	**sell**	**sel**
	e *VP.* e, ea *Du.* e *eWS.* y *lWS*—eo, u *Lay.* u *Jul., AR.* e *Kt.* i, e *Wicl.*			
	swellan	**swellen**	**swell**	**swel**
	***smellan**	**smellen**	**smell**	**smel**
	hondsmællas ‘alapas’ *Du.* smyllendum (crepantibus) *BoGl*—e, u, i.			
725	**scęll sf**	**shelle**	**shell**	**ʃel**
	spell sn	**spel**	**spell**	**spel**
	‘story.’			
	węlle	**welle**	**well**	**wel**
	fell	**fel**	**fell**	**fel**
	‘skin.’			
	fęllan	**fellen**	**fell**	**fel**
730	**cwęllan**	**†cwellenn**	**quell** **kill**	**kwel** **kil**
	‘kill’—cwellen *Lay., Jul.* cullen ‘strike’ *Lay., AR.* quelle *North.* culle ‘kill’ *PPl.* †quelle, †kille *both* ‘kill’ *Ch, TM*—(mankweler) manqueller ‘homicida’ *Sm.*			
	gellan	**ȝellen**	**yell**	**jel**
	tęllan	**†tellenn**	**tell**	**tel**
	belle	**†belle**	**bell**	**bel**
	‡dvęlja	**†dwellenn**	**dwell**	**dwel**
735	**melu**	**†mĕle**	**meal**	**mijl**
	‘farina.’ *gen.* melwes — — *Sb implies* (meel).			

geolu **ȝelw(e)** **yellow** **jelou**
— — (jælo) *Jn*—(jælər) *vg*.

ælf **elf** **{elf / oaf** **elf / †ouf**
æ, e, y *lWS*; *also* -elfen—†elf *Ch*—*older spelling of* oaf *is* aulf; *OI* älf. (oof, ɔof) auf, awf *Jn*.

self **†sellf** **self** **self**
y *lWS*. eo *VP*, *Du*. e(o), y *Ru*.—eo *Jul*. u *AR*. e(o), u, (i) *Lay*. e *Kt*, †*Ch*—selve, silfe *Td*.

seolfor **†sillfer** **silver** **silver**
eo *VP*. eo, io, silofr, sylofr *eWS*. sulfer *Du*. sylfur *Ru*.—silver, sylver *Ld*. eo *AR*. eo, u *Lay*. i *North*., *AllP*, *GE*, *Ch*. *Scand*. silfr.

740 **scęlf** **shelfe** **shelf** **ʃelf**
'pinnacle'—*Prompt*. shelves *pl Ch*.

twęlf **†twellf(e)** **twelve** **twelv**
twelfe *substantival*—tweolf, twelve, twælf *Ld*. twelf, eo, ea, æ, a *Lay*. tweolf, tweolve *AR*. tuelf *Ay*.—(twelmənþ) 'twelvemonth' *Bch*, *Sh*.

delfan **†dellfenn** **delve** **†delv**

twęlfta **twelfte** **twelfth** **twelfþ**

ęln sf **elne** **ell** **el**
—*also* elle.

745 **elm** **elm** **elm** **elm**

helm **helm** **helm(et)** **helmit**
— — helmet *from Dutch* (?)

helma **helme** **helm** **helm**
'clavus.'

swelc **†swillc** **such** **satʃ**
swilcæ *Ep*., swelce *Cp*. swelce *VP*. e *eWS*. i, y *lWS*. e, æ *Du*. æ, i *Ru*.—sui(l)c *Ld*. swilk †*North*., †*Hv*. swich *Kt*. swulc (solch), such (o) *Lay*. swuch *AR*. swich (such) *Ch*. sech, soch *Aud*. swilk, sich, such, †slyke [*from Scand*. slīk] *TM*—syts *HVg*. (u) *G*.—(sitʃ) *vg*.

hwelc **†whillc** **which** **whitʃ**
e *Ep*., *VP*, *eWS*. i, y *lWS*. e, æ *Du*. e, æ, i, y *Ru*.—quilc *North*. hwulc(h) *Lay*. hwuc(h) *AR*. which *Kt*, *Ch*—(hwidȝ, hwitʃ) *Ld*.

750 **meol(o)c** **†millc** **milk** **mjlk**
milc *VP*, *Du*., *Rit*.—e *Ay*. i *Lay*., †*Hv*, †*Ch*—*older* (milk).

geolca **ȝolke** **yolk** **jouk**
—*also* ȝelke—(jelk) *Mg*. (jook) *Cp*., *Sh*. (ɐ) *Ld*. (jolk) *Bch*.

belcettan **belken** **belch** **beltʃ**
ea *ÆfcH*, i *Ru*., y *Wgl*.—*Wicl*., *TM*.

seolh **sele** **seal** **sijl**
pl sēolas.

†swelgan **†swollȝhenn** **swallow** **swolou**
prt swalh, *ptc* swolgen—swelghen *North*. suelȝen *Ay*. swelwin *Prompt*. swelwed (sualhid) *RBC*. swalȝen *Lay*. swoluwen *AR*. swolwen *Ch*—(swɔoloo) *Bch*. (swoloo) *Sh*.

755 **†wel(i)g** **wilwe** **willow** **wilou**
wilige 'basket'—*also* weloghe.

	fęlg	felwe	felly felloe	feli felou
	bęlg	beli	bellows belly	belouz beli
	æ *Kp.* bel(i)g, byl(i)g *lWS*—bely ‘belly’ *Prompt.*, *Ch.* *often* bali. beli(es) ‘bellows’ *AR.* bely *Ch.* belu (belw, bely) *Wicl.* *also* belowes.			
	belgan	belwen	bellow	belou
	‘be angry.’			
	smelt	smelt	smelt	smelt
760	felt	felt	felt	felt
	spelt	—	spelt	spelt
	meltan	melten	melt	melt
	bęlt	belt(e)	belt	belt
	OI bęlti.			
	ęldra cp	†elldre	elder	elder
765	ęldest spl	eldest	eldest	eldist
	seldon	†seldenn	seldom	seldem
	—selde *Lay.*, *AR*, *Ch.* seldum *GE.* seldom *PC*, *Prompt.*—(siildum) *Bll.*			
	sceld	sheeld	shield	ʃijld
	ie, y *WS.* scildan *vb*; ie, y *WS*—e *AR*, *Ay.* e(e) *Ch.* e(i) *North.* *also* i; *from vb?* *vb* shildenn *O.* i *Lay*, *Ay*, *GE.* *also* u. e *TM*—(ii) *G.*			
	gewęldan	†weldenn	wield	†wijld
	— — (ii) *G.* (ei) *Jn.*			
	feld	†feld	field	fijld
	—ee *Ch.* ey *TM*—(ii) *G*, *Cp.*			
770	geldan	†ȝeldenn	yield	jijld
	ie, y *WS*—giald, gield (yald, yeild) *North.*; *OI* gjalda. ȝild *Aud.*—eild (*for* ield?) *HVg.* (jiild) *G.* (iild) *Ht*, *Jn.*			
	helpan	†hellpenn	help	help
	hwęlp	†ẉhe(o)llp	whelp	whelp
	gelpan	†ȝellpenn	yelp	jelp
	‘boast.’			
	leþer	leþer	leather	leðer
	— — (e) *G.*			
775	swęþian	swaþin	swathe	†sweið
	—*Prompt.* *also* e.			
	swęþel	sweþlen	swaddle	swodl
	—*also* swaþild *ptc.* swedylle : medylle (= middel) *TM.*			
	‡stęþi	stiþe	stithy	†stiði
	—steþi *PC.* styth : smyth *Ch.*			
	weþer	weþer	wether	weðer
	‘sheep’—wedir *Prompt.*			
	feþer sf	feþer(e)	feather	feðer
780	neoþor	neþer	nether	†neðer
	— — (neeðer) *Jn.*			

	beneoþan	**†bineþenn**	**beneath**	**binijþ**
	— — (biineeð) *Bll.* (bineþ) *G.* (bineeð) *Pr.*			
	be-cweþan	**becweþen**	**bequeath**	**bikwijþ**
	wes(u)le	**wesele**	**weazel**	**wijzl**
	besma	**besme**	**besom**	**†bijzem**
	— — (biisem) *Mg.*			
785	**pi(o)se**	**pese**	**pease**	**pijz**
	pl piosan.			
	cresse	**cresse**	**cress**	**kres**
	cerse, cærse *l WS*—kerse, †kers *Ch* — — (krijsiz) *vg.*			
	ręst sf	**†resste**	**rest**	**rest**
	— — reest *Td.*			
	sweoster	**†sussterr**	**sister**	**sister**
	swostor *Or.* swustor, swyster *l WS.* s(w)oester *Du.* swuster, sæ *Ru.*—s(w)uster *Ld.* suster (o) *Lay.* suster *AR.* zoster *Ay.* suster, †o *Ch.* sister *North.*, *GE*, *TM*, *Prompt.*—u, y *Td.*			
	west	**†wesst**	**west**	**west**
	— — weest *Td.*			
790	**nest**	**nest**	**nest**	**nest**
	cest sf	**cheste**	**chest**	**tʃest**
	ie, y *WS*—kiste *North*, †*Hv.* kyste *AllP*; *OI* kista. †cheste *Ch.*			
	gest	**ȝeest**	**yeast**	**jijst**
	— — (ii) *Sm.* (jiist, iist) *Jn.* (jest) *Bch.*			
	gęst	**†gesst(hus)**	**guest**	**gest**
	gesthus *VP*, *ÆfcH.* ie, y *WS.* e *in Æfc. from Scand.* gęst—gest *Ld.* gist (ea) *AR.* *the* g *from Scand.*—gest *Td.*			
	geostran-dæg	**ȝisterdai**	**yesterday**	**jestedi**
	ie, y *WS*—ȝurstendai (o), ȝerstendai *Lay.*—(isterdee) *Jn.*			
795	**eowu sf**	**ewe**	**ewe**	**juw**
	— — (jeu) *Ht.* (eeu) *G.* (yy) *Bll.* (eu) *Bt*, *Pr.* (juu) *Ld.*			
	stręwian	**†strawenn**	**strew**	**struw**
	e *e WS.* eo *ÆfcH*—strewen *North.* strowin *Prompt.* strawen, strewen *Ch*—strawe *Td.* (eu) *Sm.* (oo) *G.*			
	efes sf	**evese**	**eaves**	**ijvz**
	— eouese *Lay.* ouese *Best.*			
	efen	**†efenn**	**even**	**ijvn**
	— — (iivn) *G.* (iiven) *Pr.*			
	on efen	**onefent**	**anent**	**†enent**
	—onont *Jul.* *also* anent(is).			
800	**ęfete**	**evete**	**newt**	**njuwt**
	—*later* ewte—a newt *from* an ewt.			
	†hębban	**†hefenn**	**heave**	**hijv**
	imper. hęfe.			
	hęfig	**†hefiȝ**	**heavy**	**hevi**
	— — (ee) *G.*			
	heofon	**†he(o)ffne**	**heaven**	**hevn**
	heofone *fem. l WS*; *by anal. of* eorþe—hefn *HVg.* (e) *Bll.* (ee) *G.*			

	seofon	**†sefenn**	**seven**	**sevn**

——seaven *Ck.* (sevn) *G.*

805	**wefan**	**weven**	**weave**	**wijv**
	fefer	**fevre**	**fever**	**fijver**

—*also* fivre. *from Fr* fievre (?).

	cleofian	**cleven**	**cleave**	**klijv**

'adhere.' eo, i *WS.* eo *Ru.*—eo *Lay.* e *North.*, *Wicl.*, *Ay.* *also* i.

	gefan	**†ȝifenn (g)**	**give**	**giv**

gibaen *ptc Ep.*, e *Cp.* ge(o)fan *VP*, *Du.*, *Ru.* ie, y *WS*—giuen, iiuen *Ld.* †gif *North.* ȝeouen *Jul.* ȝeuen *AR.* ȝeuen (i) *Lay.* yeuen *Kt.* geuen *ptc*: dryuen *AllP.* †giuen *GE.* ȝyuen *Wicl.* †yiuen, yeuen *Ch*—geve, foryeven *ptc Td.* (giv, giiv, gii) *G.* forgijv *Ck.*

	weft(a)	**weft**	**weft**	**weft**
810	**hlęnce**	**linke**	**link**	**liŋk**

—k *from Scand.* hlęnk (*OI* hlekk).

	stęnc	**stench**	**stench**	**stenʃ**
	wręncan	**wrenchen**	**wrench**	**renʃ**
	fręncisc	**frensh**	**French**	**frenʃ**
	cwęncan	**†cwennkenn**	**quench**	**kwenʃ**

—quenchen *AR*, *Best.* kuenche, he kuencþ *Ay.* *prt* cweinte *AR.* cwenchte (cwencte) *Jul.* *ptc* queynt *Ch.*

815	**dręncan**	**drenchen**	**drench**	**drenʃ**

—dreynt *ptc Ch.*

	bęnc	**†bennk**	**bench**	**benʃ**

—*also* o bennche *O.* bynke *TM.*

	lęncten	**†lenntenn**	**Lent**	**lent**

—lengten, lentedtid *Ld.* leinten (lenten) *AR.* †lente *Ch.*

	Ęngla-land	**engelond**	**England**	**iŋglend**

—*Ch.* englaland, engleland *Ld.* ingland *CM.* yngland *TM*—(iŋgland) *G.* (iiŋglænd) *Pr.* (ii, i) *Jn.*

	ęnglisc	**†ennglissh**	**English**	**iŋgliʃ**

—†inglis *North.* †inglis, inglysch *RBC.* engleis *GE.* englisse, englis *Ay.*—(iiŋglish) *Bll.* (i) *G.* (ii) *Pr*, *Jn.*

820	**†lęngo**	**lengþe**	**length**	**leŋþ**
	sęngan	**sengen**	**singe**	**sinʒ**

—seind *ptc Ch.*

	stręng	**streng**	**string**	**striŋ**

—e, i *Ch.* i *Prompt.*—g *from Scand.* stręng.

	***‡vęng**	**winge**	**wing**	**wiŋ**

OI væng—hwingen *pl Lay.*, *AR.* wingen *Ay.*—wing *HVg.*

	†męngan	**mengen**	**mingle**	**miŋgl**
825	**stręngþo**	**†strenncþe**	**strength**	**streŋþ**

—strencðe (g) *AR.* *also* streinthe. strenthe *North.* strengthe *Ch.*

	‡slöngva	**slingen**	**sling**	**sliŋ**
	geong	**†ȝung**	**young**	**jaŋ**

gung, iung *VP.* giung *Du.*, *Rit.* ging *Du.* ging, iung *Ru.*—iunge *Ld.* ȝung, ȝing, ȝeng *Lay.* ȝung *AR.* yong *Ay.* ging *CM.* yhung *PC.*

	yunge : tunge *Hv.* †ying, o, ou *TM.* †ȝyng. ȝonge : tonge *RBC.* †ȝynge, o, u *Harl.* ȝong *AllP.* ȝong : tung, e *Aud.* o, (e) *Ch*—ywng *HVg.*			
	heonon(e)	**henne(s)**	**hence**	**hens**
	heonone *l WS*—hëonne [*from* heonone] (hinnes) *Lay.* †hennes *RBC.* hence : pence *TM.* hennus *Wicl.* †henne *Ch*—(hins) *Mg.*			
	hleonian	**lenen**	**lean**	**lijn**
830	**węnian**	**wenen**	**wean**	**wijn**
	— — (ee) *Sm.* (ee) *Cp.*			
	cwene	**cwene**	**quean**	**†kwijn**
	— — (ee) *Sm.* (e) *Ld.* (i) *Bch.* (ee) *Sh.*			
	geon	**ȝon**	**yon**	**†jon**
	geonian	**ȝenien**	**yawn**	**jon**
	geonian, gānian—ȝeonien *AR.* ganynge, ȝanynge *Prompt.* *also* gonen.			
	pęning	**peni**	**penny**	**peni**
	pending *in Kt ch*—penig, penegas *Ld.* *pl* pans *Ay.* pens, pans *Wicl.* pens (pans, penys) *Ch.*			
835	**hęnn sf**	**hen(ne)**	**hen**	**hen**
	†ręnnan	**renlis**	**rennet**	**renit**
	'make to run, coagulate'—'coagulum' *Prompt.*			
	węnn sf	**wen(ne)**	**wen**	**wen**
	fęnn	**fen**	**fen**	**fen**
	męnn pl	**†menn**	**men**	**men**
840	**‡kęnna**	**kennen**	**ken sb**	**†ken**
	'know'—*Lay.* kennenn 'beget' *O.*			
	gręnnian	**grennen**	**grin**	**grin**
	dęnn	**den**	**den**	**den**
	'swine-pasture.'			
	pęnnan	**pennen**	**pen**	**pen**
	Cęnt	**kent**	**Kent**	**kent**
845	**twentig**	**†twenntiȝ**	**twenty**	**twenti**
	ęnde	**†ende**	**end**	**end**
	—e, æ (ea) *Lay.* ee *Wicl.*—(iind) *barbare Cp.*			
	end-lufon	**en(d)leven**	**eleven**	**ilevn**
	endlefan *Or.* ællef- *Past.* ællefno *Du.*—enleven (eolleve), ælleven *Lay.* elevene *Ch*—(elevn) *G.* (eleven, ilæven) *Jn.*			
	ręndan	**renden**	**rend**	**rend**
	also hr- *in Du.*			
	sęndan	**†senndenn**	**send**	**send**
850	**sęnd ptc**	**†sennd**	**sent**	**sent**
	—sent †*CM, PPl.*			
	spęndan	**spenden**	**spend**	**spend**
	węndan	**†wen(n)denn**	**wend**	**wend**
	be-geondan	**†ȝonnd(hallf)**	**beyond**	**bijond**
	—ȝ(e)ond ; ȝend *Lay.* gionder (yonder) *CM.* byȝonde : londe *AllP.* gund(e) *GE.* biȝende *Wicl.*—(jənder) *Jn.*			
	bęndan	**benden**	**bend**	**bend**
	'bind,' 'bend.'			

855	**blęndan**	**†blendenn**	**blend**	**blend**
	‘blind’—forrblendenn ‘blind.’ *conf. w.* blandan ‘mix.’			
	eom	**†amm**	**am**	**æm**
	eam *VP.* eom, am(m) *Du.* eam, (n)æm, *Ru.*—(e)am *Ld.* am *Jul.*, *Lay.*, *North.*, †*GE*, †*RBC*, *Kt*, *Ch.*			
	hęmm	**hem**	**hem**	**hem**
	‡stęmma	**stemmen (?)**	**stem**	**stem**
	‘stop.’			
	stęmn	**stem**	**stem**	**stem**
860	**lęmp(healt)**	**—**	**limp**	**limp**
	recenian	**rekenen**	**reckon**	**reken**
	recon ‘remuneratio’—i *AR.* rekeni *Ay.* rek(e)ne *Ch.*			
	‡leka	**leken**	**leak**	**lijk**
	OE hlec *adj* ‘leaky.’			
	sprecan	**†spekenn**	**speak**	**spijk**
	specan *lWS*, *lK.* spr *ÆfcH* — — (ee) *G.*			
	weoce	**weke**	**wick**	**wik**
	— — *eMn* weeke.			
865	**‡(v)ręk** sn	**wrek**	**wreck**	**rek**
	‘anything driven on shore.’ wræc ‘actuarius’ *Ep.*, *elsewhere* ‘exile.’—*Prompt.* wrak (werk) *Ch.*			
	wrecan	**wreken**	**wreak**	**†rek**
	†cwęce-sand	**—**	**quicksand**	**kwiksænd**
	‘quake-sand’—*cp* quagmire, *ME* quikemire.			
	gecel	**(is)ikel**	**(ic)icle**	**aisikl**
	brecan	**†brekenn**	**break**	**breik**
	— — (ee) *G*, *Pr.* (ii) *Bch*, *Sh.* (brekwæst) *in some counties Jn*; (brekfist) *Bch.* (brekfæst) *Sh*—(brekfest).			
870	**ręccan**	**†reckenn**	**reck(less)**	**rek**
	ręccan, *prt* rohte, *took the place of* *rēcan *in OE*; recceleas *in Cp*—recche *ON.* reche *Best.* †reke *North.* recchen, rekken *Ch.*			
	stręccan	**strecchen**	**stretch**	**stretʃ**
	specca	**spekke**	**speck**	**spek**
	wręcca	**†wrecche**	**wretch**	**retʃ**
	‘exile’—*adj* þæt wrecce stede *Ld.* wricchid, wrecchid *MH.* wrichede *KS.* wriche *TM*—(retʃ) *Ld.*			
	fęccan	**†fecchenn**	**fetch**	**fetʃ**
	prt fętode—†fette *prt Ch.* fetche, foche, †fott *inf TM.*			
875	**hnęcca**	**nekke**	**neck**	**nek**
	— nhicke *Ay.*			
	gemęcca sf	**†macche**	**match**	**mætʃ**
	‘wife’—‘wife.’ meche : reche ‘care’ *Best.* mecche *RBC.* macche *Ch.*			
	blęcþa	**—**	**blight**	**blait**
	‘vitiligo’ *Ep.*			
	feoh	**†fehh, fe**	**fee**	**fij**
	—feoh (feo), fæi *Lay.* feih *AR.*			
	hlęhhan	**†lahhȝhenn**	**laugh**	**laaf**
	hlæhað *VP.* hli(e)hhan *Past.*—lehȝen, lihȝen (lahȝe) *Lay.* lauhwen			

AR. lheȝȝe *Ay.*—(lauh, laf) *Sm.* (lɔɔx, laf) *G.* (læf, lɔɔ) *Jn.* (lɐf) *EO, Sh.* (lææf) *Ld, Bch.*

880 **sex** **†sex(tene)** **six** **siks**

e *Du., Ru.* ie, i *Past.*—e, eo *Ld.* e *North., Best.,* †*RBC.* i *Lay., Jul., Ay., Ch.*

sexta **†sexte** **sixth** **siksþ**

—sexte *North., AllP, GE.* *also* seste. sixte *Ch*—sixte *Td.* (sixt) *G, Bch.* (siksþ) *Sh.*

reht **†rihht** **right** **rait**

e *VP.* y *eWS.* i *lWS*—richt *HVg, Sb.*

***‡þeht** **þiht** **tight** **tait**

OI þĕtt—*also* tight, *by infl. of* tēgan.

***‡sleht** . **sliht** **slight** **slait**

OI slĕtt 'smooth' — — (ai) *Ld.*

885 **feohtan** **†fihhtenn** **fight** **fait**

e *VP, North.*—eo, i *Ld.* ei, i, e *Lay.* e *Jul., AllP, Aud.* i *AR, North., GE, RBC,* †*Ch*—(feit) *Sm.* (fəixt) *G.*

nęht **†nihht** **night** **nait**

e, æ *Ep.* æ *VP, Du.* ie, i *Past.* i *lWS*—*also* nahht *O.* niht *Ld, Lay.* naht *Ps.* †night *CM.* nyȝt, †naȝt *AllP.*

męht sf **†mihht** **might** **mait**

æ, e *eNorth.* æ *VP, Du., Ru.* ie, i *Past.* i *lWS*—*also* a *O.* miȝte *CM.* mught, o *PC.* mæhte (i) *Lay.* mihte *AR.* miȝte *Ay.* maȝt *AllP.* micth : ricth *Hv.* †migt *GE.*

cneht **†cnihht** **knight** **nait**

e *Cp, VP.* eo, io, i *Past.* e, æ *Du., Ru.*—cniht *Ld, Lay, AR.* †knight *North.*—knicht *HVg.* (nhait) *Ld.*

‡ei **†aȝȝ** **ay(e)** **†ai**

'ever.' *OE* ā(wa)—*also* a *O.* a, æ *Lay.* a *AR.* ai, aa : sua, ever and a *CM.* ai *Best.* oo, ai *GE.* ay *Ch*—(ei) *Sm.* (eei, ai, aai) *G.* (æi) *Cp.*

890 **†hęge** **hegge** **hedge** **hedʒ**

also hęcg (?), hęcc — — (edʒ) *Jn.*

†lęcgan **†leggenn** **lay** **lei**

imper. lęge—he leȝȝeþþ, *imper.* leȝȝ *O.* leggen *AR.* lai : ai *CM.* †leye *RBC.* legge : abegge (= bycgan) *Ch*—(lai, lee) *G.*

‡þeir **†þeȝȝ** **they** **ðei**

OE hie, þā—*also* þa *O.* thai *North.* þay *AllP.* thai *Aud.* they *PPl, Ch*—ddey, ddei *HVg.* (ei, eei, ai, aai, e) *G.* (æi) *Pr.* (ce) *Ld.*

†sęcgan **†seggenn** **say** **sei**

imper. sęge—seggon, sægen, sæin, sei *inf Ld.* *imper.* seȝȝ *O.* siggen (e) *AR.* seggen, siggen, suggen *Lay.* zigge *Ay.* sai *North.* seye †*RBC, Ch*—say, sae, se *HVg.* (sai, saai, se) *G.*

sęgeþ **seȝȝþ** **saith, says** **sez, †seþ**

— — (sez) *Cp.*

895 **weg** **†weȝȝ(e)** **way** **wei**

—wai *North.*—away, awae *HVg.* waye *Td.* (wai, waai, wee) *G.*

wei-la-wei **weilen** **wail** **weil**

Boeth. wellawell *Æfc gr.* *generally* walawa.

‡nei **†naȝȝ** **nay** **†nei**

—nai, næi *Lay.* nai *AR, North.* nay *Ch*—(nai) *Sm.*

‡dǫ̈yja **†deȝenn** **die** **dai**

—de(i)ȝen (deie) *Lay.* dei(ȝ)en *AR.* deghe : sleghe *adj*, dighe *CM.* die : lie *vb MH.* deye : felonye, deye : weye *RBC.* de : he, dy : I *TM.* deȝe *Harl.* dyȝe : yȝe *AllP.* dy : ryȝtwysly *Aud.* deien *PPl.* die *Wicl.* dye : Emelye, deye : weye *Ch*—(dei) *Sm.*

plegian **pleien** **play** **plei**

plega *sb.* æ *Cp, Du.* a *Cp, Ru.*—pleien *AR.* †play, †plawes *North.* †plage *GE.* †plawen, †pleien *Hv.* †plei *Ch.*

900 **leger** **leir** **lair** **leer**

‡þeira **†þeȝȝre** **their** **ðeer**

OE hi(o)ra—þair *North.* here *Ch*—theirs *Td.* (eei) *G.* (ee) *Jn.* (ee, ææ) *Ld.*

ęglan **†teȝȝlenn** **ail** **eil**

‡heil adj **†heȝȝlenn** **hail** **heil**

—'greet.' hal (ai) beo þu ! hail wurþ þu ! hæ(i)l (hol), hailen *vb Lay.* heil 'sanus' *Prompt.* hayle ! heyle ! *Wicl.* hayl ! *Ch.*

seg(e)l **seil** **sail** **seil**

— — (ai) *G.*

905 **snegl** **sneil** **snail** **sneil**

‡reisa **†treȝȝsenn** **raise** **reiz**

‡trǫ̈ysta **tristen** **trust** **trast**

trǫust *sn*, trǫ̈ust *adj*—(tristen, e) *Lay.* u *Jul.* truste : wuste *prt RGl.* trosti *Ay.* traiste : Crist *CM.* triste *sb* : Criste *MH.* triste *prt*, traist *adj* : frayst *vb RBC.* trast : hast, tryst : wyst *prt*, u *TM.* u *Aud.* u, (i) *PPl.* tristen, o *vb*, trist, o *sb Wicl.* truste : ruste, triste : wiste, (e) *Ch*—trysti *adj HVg.* (y) *Sb.*

regen **†treȝȝn** **rain** **rein**

—rein *AR.* ren *Ay.*—reyne, ay *Td.* (rain) *G.*

gelegen ptc **†leȝenn** **lain** **lein**

—ileien *AR*—(*ee*) *Cp*—(leid) *vg.*

910 **þegen** **þein** **thane** **†þein**

‡svein **swain** **swain** **†swein**

OE swān 'herdsman'—swein 'soldier' *Ld.* ai, ei *Lay.* swayn *Ch.*

blegen(e) sf **blein(e)** **(chill)blain** **blein**

‡eimyrja sf **eimeri** **embers** **embez**

OE ǣmyrian *pl*—*Prompt.* *also* eimbre *Prompt.*

‡þeim **†þeȝȝm** **them** **ðem**

him *OE*; *late* heom—hem *Ch*—(ðem) *G.* (em) 'em *Jn*—*weak* (ðəm), (əın).

915 **‡steik sf** **steike** **steak** **steik**

—*Prompt.*—(ee) *Sm.*

‡veik **weik** **weak** **wijk**

OE wāc—wac *O, Lay.* o *AR.* wa(y)k *North.* wook, wac : Isaac *G* wayke : layke *vb Hv.* wake : forsake *TM.* wayk, ey *Ch*—(ee) *G.*

‡sveigja **sweien** **sway** **swei**

'bend.'

‡beita sf **beite** **bait** **beit**

‡beita **†beȝȝtenn** **bait** **beit**

'graze,' 'hunt'—'punish.' baiten 'feed' *Ch.*

920	**lęgde prt**	**†leȝȝd ptc**	**laid**	**leid**
	lę̄de *WS*—læide, le(a)ide *Lay.* ei *AR.* laid *North.* †layde *Ch*—(ai) *G.*			
	bregdan	**breiden**	**braid**	**breid**
	ęcg	**†egge**	**edge**	**edʒ**
	‡ęgg sn	**egge**	**egg**	**eg**
	OE ǣg—ey *Wicl., Ch.* ey, egge *Prompt.*			
	‡lęgg	**leg**	**leg**	**leg**
	—sconcen (legges) *Lay.*			
925	**sęcg**	**seg′ge)**	**sedge**	**sedʒ**
	slęcg	**slegge**	**sledge(hammer)**	**sledʒ**
	węcg sm	**wegge**	**wedge**	**wedʒ**
	—wigge, e *Prompt.*			
	‡dręgg sf	**dregges pl**	**dregs**	**dregz**
	etan	**†etenn**	**eat**	**ijt**
	— — (ee) *G.*			
930	**setl**	**setel**	**settle**	**setl**
	fe(o)tor	**feter**	**fetter**	**feter**
	fretan	**freten**	**fret**	**fret**
	‘devour.’			
	nętele	**netle**	**nettle**	**netl**
	męte	**†mĕte**	**meat**	**mijt**
	— — (ee) *W.*			
935	**metan**	**meten**	**mete**	**†mijt**
	cętel	**chetel**	**kettle**	**ketl**
	—chetil, k *Prompt.* *OI* kętil—*rg* (kitl).			
	get	**†ȝét**	**yet**	**jet**
	e *VP, Du, Ru.* ie, i, y *WS*—get, iett, gæt *Ld.* ȝet (i) *Lay.* ȝet *AR, AllP, Aud.* †get *GE.* yet *Ay.* giet (yeit), giete : itte *CM.* †yhitte *PC.* ȝitt, †yete *MH.* ȝit *Wicl.* ȝut, ȝit *PPl.* yit *TM*—(i, e) *Sm.* (jət) *Mg.* (it) *Jn.*			
	(be)getan	**†biȝetenn**	**get**	**get**
	e, eo *VP, Du., Ru.* ie, i *e WS.* y *l WS*—beieton, bigætan *Ld.* gette *North.* biȝe(o)ten *Lay.*—(gjet) *W.* (git) *Cp*—*rg* (git).			
	be-geten ptc	**†biȝetenn**	**begotten**	**bigotn**
	—biȝeten *Lay.* beyete *Ay.* bygoten *Wicl.*			
940	**teter**	**teter**	**tetter**	**teter**
	bętera	**†bettre**	**better**	**beter**
	lęttan	**†lettenn**	**let**	**†let**
	‘binder.’			
	sęttan	**†settenn**	**set**	**set**
	hwęttan	**whetten**	**whet**	**whet**
945	**nętt**	**†nett**	**net**	**net**
	bętst	**†bettst**	**best**	**best**
	stęde	**†stĕde**	**stead**	**sted**
	also styde *Du., Ru.*—stude *Jul.* stud *AllP.* †stede, stide *North.* i, e *Ch*—(insteed) *G.* (ii) *Jn.* (e) *Mg.* (instiid) *Bch.* (insted) *Sh.*			

	†stæþþig	**†stidig**	**steady**	**stedi**
	—stæþeli *Lay.* *infl. of* stedefast 'firm in one's place.' *see* stęde.			
	weder	**weder**	**weather**	**weðer**
	— — e *Ck.*			
950	**medu**	**mede**	**mead**	**mijd**
	—meeth : heeth (= hǣþ), (mede) *Ch*; *OI* mjǫþ.			
	cnedan	**cneden**	**knead**	**nijd**
	— — (nheed) *Cp.*			
	tredan	**†tredenn**	**tread**	**tred**
	gebed sn	**†bĕde**	**bead**	**bijd**
	'prayer.'			
	bedecian	**beggen**	**beg**	**beg**
955	**hręddan**	**†reddenn**	**rid**	**rid**
	'rescue'—arude *imper. Jul.* *OI* ryþja 'clear away.'			
	wędd	**†weddenn vb**	**wed**	**wed**
	'agreement.'			
	będd	**†bedd**	**bed**	**bed**
	reopan	**repen**	**reap**	**rijp**
	VP. ripan *WS.*			
	stęppan	**steppen**	**step**	**step**
960	**ębba**	**ebbe**	**ebb**	**eb**
	wębb	**web**	**web**	**web**
	nębb	**neb**	**nib**	**nib**
	'beak' — — (neb) 'rostrum' *Sm.* nib *quite mod.*			

u.

	duru	**dure**	**door**	**dor**
	duru, dor *Du.*—dure, o *Lay., North.* u *GE, Ay.* o *Wicl., Ch*—(uu) *Sm.* (oo, uu) *G.* (duuer) *sometimes Jn.* (door) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*			
	furþor	**†forrþerr**	**further** **farther**	**feeðer** **faaðer**
	—forðor *Du.*; *anal. of* fore—furðer *Lay., AR.* forther *North.* ferther, o *Ch*; farther *TM*; *anal. of* feorr—(furðer, furder, farðer) *G.* (fərder) *Cp.* (fərdir, færdir) *Bch.* (fərðor, fæərðer) *Sh*—(feedər) *vg.*			
965	**curs**	**†currsenn**	**curse**	**kees**
	— — coursse *vb Td.* (u) *G.*			
	†dorste	**durrste**	**durst**	**deest**
	durran *inf*—durste *Ld.* u (o) *Lay.* u †*North., GE,* †*TM.* dyrste, i *RBC.* o (u) *Ch.* u *by infl. of* durran.			
	turf	**turf**	**turf**	**teef**
	—*also* torf.			
	scurf	**scurf**	**scurf**	**skeef**
	also scruf—*also* scorf, scrof.			
	urnen ptc	**urnen**	**run**	**ran**
	gerunnen 'coagulated'—runnen : sunne *AllP.* yronne : sonne *Ch.*			

970	**spurnan**	**spurnen**	**spurn**	**spəən**
	u, o *WS*—*also* o.			
	murnan	**murnen**	**mourn**	**mɔn**
	—u *AR*, †*North.* u, (o) *Lay.* o *Wicl.* oo (ou), morne : borne (= burne) *Ch.* ow *TM*—mo(u)rne *Td.* (uu) *Bll.* (uu) *W etc.* (ʌ) *Jn.* (oo) *Ld.*			
	turnian	**†turrnenn**	**turn**	**təən**
	also tyrnan—*also* ou, o, i, e.			
	þurh	**†þurrh**	**through** **thorough**	**þruw** **þarə**
	þur(h) *WS.* o *VP.* e, o *Du.* u *Ru.*—þur(h), þurhe (*prp*) *Ld.* þurh, o *Lay.* þurȝ (thoru) *CM.* þurȝ, þrych *AllP.* þorw(e) *PPl.* throȝ, thorȝ *Aud.* thrugh *TM*—thorow *prp Td.* thrwch *prp Sb.* (þrux) *G.* (þruuh) *Bll.* (þuro) *aut* (þroux) *adv G.* (þroo) *prp Jn.*			
	furh sf	**furh**	**furrow**	**farou**
	—*also* furwe, for(w)e.			
975	**bur(u)g sf**	**†burrh**	**borough**	**barə**
	—burrȝhess *pl O.* buruh (burh) *AR.*			
	turtle	**†turrtle**	**turtle(dove)**	**təətl**
	‡buli	**†bule**	**bull**	**bul**
	ODan.; *OI* boli. — — (u) *Mg, Jn, Ld.*			
	wull(e) sf	**†wulle**	**wool**	**wul**
	— — woll *Td.* (wʌl) *Pr.* (wul) *Cp.* (wʌl), *better* (ul) *Jn.*			
	full	**†full**	**full**	**ful**
	— — ffwl *HVg.* (*u*) *Cp, Ld, Bch, Sh.* (fʌlsəm) fulsome *Bch, Sh.*			
980	**fullere**	**fullere**	**fuller**	**fulər**
	pullian	**pullen**	**pull**	**pul**
	— — (*u*) *Cp, Ld.*			
	bulluc	**bullok**	**bullock**	**bulək**
	Scint.—*also* bulluk.			
	wulf	**wulf**	**wolf**	**wulf**
	—w(u)lf, (o) *Lay.*—(u, ʌ) *Cp.* (ulf) *Jn.* (wuulf) *EO, Bch.* (ʌ) *Ld.* (u) *Sh.*			
	hulc	**hulke**	**hulk**	**halk**
	'cottage,' 'ship'—*Prompt.*			
985	**culter**	**culter**	**co(u)lter**	**koultər**
	—*also* o—(ou) *Cp.* (kəultər) *Bch.* (koultər) *Sh.*			
	‡bulki	**bolke**	**bulk**	**balk**
	'ship's cargo'—*Prompt.*			
	sculdor sf(?)	**†shulldre**	**shoulder**	**ʃouldər**
	pl sculdru -a, gescyldru—sculdre (soldre) *Lay.* ssoldren *RGl.* schylderes, schulder *AllP.* shulder, o *Ch.* u *TM*—(ou) *Cp.* (oo) *Ld.* (əu) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	þus	**†þuss**	**thus**	**ðas**
	muscle	**muscle**	**mussel**	**masl**
990	**tusc**	**tusc**	**tusk**	**task**
	tuxas *pl lWS*—tosch *Prompt.* *also* tusch.			
	rust	**rust**	**rust**	**rast**
	ŭ, *by anal. of* dŭst (?)—*also* roust.			

	lust	†lusst	lust listless	last listlis
	lystan *vb*—u *AR*. i *Lay*., *GE*. o *Ay*. ou *Aud*. u, †i *Ch*, *TM*. i *from* lystan.			
	must	must	must	mast
	‘new wine’—u (o) *Lay*.			
	‡gust	—	gust	gast
995	‡bustla	bustelen	bustle	basl
	lufian	†lufenn	love	lav
	lufu	†lufe		
	— — lyf *sb* *HVg*. loov *Ck*. (uu) *Sm*. (u) *G*.			
	on-bufan	abuven	above	ebav
	cuffie	cuffe	cuff	kaf
	charter—*also* o.			
	suncen ptc	sunken	sunk	saŋk
1000	scruncen ptc	shrunken	shrunk	ʃraŋk
	druncen ptc	†drunnkenn	drunk(en)	draŋk(en)
	druncnian	†drunnknenn	drown	draun
	—drunknen *Wicl*. drowne : towne *TM*.			
	hungor	†hunngerr	hunger	haŋger
	— — honger, anhoungred *Td*.			
	hrung	rong	rung	raŋ
1005	lungen sf	lunge	lung	laŋ
	sungen ptc	†sungenn	sung	saŋ
	‡slunginn ptc	slungen	slung	slaŋ
	swungen ptc	swungen	swung	swaŋ
	stungen ptc	†stungenn	stung	staŋ
1010	sprungen ptc	†sprungenn	sprung	spraŋ
	wrungen ptc	wrungen	wrung	raŋ
	clungen ptc	†clungenn	clung	klaŋ
	tunge	†tunge	tongue	taŋ
	— — tonge *Td*.			
	dung	dung(e)	dung	daŋ
1015	hunig	†hunig	honey	hani
	— — (huni) *G*. (o) *Bch*. (v) *Sh*.			
	þunor	þunder	thunder	þander
	—thoner *Ps*, *TM*. ðunder *GE*.			
	sunu	†sune	son	san
	— — synn *HVg*. (u) *Sm*, *G*. (o) *Bll*.			
	scunian	†shunenn	shun	ʃan
	—scunien, sceoníen (sonien) *Lay*. schones *Ps*.			
	stunian	stunien	stun	stan
	—*also* ou, o.			
1020	gewunod ptc	iwuned	wont	†wount
	— — (wunt) *G*. (o) *Bch*. (u) *Sh*.			

	munuc	mun(e)k	monk	maŋk
	sunne	†sunne	sun	san
	— — synn *HVg.*			
	spunnen ptc	spunnen	spun	span
	gewunnen ptc	iwunnen	won	wan
	— — (u) *Sm.* (o) *Bch, Sh.*			
1025	nunne	nunne	nun	nan
	cunnan	†cunnenn	cunning	kaniŋ
	— ,— kwning *HVg.*			
	be-gunnen ptc	†bigunnenn	begun	bigan
	tunne	tunne	tun	tan
	dunn	dun	dun	dan
1030	huntian	huntien	hunt	hant
	stunt	†stunnt	stunted	stantid
	‘stupid.’ styntan ‘blunt, stupify.’			
	punt	—	punt	pant
	under	†unnderr	under	ander
	hund	†hund	hound	haund
1035	hundred	†hunndredd	hundred	handred
	hund *WS*—houndred (u), hund *Lay.* hundret *Jul.* hundret(h) *North.* —(hʋnderd) *Cp etc.*			
	sund	sund	sound	saund
	‘swimming.’			
	gesund adj	†sund	sound	saund
	sundor	sunder	sunder	sander
	wund sf	†wunde	wound	wuwnd
	—w(u)nde (wonde) *Lay.* o *North., Ay.* ou *Ch*—(ou) *Sm.* (uu) *G.* (au) *Ld.* (eu) *Bu.* (uu) *Sh.*			
1040	wundor	†wunnderr	wonder	wander
	— — (*u*, *ʋ*) *Cp.*			
	wunden ptc	†wundenn	wound	waund
	funden ptc	†fundenn	found	faund
	grund	†grund	ground	graund
	—grunndwall *O.*—(ou) *G.*			
	grunden ptc	grunden	ground	graund
1045	pund	pund	pound	paund
	bunden ptc	†bundenn	bound	baund
	sum	†summ	some	sam
	— — = *ME pl.* synn (*for* sym) *HVg.*			
	sumor	sumer	summer	samer
	†sluma sm	slumeren	slumber	slambər
1050	genumen ptc	†numenn	numb	nam
	‘taken.’			
	cuman	†cumenn	come	kam
	prt cōm—cōme *sbst O.* cumm *inf Ld.* to com, cume : dōm *MH.* come : dōme *TM.* *OI sbst* kvāma—(u) *G.*			

	†cȳmlic	cumelich	comely	kamli
	—comli *Prompt.*—(kumli) *G.*			
	cruma	†crumme	crumb	kram
	swummen ptc	swummen	swum	swam
1055	crump adj	crumplen	crumple	krampl
	tumbian	tumb(l)en	tumble	tambl
	'dance.'			
	dumb	†dumb	dumb	dam
	—dom : bughsom *PC.* doumb (o) *Ch*—domm(e) *Td.* domb *Ck.*			
	pluccian	pluccien	pluck	plak
	bucca	†bucc	buck	bak
	'hegoat'—*generally* bucke.			
1060	†dyhtig	†duhhtiȝ	doughty	†dauti
	—duhti (o) *Lay.* dohty *Ch.* o, ou *TM.* *anal. of* duȝan *infin. and* dohte *prt of* dēah 'avails'—(dooti) *Jn.*			
	sugu	suwe	sow	sau
	—suwe *AR.* zoȝe *Ay.* sowe *Ch.*			
	fugol	fuȝel	fowl	faul
	'bird'—fuȝel, foȝel (fowel) *Lay.* foghel *PC.* voȝel *Ay.* fowel, foul *Ch.* fogl, u *OI*—(foul) *Sm.*			
	cugle	kuvele	cowl	kaul
	—cule (kovele) *Lay.* cowle *Prompt.*			
	‡ugglig	ugli	ugly	agli
	'fearful.'			
1065	mucg-wyrt	mugwurt	mugwort	magweet
	hnutu	nute	nut	nat
	—nhote *Ay.* u *AR, North., GE.* o *Prompt.*			
	butere	but(t)ere	butter	bater
	gutt	gut	gut	gat
	buttuc	buttok	buttock	batek
	on þa buttucas *boundary in chart.*			
1070	rudig	rudi	ruddy	radi
	wudu	wude	wood	wud
	—wo(o)de *Ch*—woode *Td.* (ʌ) *Pr.* (u) *Cp.* (wʌd), *better* (ud) *Jn.*			
	†cudele	—	cuttle(fish)	katlfiʃ
	— — *Dutch* kuttelvisch.			
	uppan prp	†upponn	upon	epon
	ūp on 'up on'—uppon, uppen, up (uppe) *Lay.* ope *Ay.* apon : Johan *CM.* upon, opon *Harl.*			
	cuppe	†cuppe	cup	kap
	u, o—u *Ld.* o, †u *Ch*—(kʌbert) *Ld*; (kʌpboord) *Bch*; (kʌberd) *Sh* cupboard—(kabed).			

y.

1075	þyrelian	þirlen	thrill	þril
	'pierce.'			

styrian **†stirenn** **stir** **steer**

wyrrest spl **†werrst** **worst** **weest**

y, ie, i *Past.* y *Anglian.* e *lKt*—wur(e)st *Jul.* worst *Ay.*, *Wicl.* werst *Ch.* *OI* vẹrst—(u) *G.* (uu, v) *EO.* (oo) *Bch.* (v) *Sh.*

byrþen sf **birþen** **burden** **beedn**

—u *Lay.*, *AR.* u, i, e *Wicl.* burden *GE*, *Ch.* birden *Best.*—burthen, d *Td.* (burdn) *Bll.* (bvrðen) *Pr.* (bvrden) *Jn.*

myrþran **†mirrþrenn** **murder** **meeder**

—murðren *Lay.* mordren (oe, morþeren) *Ch.* murder, o *TM*—murtherere *Td.* (murðer, murder) *G.* (d) *Ld.*

1080 **wyrsa cp** **†werr(s)e** **worse** **wees**

i, ie, y *Past.* y *VP*, *Or.*, *Du.*, *Ru.* y *lWS*—uuerse, wærse *Ld.* wers *North.* w(u)rse (o) *Lay.* o *Ay.* e *Ch.* *OI* vẹrri—(wurs) *G.*

fyrs sm **firse** **furze** **feez**

—*Wicl.* fyrris *Prompt.*

þyrstan **†þirrstenn** **thirst** **þeest**

þurst *sb*—þirrst, þrisst *sb O.* þurst (o) *sb Lay.* þursten *AR.* þristen †*North.*, †*Best.*, *Wicl.* thrysten, thrusty *adj TM.* þurst *sb Ch.*

fyrsta **†firrste** **first** **feest**

— fryst *North.* fyrst : brist *vb* : thrist *TM.* furst, forst *Aud.* verst *Ay.* first (e) *Ch.*

†byrst sf **bristel** **bristle** **brisl**

—brustles (i, y, e) *Ch.*

1085 **hyrnetu** **—** **hornet** **honit**

— — *anal. of* horn.

cyrnel **kirnel** **kernel** **keenl**

—*also* u, e.

wyrm **†wurrm** **worm** **weem**

—o *North.*, *AllP*, *TM*, *Ch.* u *Lay.*, *AR.* i *Best.* wirm, wrim *GE*—(uu) *Bll.* (u) *G.* (uu, v) *EO.* (v) *Bch*, *Sh.*

‡yrkja **irken** **irk** **eek**

'work.'

wyrcan **†wirrkenn** **work** **week**

i, y *VP.* y, i *Du.*, *Ru.* weorc *sb*—wircen *Ld.* †wirk *North.* werken *GE.* w(u)rchen (e, i) *Lay.* worchen *AllP*, *Wicl.* werchen *Ay.* wirche : chirche (e), werken (worchen) *Ch.* *infl. of* weorc.

1090 **myrce** **mirk(e)** **mirky (u)** **meeki**

—*also* e. k *from Scand.* myrk.

wyrhta **†wrihhte** **wright** **rait**

—wurhte (wrohte) *Lay.* wurhte (wruhte) *AR.* wrighte *Ch*—wricht *HVg.*

fyrhto **friht** **fright** **frait**

fryhte *Rit.*—offruht *adj Jul.* frigt *GE.*

wyrgan **wirwen** **worry** **wari**

'strangle'—awurien *AR.* wirwin, worowen *Prompt.*—(u) *EO.* (v) *Bch*, *Sh.*

myrg **mirie** **merry** **meri**

myrgnis *Cp*—myry *North.*, *AllP.* miri : biri (= byrig) *GE.* myry, e *Aud.* murie (i) *Lay.* merye : berye, murie : Mercurie, myrie : pyrie (= pear-tree) *Ch.* mery *TM.*

1095	**myrgþ sf**	**mirhþe**	**mirth**	**meeþ**
	—mur(h)ðe *Lay.* myrþe *AllP.* myrth *TM.* myrthe (u, e) *Ch*—(e, i) *G.*			
	be-byrgan	**†birrȝenn**	**bury**	**beri**
	—burien *Lay.* birien *GE.* biryen, burien *Wicl.* u *Ch.* e *Ay.*, *Aud.*—burie *Td.* (y) *Sb.*			
	byrgels	**birieles**	**burial**	**beriel**
	—biri(g)ele(s) *GE.* biriel, buriel *Wicl.* buriels *Ch.* berieles *Ay.*			
	‡skyrta sf	**schirte**	**shirt**	**ʃeet**
	—scurte (seorte) *Lay.* i, e *Wicl.* i *Prompt.* †e *Ch.*			
	wyrt sf	**wurte**	**wort**	**weet**
	'herb'—wurte, o 'wort.' wurt, o, i, e 'herb.'			
1100	**cyrtel**	**†kirrtell**	**kirtle**	**†keetl**
	—u *Lay.* e *Ay.* i *Ch.*			
	hyrdel	**hirdel**	**hurdle**	**heedl**
	—*also* u, e.			
	wyrd sf	**wirde**	**weird adj**	**wied**
	'fate'—*also* u, e. werdes, ie *Ch.*			
	gyrdel(s)	**†girrdell**	**girdle**	**geedl**
	—*also* u, e—gerdell, gyrdle *Td.*			
	gebyrd	**†birde**	**birth**	**beeþ**
	—burde (ð) *AR.* †birþe *North.* birðe *GE.* burth, y *Aud.* burthe *Ch.* *also* e.			
1105	**mylen sf**	**milne**	**mill**	**mil**
	—mulne *AR.* milne *Wicl.*, *TM.* melle *Ay.* †melle, i *Ch*—(milnər) Milner.			
	cylen sf	**kilne**	**kiln**	**kiln**
	—*also* u—(kil) *Ld.*			
	pyle	**pilwe**	**pillow**	**pilou**
	hyll	**†hill**	**hill**	**hil**
	syll sf	**sille**	**sill**	**sil**
	—*also* u. e *Ch.*			
1110	**fyllan**	**†fillenn**	**fill**	**fil**
	cnyllan	**cnullen**	**knell**	**nel**
	—*also* y, i, e.			
	‡bylgja	—	**billow**	**†bilou**
	gylt	**†gillt**	**guilt**	**gilt**
	— — (gwilt) *Jn.*			
	gyldan	**†gildenn**	**gild**	**gild**
1115	**byldan**	**bilden**	**build**	**bild**
	bylda *sm* *Grein*—u, uy (i, ee) *Ch.* ey *TM*—byltt *prt* *Td.* ij *Ck.* (yy, ii, i, ei) *G.* (i) *Cp.* (iu) *Jn.*			
	dysig	**disi**	**dizzy**	**dizi**
	'foolish'—*also* u, e.			
	bysig	**bisi**	**busy**	**bizi**
	—*also* u. bisy (e) *Ch*—busy *Td.* busi *Sb.* (biznes) *G.* (bisi, bisnes) *Ld.*			
	cyssan	**kissen**	**kiss**	**kis**
	sb coss.			

	hlysnan	listnen	listen	lisn
	— — (lisn) *Jn, Ld, Bch, Sk.*			
1120	þrysce	þrusche	thrush	þraʃ
	—*also* ui.			
	blyscan	bluschen	blush	blaʃ
	‘rutilare’ *Aldhgl.*—u *Ch.* *also* i—(u) *Sm, G.*			
	gelystan	†lisstenn	list	†list
	‘desire’—†e, †i, u *Ch.*			
	hlystan	†lisstenn	list	†list
	‘listen.’			
	clyster	cluster	cluster	klaster
	—*also* o.			
1125	yfel	†ifell	evil	ijvl
	—uvel (hevele) *Lay.* iuil (il) *CM.* i *GE, Wicl.* e *Kt, AllP, Aud.* e *Ch*—yvell, evyll *Td.* (iivl) *G.* (iivil) *Bt.*			
	lyft	left	left	left
	left ‘inanis’ *MoGl.* lyftädl ‘paralysis’—u, eo, i *Lay.* e *Ay.*, †*CM*, †*RBC, Ch*—lyfte *Td.*			
	‡lyfta	†lefftenn	lift	lift
	—e, i *CM.* lyfte : thryfte *TM.*			
	geclyfte	clift	cleft	kleft
	‘sectilem’ *Bogl.*—i *Ch.* u *Prompt.*			
	ynce	inche	inch	inʃ
	—*also* u, e—e *Td.*			
1130	þyncan	†þinnkenn	think	þiŋk
	‘seem.’ þẹncan ‘think’—‘think’ *expr. by* þennkenn *O.*; þenken †*RBC, Wicl.*; þenchen *AR, Kt*; he þengþ *Ay.* ‘seem’ *expr. by* þinnkenn *O., GE*; þunchen *AR*; þunchen, i *Lay.*; þingken, me þingþ *Kt.* þinc ‘think,’ ‘seem’ *CM.* †thenchen, thenken, †bithynken ‘think, think of;’ thinken (e) ‘seem’ *Ch.*			
	lynes	lins	linch(pin)	linʃ
	myne	menow	minnow	minou
	mynet	mint	mint	mint
	‘coin’—*also* munet, menet.			
	cyning	†king	king	kiŋ
	cyning, cyng *from beginning, the latter the unemphatic form*—kyng, king *Ld.* king *Lay., AR, Kt*—i *HVg, Sb.*			
1135	dyne	dine	din	din
	*bryne-stān	brimston	brimstone	†brimsten
	‘burning-stone’—*also* u, e.			
	þynne	þinne	thin	þin
	—i, †e *Ch*—thynn *Sb.*			
	synn sf	†sinne	sin	sin
	— — y *HVg, Sb.*			
	cynn	†(mann)kinn	kin	†kin
	—mankinde *by anal. of* gecynd.			
1140	mynster sn	†minnstre	minster	†minster

	styntan	**†stinntenn**	**stint**	**stint**
	‘blunt,’ ‘stupify.’			
	dynt	**†dinnt**	**dint**	**dint**
	‘stroke’—†e *Ch.*			
	gemynd sfn	**†minde**	**mind**	**maind**
	gecynd sf	**†kinde**	**kind**	**kaind**
	gecynde adj	**kinde**	**kind**	**kaind**
	‘natural.’			
1145	**tynder**	**tinder**	**tinder**	**tinder**
	—i *Lay.* u †*Best.*, *Prompt.*; *OI* tundr. tendrin ‘burn’ *intr Jul.*; *anal. of* ontęndan—(v) *barbare Cp.*			
	tryndel	**trendlen** vb	**trundle**	**trandl**
	also e, æ—(trenl) *Jn.*			
	byndelle	**bundel**	**bundle**	**bandl**
	—*Prompt.*, *Wicl.*; *anal. of* gebunden.			
	hymlic	**humlok**	**hemlock**	**hemlok**
	hymblicæ ‘cicuta’ *Ep.*, hymlice *Cp.* y, e *Leechd.*—humlock *Prompt.* *also* hemeluc.			
	trymman	**trumen**	**trim**	**trim**
	‘confirm.’ *prt* trymede—*early and rare.*			
1150	**brymme** sm	**brimme**	**brim**	**brim**
	In lWS confused with brim ‘ocean,’ *which was orig. neut.*			
	‡**myk** sf	**muk**	**muck**	**mak**
	cycene	**kichene**	**kitchen**	**kitʃin**
	—cuchene *Lay.* u *AR.* e *Ay.*			
	bryce	**breche**	**breach**	**briijtʃ**
	—u *AR.* *also* i. e *Kt, or infl. of* brecan.			
	crycc sf (?)	**crucche**	**crutch**	**kratʃ**
1155	**fyxen** sf	**fixene**	**vixen**	**viksn**
	fixenhȳd *Leechd.*			
	flyht sm	**fliht**	**flight**	**flait**
	‘flying’—vluht *AR.*			
	flyht sm	**†flihht**	**flight**	**flait**
	‘fleeing’—fluht *AR.*			
	ryge	**rie**	**rye**	**rai**
	—*also* ruȝe. reȝe : prey *vb* (rie) *Ch.*			
	hrycg	**rig**	**ridge**	**ridʒ**
	—rug (rugge) *Lay.* rig : big *adj Hv.* reg *Ay.*			
1160	**mycg**	**migge**	**midge**	**midʒ**
	brycg sf	**brigge**	**bridge**	**bridʒ**
	—brugge *Lay.* brigge : Cantebrigge, bregge : collegge *Ch*—(bredʒ) *Sm.* (i) *G.* (e) *Jn.*			
	scytel	**schitel**	**shuttle**	**ʃatl**
	—*also* e.			
	scyttan	**schetten**	**shut**	**ʃat**
	—e *Ay.*, †*Ch.* *often* u. *rarely* i—schit *Ck.*			

	cnyttan	**knitten**	**knit**	**nit**
1165	**grytt**	**grutten adj**	**grit**	**grit**
	'coarse meal'—gruttene bread *AR*.			
	pytt	**pit**	**pit**	**pit**
	—*also* u, e.			
	‡flytja	**†flittenn**	**flit**	**flit**
	dyde	**†dide**	**did**	**did**
	—dude (e) *Lay*. e *Kt*. i (e) *Ch*—(ded) *barbare Cp*.			
	scydd sf (?)	**schudde**	**shed**	**ʃed**
	Hudelingscydd *chart*.—*Prompt*.			
1170	**hype**	**hipe**	**hip**	**hip**
	crypel	**cripel**	**cripple**	**kripl**
	—*also* u, e.			
	cū-slyppe	**cusloppe**	**cowslip**	**kauslip**
	clyppan	**clippen**	**clip**	**klip**
	'embrace.'			
	dyppan	**†dippenn**	**dip**	**dip**
	deppetende (=œ) *Cp*. depu *vel* dyppe *Ru*. dyp(p)an *lWS*—*also* u, e. —depe *Td*.			
1175	**†stybb**	**stuble**	**stubble**	**stabl**
	'stump'—stobul, stubbil *Prompt*. stubbe *ON*.			

O.

	for-loren	**forloren**	**forlorn**	**fəlɔn**
	— — (forlorn) *G*. (oo) *Ld*.			
	sworen ptc	**sworen**	**sworn**	**swɔn**
	— — (swoorn) *G*. (suurn) *Cp*. (soorn) *Jn*. (soorn, swoorn) *Ld*.			
	scoru	**sc(h)ore**	**score**	**skɔə**
	landscoru *chart*.—schore *Ch*.			
	scoren ptc	**†shorenn**	**shorn**	**ʃɔn**
	— — (uu) *EO*. (oo) *Ld*. (o) *Bch*. (ɔɔ) *Sh*.			
1180	**spora**	**spure**	**spur**	**spəə**
	o, u *Wgl*.—spure (o) *Lay*. spure : dure *ON*. o *Ch*, *Prompt*.			
	woruld sf	**†we(o)relld**	**world**	**wəəld**
	eo *VP*, *Ru*. eo, o *WS*. o *Du*.—weor(e)ld (worl-) *Lay*. †werd, warld *North*. wer(l)d *GE*. †werd *RBC*. warld *TM*. werd, wor(l)d : lord *Aud*. werde *Prompt*. world, wordle *Kt*—(world) *G*. (wərld) *Pr*. (wərli) 'worldly' *Jn*. (uu, ə) *EO*. (ə) *Bch*, *Sh*.			
	for	**†forr**	**for**	**fɔə**
	— — (for) *G*. (forget) *etc G*.			
	beforan	**†biforenn**	**before**	**bifɔə**
	—*also* biforr þatt *O*.—(bifoor) *G*. (foor) fore *Bt*. (foortel) foretell *G*. (foorward) *Bll*. (forerd) forward *Jn*—(fored) forward *vg*.			
	†froren ptc	**froren**	**frozen**	**frouzn**
	†— *infl of* frēosan.			
1185	**†gecoren**	**†chosenn**	**chosen**	**tʃouzn**
	— *infl. of* cēosan.			

	gor sn	**gore**	**gore**	**goer**
	'dung.'			
	toren ptc	**toren**	**torn**	**tɔn**
	— — toorn *Ck.* (tuurn) *EO.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Ld, Sh.*			
	boren ptc	**†borenn**	**born(e)**	**bɔn**
	— — (oo) 'natus,' (o) 'allatus' *Bll.* (o) *G* (*without distinguishing* 'borne'). (uu) 'bajulatus' *Cp.* (oo) 'porté' *Mg.* (o) 'parturitus' *Cp.* (ɔɔ) 'né' *Mg.* (ɔɔ) 'natus,' (oo) 'latus' *Ld.* (uu) *EO*; (oo) *Sh* borne. (o) *Bch*; (ɔɔ) *Sh* born.			
	borian	**borien**	**bore**	**bor**
1190	**forþ**	**†forrþ**	**forth**	**fɔþ**
	— — (fuurþ) *G, Cp, EO.* (oo) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*			
	geforþian	**iforþien**	**afford**	**efɔd**
	'forward'—'perform.' *later* aforþen 'provide'—(afuurd) *Bt.*			
	norþ	**†norrþ**	**north**	**nɔþ**
	morþor sn	**morþer**	**murder**	**meeder**
	morþ *in WS prose.* myrþran *vb*—morð (morþre) *Lay.* murther *North.* murthyr, morther *Aud.* u *from* myrþran.			
	hors	**†horrs**	**horse**	**hɔs**
	— — (o) *Sm.*			
1195	**gorst**	**gorst**	**gorse**	**gɔs**
	borsten ptc	**borsten**	**burst**	**beest**
	—*Lay.* brosten *Ch*—u *from prt pl* burston—*vg* (bast).			
	horn	**horn**	**horn**	**hɔn**
	— — (horned) *G.* (hɔɔrn) *Cp.*			
	þorn	**†þorrn**	**thorn**	**þɔn**
	— — oo *Ck.* (oo) *Bll.*			
	corn	**†corn**	**corn**	**kɔn**
	— — coorne *Td.* (oo) *Bll.* (o) *G.* (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Sh.*			
1200	**storm**	**storm**	**storm**	**stɔm**
	forma	**†forrme**	**former**	**fɔmer**
	—formere *Wicl.*			
	†fyrmest	**formest**	**foremost**	**fɔmest**
	—*Lay.* *also* u, i. formast *CM.*			
	storc	**stork**	**stork**	**stɔk**
	forca	**forke**	**fork**	**fɔk**
1205	**geworht** ptc	**†wrohht**	**wrought**	**rɔt**
	—wroht *Ld.* iwraht *Jul.* †wraȝte, †wroȝt *prt AllP.* †wroȝt *CM.* †wrogt *GE.* wro(u)ght *Ch*—wroght *Td.* (root) *Pr, Jn, EO.* (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Ld, Sh.*			
	sorg	**†serrȝhe**	**sorrow**	**sorou**
	soergendi *Ep.*—serrȝhenn *vb O.* sorȝe, seorwe, seorhful *Lay.* seoruwe (sorhe) *AR.* zorȝe *Ay.* soru *CM.* sorwe *Ch*—(soro, soroou, soroouz) *G.*			
	morgen	**morwe(n)**	**morrow**	**morou**
	o *Ep.* a *VP.* o, e *WS.* o, on merne *Du.* o, æ, mergenne, marne *Ru.* —to morȝen, a, æ (morwe) *Lay.* morȝen *Ay.* morwe *Ch.*			
	***morgenung**	**morwening**	**morning**	**moniŋ**
	— — (ɔɔ) *Ld.*			

	borgian	**borwen**	**borrow**	**borou**
	— — (boroou) *G.* (boru) *Pr.* (booroo, boroo) *Jn.*			
1210	**ort-geard**	**orchard**	**orchard**	**otʃed**
	orc-, ort- *Past.* orcgyrd, ordceard, orce(a)rd *l WS*—orchærd *Lay.*			
	scort	**†shorrt**	**short**	**ʃot**
	— — (o) *G.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	port	**port**	**port**	**pot**
	— — (oo) *Ld.*			
	or-dǣl	**ordal**	**ordeal**	**odijl**
	ordel *Laws*—*Ch*—*infl. of* dǣl.			
	hord	**†hord**	**hoard**	**hod**
	—hoord : word *Ch*—(uu) *Pr.* (hɐrd) hord *EO.* (oo) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*			
1215	**word**	**†word**	**word**	**weed**
	—o, eo, u *Lay.* o, u *GE*—(uu, u) *Bt.* (u, o) *G.* (ɐ) *Jn.* (uu, ɐ) *EO.* (ɐ) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*			
	ford	**ford**	**ford**	**fod**
	—*also* forþ—(uu) *Jn.* (oo) *Ld, Sh.* (o) *Bch.*			
	bord	**†bord**	**board**	**bod**
	—bord : word *Ch*—bourde *Td.* (uu) *Bt.* (oo) *G.*			
	‡skorpna	**†scorrcnenn**	**scorch**	**skotʃ**
	'shrivel up'—*also* scorchen.			
	hol sn	**hol(e)**	**hole**	**houl**
	—hol *Lay.* hole *Ch*—(oo) *Sm.*			
1220	**hole(g)n**	**holi**	**holly**	**holi**
	þol	**þol(le)**	**thole**	**þoul**
	—*Prompt.* 'clavicula.'			
	scolu	—	**shoal**	**ʃoul**
	stolen ptc	**stolen**	**stolen**	**stouln**
	fola	**fole**	**foal**	**foul**
1225	**col sn**	**col(e)**	**coal**	**koul**
	†dol	**†dill**	**dull**	**dal**
	'foolish'—u *Kath., Prompt., Ch.* i *TM.* o *rare.* *OI* dul 'conceit.'			
	‡bol	**bole**	**bole**	**†boul**
	'trunk of tree.'			
	swollen ptc	**swollen**	**swollen**	**swouln**
	— — (sooln) *Jn.*			
	cnoll	**knol**	**knoll**	**†noul**
	— — (nhoul) *Cp.* (nool, neul) *EO.* (nol) *Sh.*			
1230	**toll**	**tol**	**toll**	**toul**
	also toln — — (oou) *Sm.* (oo, ou) *W.* (oo, eu) *EO.* (ou) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	bolla	**bolle**	**bowl**	**boul**
	— — (oou) *G.* (ou) *W.* (ou) *Cp.* (oou) *Jn.* (eu) *EO.* (ou) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	bolster	**bolster**	**bolster**	**boulster**
	— — (oo) *Ld.*			
	wolcen sn	**welkne**	**welkin**	**†welkin**
	'cloud'—se wolcne *Ld.* w(e)olcne *pl Lay.* welkyn *AllP.* walkne *GE.* welkne *Ch.*			

folc **†follc** **folk** **†fouk**
— — (foolk, fook) *G.* (fook) *Jn.* (fok) *Bch.* (fook) *Sh.*

1235 **holh sb** **holwe adj** **hollow** **holou**
'hole'—holh *adj Lay.* holou *Prompt.* holgh *TM.* holwe (holewh) *Ch.*

folgian **†follȝhenn** **follow** **folou**
also fylgan—follh *imper. O.* folien, u (folȝen) *Lay.* uolewen (folhen) *AR.* folwen *Ch*—(foloou) *G.* (foluu) *Pr, Jn.* (fɔɔlɔɔ, folɔɔ) *com. Jn.*

molten ptc **molten** **molten** **†moultn**

colt sn **colt** **colt** **koult**
— — (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Sh.*

bolt, sn **bolt** **bolt** **boult**
— — (oo) *Ld.*

1240 **scolde** **†s(h)ollde** **should** **ʃud**
—scolde, u *Ld.* sculde (solde) *Lay.* schulde *AR, AllP, Wicl.* su(l)d *North.* schuld *Aud.* o *RGl, Kt.* u *by infl. of pl prs* sculon. †o (u) *Ch.* †o, u, a *TM.* s *weak*; *cp* sceal—shulde *Td.* (ʃuuld) *G.* (ʃould) *Pr.* (ʃuuld) *Cp.* (ʃuud) *Jn, Bch.* (ʃuuld, ʃıud, u) *Ld.* (ʃɹd) *Sh.*

wolde **†wollde** **would** **wud**
a *VP, Du.* o, a *Ru.*—o, a, (o) *Lay.* o, (a) *AR.* †wald, i *North.* u, o *GE.* wolde : were fulde 'filled' *Hv.* u *Best.* †i, a, wolde : holde *RBC.* o *Ch*—wowld, wld *HVg.* wold(e) *Td.* (wuuld) *Bll.* (would) *Pr.* (wuuld) *Cp.* (wuud) *Jn.* (widst, wəudst) *barbare Cp*; (wuust) *Jn* wouldst. (wuuld, wuud, u) *Ld.* (wuud) *Bch.* (uuld) *Fr.* (wud) *Sh.*

molde **molde** **mould** **mould**
— — (oo) *Ld.*

gold **†gold** **gold** **gould**
— — gold(e) *Td.* (goould) *G.* (oo, ɔu) *W.* (ou) *Pr.* (uu) *Jn.* (uu) *Bu., Sh.* (guulsmiþ) *Jn.*

‡froþa **froþe** **froth** **frɔþ**
— — (froþ) *G.*

1245 **broþ sn** **broþ** **broth** **brɔþ**
— — (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Sh.*

moþþe **moþ(þ)e** **moth** **mɔþ**
mohþa *Du., Ru.*—mouȝþe, mouȝte *Wicl.*

hose **hose** **hose** **houz**

rose **rose** **rose** **rouz**

gelosod **ilosed** **lost** **lost**
— — (ɔɔ) *Cp.* (o) *Bch, Sh.*

1250 **nosu** **nose** **nose** **nouz**
—neose (o) *Lay.* nese *North.*, †*TM.* †nose, e *Best.* nase *Kt.*

næs-þȳrel **noseþirl** **nostril** **nostril**
nosþyrla, uteweard nosterle *late*—nosethirl (·þril) *Ch.* nesethirl *Prompt.*

‡mosi **mos** **moss** **mos**
OE mēos.

drosne **dros(e)ne** **dross** **dros**
'lees.'

‡kross sn **cros** **cross** **krɔs**
—*Lay.*

1255	**frost**	**†frosst**	**frost**	**frost**
	— — (o) *G.* (ɔɔ) *Cp.* (o) *Bch, Sh.*			
	post	**post**	**post**	**poust**
	— — (uu) *EO.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	***tow**	**tow**	**tow**	**tou**
	towlic weorc 'textrinum' *Wgl.*			
	of	**†off(e)**	**of, o'** **off**	**ov, ə(v)** **ɔf**
	prp and adv—offe *adv O.* of (o) *prp CM*—off *prp HVg.* of *adv Td.* (ov, of) *prp G.* (of) *prp W.* (o) *prp Ld.* (ov) *prp Bch, Sh.* (of) *adv Sh.*			
	ofer	**†oferr, ofrr**	**over**	**ouver**
	— — (o) *Bll, G.* (oor) *Jn.*			
1260	**ofen sm**	**†offne**	**oven**	**avn**
	—*elsewhere* oven.			
	***hofel**	**hovel**	**hovel**	**hovl**
	— — (hʌvel) *EO.* (hovl) *Bch.* (hovil) *Sh.*			
	scofel sf	**schovele**	**shovel**	**ʃavl**
	— — (ʃuul) *Bll.* (ʃoul) *Jn.*			
	†scofettan	**schoven**	**shove**	**ʃav**
	stofe	**—**	**stove**	**stouv**
	stofa 'balneum' *Cp—from Dutch* **stove (?).**			
1265	**†gewefen ptc**	**weven**	**woven**	**wouvn**
	cofa	**cove**	**cove**	**kouv**
	'chamber'—*CM.*			
	clofu	**clove**	**clove**	**klouv**
	cluf-, clof-.			
	clofen ptc	**†clofenn**	**cloven**	**klouvn**
	foxes-glofa	**foxesglove**	**foxglove**	**foxglav**
1270	***of-fall**	**offal**	**offal**	**ofl**
	OI offall 'diminution' — — (ofal) *G.*			
	oft	**†offte**	**often**	**ɔfn**
	—often *GE.* †ofte, often *Ch*—(often) *G.* (ɔɔfn) *Ld.*			
	‡loft sn	**†o lofft adv**	**loft**	**lɔft**
	'air.' ā loft 'up.' *OE* lyft—lifft 'air' *O.* loft 'solarium' *Prompt.*			
	croft	**croft**	**croft**	**†kroft**
	on	**†onn(e), o**	**on**	**on**
	—on, o ðe *Ld.* o(n) *Jul., Ch.* ane *Kt.* *OI* ā.			
1275	**þonne**	**†þan(n)e**	**then**	**ðen**
	o. a *Ru.* æ *lWS*—þanne *Ld.* þonne, e, (a), þane, þon *Lay.* þeonne (e) *AR.* þanne *Kt.* †þan *North.* ðan(ne) *GE.* þenne *AllP.* †then *Aud.* thanne, †than, †thenne *Ch*—dden *HVg.* then *Td.*			
	þonne	**†þan(n)**	**than**	**ðen**
	ðon *VP.* ðon(ne) *Du.* o, a *Ru.*—þan(ne) *Ld.* þan(n)e, þen(n)e *Lay.* þen(n)e, þen *AR.* þan(n)e *Kt.* þan *North.* ðan(ne), ðane *GE.* þen *AllP.* then *Aud.* than *Ch*—e *Td.* (e) *G.*			

	hwonne	†whann(e)	when	when
	huo(e)nne, hoenne *Du*. o, a, æ *Ru*. æ *lWS*—w(h)onne, whænne, w(h)enne (wane, wan) *Lay*. hwon(ne) (hwen) *AR*. huanne *Ay*. quen, whan *North*. quan(n)e, quan *GE*. †whenne *RBC*. quen *AllP*. when, whan *Aud*. whan, (e) *Ch*—(wen) *better* (when) *Jn*. (i) *Mg*.			
	loc sn	lok	lock	lok
	socian	sokyn	soak	souk
1280	smocian	smokien	smoke	smouk
	— — (oo) *Sm*. (it smuuks) *Sm*(=smōceþ).			
	†gesprecen ptc	spoken	spoken	spoukn
	—speken *rare*.			
	ceocian	choken	choke	tʃouk
	—*also* chekin.			
	cnocian	knok(k)en	knock	nok
	u, o *WS*.			
	geoc sn	†ȝocc	yoke	jouk
1285	‡poki	poke	poke	†pouk
	'bag.' *OE* pohha.			
	brocen ptc	broken	broken	broukn
	hocc	hoc	(holly)hock	holihok
	rocc	rokke	rock	rok
	stanrocca (scopulorum) *Aldhgl*—*also* roche, *fr Fr*.			
	locc	lok	lock	lok
	'lock of hair.'			
1290	socc	sok	sock	sok
	smoc	smok	smock	smok
	stocc	stok	stock	stok
	flocc	†flocc	flock	flok
	cocc	cok	cock	kok
1295	coccel	cokkel	(corn)cockle	kokl
	crocca	crokke	crock(ery)	krokeri
	cloccian	clokkin	cluck	klak
	seo wamb clocceþ *Leechd*.			
	docce	dokke	dock	dok
	poccas pl	pokkes	pox	poks
1300	cohhettan	co(u)ghen	cough	kof
	— — (koouh) *Sm*. (kof) *W*. (kɔɔf) *Mg, Ld*. (kof) *Bch, Sh*.			
	oxa	†oxe	ox	oks
	fox	†fox	fox	foks
	box	box	box	boks
	'box,' 'box-tree.'			
	dohtor	†dohhterr	daughter	dɔter
	—dohter, douter *Lay*. douhter (dohter) *AR*. doȝter *Ay*. doghter *North*., *TM*. doughter *Ch*. *also* au.—do(u)ghter *Td*. (dɔɔxter) *G*. (dafter) *sometimes Bt*. (dɔɔftər) *occ*. *Jn*. (ææ) *Ld*—*rg* (daatər).			

1305	bohte prt	†bohhte	bought	bot
	—boughte *Ch*—(boxt, boouxt) *G.* (bɔɔt) *Cp.* (boot, bɔɔt, boft) *Jn.* (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Ld, Sh.*			
	‡hrogn sn pl	roun	roe	rou
	flogen ptc	flowen	flown	floun
	— — (oou) *G.*			
	togian	togen toggen	tug	tag
	*wan-togen ptc	wantowen	wanton	wonten
	— — wantones *Td.* (wɔɔnten) *Bch.* (wonten) *Sh.*			
1310	trog	tro(u)gh	trough	trof
	—trou(gh) *Prompt.*—(trof) *W.* (troo) *Jn.* (trɔɔf) *Ld.* (trof) *EO, Ech, Sh.*			
	boga	bowe	bow	bou
	— — bo *HVg, Sb.* rayneboll *Td.* (boou) *Sm, G.* (boo) *Cp, Ld.*			
	frogga	frogge	frog	frog
	late; always gg.			
	docga	dogge	dog	dog
	Bogl.			
	otor	oter	otter	oter
1315	rotian	†rotenn	rot	rot
	hlot sn	†lott	lot	lot
	þrote	þrote	throat	þrout
	gesnot	snot	snot	snot
	scoten ptc	shoten	shot	ʃot
	gescot sn	shote	shot	ʃot
1320	flot	o flote	(a)float	flout
	on flot, 'afloat.'			
	flotian	flotien	float	flout
	very late.			
	floterian	floteren	flutter	flater
	mot sn	mot	mote	mout
	cot sn	cot	cot	kot
1325	grot sn	grot	groat	†grout
	'fragment' — — (ɔɔ) *EO, Ld.*			
	†potian	†buttenn	but	bat
	ÆfcH —also pu(t)ten, poten. *Fr* boter.			
	botm	botme	bottom	botem
	—*also* boþem.			
	splott	sp(l)ot	spot	spot
	clott-	clotte	clot	klot
	'massa.'			
1330	cnotta	knotte	knot	not
	— — (nhot) *Ld.*			
	dott	—	dot	dot
	'head of boil' *Leechd.*			

	plot	**plot(t)** **blot**	**plot** **blot**	**plot** **blot**
	ne plot ne ploh *Leechd.*			
	soden ptc	**soden**	**sodden(ed)**	**sodn(d)**
	god	**†godd**	**god**	**god**
	—*gen.* Goddes *Ch.*			
1335	**god-spell**	**†goddspell**	**gospel**	**gospl**
	—gospel *AR, Ch.*			
	troden ptc	**troden**	**trodden**	**trodn**
	bodian	**bodien**	**bode**	**boud**
	bodig	**†bodiȝ**	**body**	**bodi**
	‡oddi	**odde adj**	**odd**	**od**
	'triangle,' 'odd number.'			
1340	**codd**	**cod**	**cod**	**kod**
	open	**†openn**	**open**	**oupn**
	hopa	**hope**	**hope**	**houp**
	copor	**coper**	**copper**	**coper**
	dropa	**drope**	**drop**	**drop**
	—droppen *vb North. etc.*			
1345	**popig**	**popi**	**poppy**	**popi**
	hoppian	**hoppen**	**hop**	**hop**
	loppestre	**lopster(e)**	**lobster**	**lobster**
	soppian	**soppe sb**	**sop**	**sop**
	stoppian	**stoppen**	**stop**	**stop**
1350	**strop**	—	**(razor)strop** **strap**	**strop** **stræp**
	vel arwiþþe (struppus) *Wgl.*			
	āttor-coppe	**coppe**	**cob(web)**	**kobweb**
	'spider.'			
	cropp	**crop**	**crop**	**krop**
	'cluster.'			
	‡kroppa	**croppen**	**crop**	**krop**
	'pick,' 'graze'—*AR.*			
	topp	**top**	**top**	**top**
	'summit,' 'top' (=plaything).			

ā.

1355	**rā sf**	**ro**	**roe**	**rou**
	‡þrā	**þro**	**throe**	**þrou**
	'struggle,' 'obstinacy.'			
	slā sf	**slo**	**sloe**	**slou**
	swā	**†swa**	**so**	**sou**
	e *VP.* a, æ *eWS, Du., Ru.*—swa *Ld.* wha-se *etc O.* s(w)a, se (so)			

Lay. swa, so *Jul.* s(w)o *Kt.* s(w)a *CM.* swa, so *PC.* s(w)o *Best.* so *AllP, Ch*—so *HVg.*

	wā	**†wa**	**woe**	**†wou**
	—woa (wo) *Lay.* wumme (=wā mē) *Jul.*			
1360	**hwā**	**†wha**	**who**	**huw**
	—hwoa (hwa) *AR.* qua *North.* quo *GE.* wo *Best.* (w)ho *RBC, PPl.* huo *Ay.* who *Ch*—hw *HVg.* (whuu) *Bll, G, Pr.* (huu) *Cp, Jn.*			
	fā	**fo**	**foe**	**†fou**
	‡frā	**†fra**	**fro**	**frou**
	—fra *prp Ld.*			
	nā	**†na**	**no**	**nou**
	no *VP, Du., Ru.* no, na *eWS.* na *lWS*—na *Ld.* na, neo, nea, no *Lay.* no *Jul.* no, noa *AR.* nummore (=nā māre) *Best.* no *Wicl.* natheles (=nā þȳ lǣs) *Ch.*			
	gān	**†gan**	**go**	**gou**
	also gangan—*also* ganngenn *O.* gan, gon, ȝ(e)ongen *Lay.*—(go) *G.* (goo, guu) *W.*			
1365	**tā** sf	**to**	**toe**	**tou**
	twā	**†twa**	**two**	**tuw**
	neut. and fem.—twa men *Ld.* t(w)o *GE.* to (tuo) *RBC.* to *Prompt.*—(twuu) *Bll.* (tuu) *G etc, Cp.* (tʌpins) *Mg*; (tʌpens) *Jn*; (tʌppins) *Bch*; (tʌpens) *Sh* twopence—(tapens).			
	dā sf	**do**	**doe**	**dou**
	ār sf	**ore**	**oar**	**ɔr**
	hār	**hor**	**hoar**	**hɔr**
1370	**hāre-hūne**	**horehune**	**{ hore hoar } hound**	**hɔr(h)aund**
	rārian	**roren**	**roar**	**rɔr**
	lār sf	**†lare**	**lore**	**lɔr**
	sār	**sor**	**sore**	**sɔr**
	sārig	**†sarig**	**sorry**	**sori**
	a, o *Past*—sari, sæ (o) *Lay.* seri, o *GE.* soory *Ch.* o *from* sorg.			
1375	**māre**	**†mare**	**more**	**mɔr**
	—oa *AR*—oa *Td.* (oo) *Sm, G.* (mooer) *EO.* (moor) *Sh.*			
	gāra	**gore**	**gore**	**gɔr**
	'corner' *etc.*			
	gār-lēac	**garleek**	**garlick**	**gaalik**
	bār	**bor**	**boar**	**bɔr**
	— — (buur) *Cp.*			
	hāl	**†hal**	**{ whole hale**	**houl heil**
	—†hale *Ch*; *from North.*—holsome, whole *Td.* hoole *Ck.* (whool) *Bull, G.* (hoolsum) wholesome *G.* (haal) hale *G.* (hool) *W., Jn.* (hool, whool), (holi) wholly *Ld.* (whool) *Bch, Fr.* (hool) *Sh.*			
1380	**hālig**	**†haliȝ**	**holy**	**houli**
	—*pl* hallȝhe *O.*			

	hālig dæg	**halidai**	**holiday**	**holidi**
	—haliday (o) *Ch.* haleday *Aud.*			
	hālgian	**†hallȝhenn**	**hallow**	**hælou**
	māl	**mol**	**mole**	**moul**
	'mark,' 'stain.'			
	gedāl sn	**†dale**	**dole**	**doul**
	tōgedāl 'distributio'—dole *fem. in Lay.* idol 'separation.'			
1385	**pāl**	**pol**	**pole**	**poul**
	āþ	**†aþ**	**oath**	**ouþ**
	lāþ	**†laþ**	**loath**	**†louþ**
	— — (loþ) *Bll.* (loþsum) loathsome *G.* (loþ) *Ld.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh.*			
	lāþian	**loþien**	**loathe**	**louð**
	— — (looð) *Bll, Ld.* (oo) *Bch, Sh.*			
	wrāþ	**wraþ**	**wroth**	**†rɔþ**
	—oo *Wicl., Ch*—oo *Td.* (o) *Bll.* (oo) *G.*—(o) *from* wrath *sbst.*			
1390	**clāþ**	**†claþ**	**cloth**	**klɔþ**
	— — (o) *G.* (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Sh.*			
	clāþas pl	**†claþess**	**clothes**	**klou(ð)z**
	—†close *pl TM*—(klooðed) *ptc G.* (klooz) *Bch, Sh.*			
	‡bāþir	**†baþe**	**both**	**bouþ**
	OE bā, bēgen, bātwā—baðe, beien *Ld.* *also* ba, beȝȝênn *O.* b(e)oðe, botwo *AR*—booth *Ck.* (boþ) *G.*			
	hās	**hos**	**hoarse**	**hɔs**
	—hoos, hors *Prompt., Wicl.*—(hoors) *Sm*—*the* (r) *is imitative, as in Dutch* heersch.			
	‡rās	**ras**	**race**	**reis**
	OE rǣs—æ, e, ea, e *Lay.* ras *North.*—a *from North.*			
1395	**ā-rās**	**†rás**	**(a)rose**	**(e)rouz**
	þās pl	**þos**	**those**	**ðouz**
	'these'—þa 'those,' þise 'these' *O.*			
	†māse	**mose**	**(tit)mouse**	**titmaus**
	āscian	**†asskenn**	**ask**	**aask**
	sc, hs, x *WS.* hs, xs, sc *Ru.*—axen *Ld.* axien, æ *Lay.* askien, axien (easkien) *AR.* esse, *prt* esste *RGl.* aishest *ON.* askede *KS.* oksi, aksi *Ay.* aske †*North., GE, Aud.* †axe (sk) *Ch*—aish *HVg.* axe *Td.* ask *et* aks *Sm.* (æ) *Bch, Sh*—*vg* (æx).			
	lāst	**last**	**last**	**laast**
	also æ. 'track'—*also* e.			
1400	**gāst**	**†gast**	**ghost**	**goust**
	— — (oo) *Cp.* (goosli) 'ghostly' *Jn.* (uu) *EO.* (oo) *Bch, Sh.*			

ā.

ā-wiht	**†ohht**	**aught**	**†ɔt**
owiht *Ru.* awuht, auht, aht *WS*—*also* awihht *O.* a(wi)ht, oht *Lay.* owiht, out *AR.* †oght *North., TM.* oȝt *AllP.* aȝt *RGl, Ay.* aught, ought *Ch.*			

rāw sf **rowe** **row** **rou**

a, æ—ea, e, (a), *AR.* †raw *North.* rawe : owe *vb AllP.* o *Prompt.* †e *Ch.*

lāwerce **larke** **lark** **laak**

—*Ch.* laueroc *Harl.* laverok *Gower.*

þāwan **thowin** **thaw** **þo**

—*Prompt.*—aw *Kt* (?).

1405 **þrāwan** **þrowen** **throw** **þrou**

'twist'—þrawe *Ay.*

sāwan **†saawenn** **sow** **sou**

—zawe *Ay.*—(soou) *G.*

sāwol sf **†sawle** **soul** **soul**

—zaule *Ay.*—so(w)l *HVg.* (oou) *G.* (ɔu, oo) *W.* (oo) *Pr.* (ou) *Cp.* (oou) *Jn.* (oo) *Bch, Sh.*

slāw **†slaw** **slow** **slou**

— — slo *HVg.*

snāw **snou** **snow** **snou**

—snaw *Ay.*

1410 **nā-wiht** **†nawihht** **naught** **not**

nō-wiht **†nohht** **not** **not**

no(wi)hţ *VP.* na(wu)ht, noht *Past.* no(wi)ht, næniht *Du.*—noht, a *Ld.* na(wi)ht, nawit, noht *Lay.* nowiht, nowt (nawt) *AR.* noȝt *RGl.* nocht, a *KS.* naȝt *Ay.* noȝt *CM.* †noght, †nott *TM.* †noht *GE.* noȝt, †not *AllP.* †noht, †a *Harl.* no(ȝ)t *Wicl.* †noght (ou), †naught, nat (o) *Ch.*—noughtí 'naughty' *Ck.* nott *Td.* (nɔɔxt) *G.* (nɔɔft) *occasionally Jn.* (noot) *Pr.* (ɔɔ) *Ld.*

māwan **mowen** **mow** **mou**

—mawe *Ay.*

crāwan **crowen** **crow** **krou**

—crawe : mawe (= maga) *Harl.*

crāwe **crowe** **crow** **krou**

1415 **cnāwan** **†cnawenn** **know** **nou**

—knawe *Ay.* cnawe *AllP.* know : schewe *Aud.*—kno *HVg.* (knoou), (knooun, knoon) *ptc G.* (knɔu, oo) *W.* (nhoo) *Cp, Ld.*

***cnāwlǣcan** { **knoulechen** **acknowledge** **eknolidʒ**
{ **knouleche** **knowledge** **nolidʒ**

—*also* knoulage—kno(w)le(d)ge *vb, sb Td.* (knoouledʒ) *G.* (hnoledʒ) *Ld.*

blāwan **blowen** **blow** **blou**

—blawe *Ay.*

ā-hwæþer **†o(þe)rr cj** **or** **or**

a(w)þer—*also* oþþr *O.* owwþerr *prn O.* o(u)þer *cj Ld.* oþer *cj Lay., AR, Ay.* ouþer *CM.* or *CM.* ouþer (eiþer) . . or 'either . . or' *Ch.*

nā-hwæþer **†nowwþerr** **nor** **nor**

nohwæþer, nouþer, na(w)þer *eWS*—nouþer *Ld., Lay., AR.* no(u)þer, nauþer *North.* no(w)þer, nawder *TM.* nawþer *AllP.* nouþer *Aud.* nor *PPl, Ch*—ne(the)r *Td*—*see* nǣgþer.

1420 **hlāf** **†laf** **loaf** **louf**

	hlāford	**†laferrd**	**lord**	**lɔd**
	—lauerd *CM.* lauerd, louerd, lord *PC.* †lord *AllP, Aud.* lo(ue)rd *KS.* lhord *Ay.* lo(o)rd *Ch*—(oo) *Sm.* (o) *G.*			
	hlāf-mæsse	**lammasse**	**lammas**	**†læmes**
	—*Ld.* lammesse *Prompt.*			
	clāfre	**clovere**	**clover**	**klouvər**
	a, æ.			
	grāf	**grove**	**grove**	**grouv**
	chart.			
1425	**drāf prt**	**†draf**	**drove**	**drouv**
	drāf sf	**drove**	**drove**	**drouv**
	prāfost	**provost**	**provost**	**provəst**
	a, o.			
	ān	**†án**	**one** **a(n)**	**wan** **ə(n)**
	—onne, a dai *Ld.* ann siþe *O.* oo(n), a(n) *Ch.* won *emphat. Aud.*—(w)one, wonnes *pl Td.* (oon) *G, W, Cp.* (wæn) *Jn.* (on, won *Dyche.* (wæn) *Bch.* (wɛn) *Fr.* (won) *Sh.*			
	nān	**†nan**	**none**	**nan**
	—na(n) *Ld.* noon : stoon, no *Ch.* non : Johon *Aud.*—(oo) *G, W.*			
1430	**on ān**	**†an án**	**anon**	**†ənon**
	—on an *Ld.* anoon : euerichoon *Ch*—(ænon, ænæn) *Jn.*			
	eall āna	**†all áne**	**alone**	**əloun**
	—*later* alone—(aloon) *G.*			
	***ǣnlic**	**onli**	**only**	**ounli**
	'unique'—oonli *Ck.* (oonli, oonləi) *G.* (oonli) *Jn, Sh.* (onli) *Bch.*			
	nān þing	**†nan þing**	**nothing**	**naþiŋ**
	—naþing *Lay.* noþing *Ch*—(o) *Bll, G*—*vg* (nafin).			
	†ǣne	**†æness**	**once**	**wans**
	—anes *Ld.* enes (ea) *AR.* ones *Best.* enus *Aud.* †e, †o *TM*—(oons) *G.* (wæns) *Jn, Bch.* (o) *not* (*o*), (wɛns) *Ld.* (wons) *Sh.*			
1435	**hān sf**	**hone**	**hone**	**houn**
	'rock' *chart.*			
	scān prt	**†shan**	**shone**	**ʃon**
	— — (ɛ) *Ld.*			
	stān	**†stan**	**stone**	**stoun**
	gegān ptc	**†gan**	**gone**	**gon, gɔn**
	— — (oo) *G.* (o) *Ld.*			
	grānian	**gronien**	**groan**	**groun**
1440	**drān**	**drane**	**drone**	**droun**
	—*Prompt. etc.* *no* o.			
	bān	**bon**	**bone**	**boun**
	hām	**†ham**	**home**	**houm**
	lām	**lom**	**loam**	**loum**
	hwām dat.	**†whamm**	**whom**	**huw(m)**
	æ *eWS, VP, Du., Ru.* a *lWS*—wham (wam), whæm *Lay.* hwam *AR.*			

huam *Ay*. qua(i)m *North*. wham *AllP*. whom *Ch*—(whom) *Sm*. (whoom, whuum) *G*. (whɷm) *Pr*. (huum) *Cp, Jn*.

1445	**fām**	**fom**	**foam**	**foum**
	āc	**ok**	**oak**	**ouk**
	ā-cumba	—	**oakum**	**oukem**
	strācian	**stroken**	**stroke**	**strouk**
	spāca	**spoke**	**spoke**	**spouk**
1450	**crācettan**	—	**croak**	**krouk**
	tācen	**†tákenn**	**token**	**toukn**
	āhte prt	**ouhte**	**ought**	**ot**
	'possessed'—ahte, aute (ahte) *Lay*. ouhte (ahte) *AR*. aȝte *RGl*. awcte : bitaucte *Hv*. aughte *RBC*. oghte : broghte *Ch*—ocht *HVg*. (owht) *Bll*. (oouxt) *G*. (oot) *Pr*. (ɔɔt) *Cp, Ld*.			
	āgan	**†taghenn**	**owe**	**ou**
	'possess'—owen (ahen) *AR*. oȝen *Ay*. awe *North*., *TM*. ogen *GE*. owen *Ch*.			
	āgen	**†taghenn**	**own**	**oun**
	—awen (o) *Lay*. owen (ahen) *AR*. oȝen *Ay*. awin : drawin *ptc* (aun : draun) *CM*. awen *TM*. auen *AllP*. owen *Harl*., *Ch*—owne, awne *Td*. (ooun) *G*.			
1455	**‡lāg**	**†lah**	**low**	**lou**
	— — (loou) *G*.			
	dāg	**douh**	**dough**	**dou**
	—doȝ *Ay*.—(doo) dowe *Cp*. (doo) *Ld*.			
	āte	**ote**	**oat(s)**	**out**
	— — (oots), (wɷts) *barbare Cp*. (otmiil) oatmeal *Ld*.			
	hāt	**†hát**	**hot**	**hot**
	—hoot *Ch*—(whɷter) *barbare Cp*.			
	smāt prt	**smot**	**smote**	**†smout**
1460	**wāt** vb	**†wát**	**wot**	**†wot**
	—woot *Ch*—thou wottest *Td*.			
	wrāt prt	**†wrát**	**wrote**	**rout**
	gāt	**†gát**	**goat**	**gout**
	bāt	**bot**	**boat**	**bout**
	— — (boosin) *Bch*, (boosn) *Sh* boatswain—(bousn).			
	-hād	**†-had**	**-hood**	**-hud**
	—wreccehed *Ld*. prestehede : lede *vb CM*. godhede, manhod(e) *Ay*. —(-huud) *G*. (-hɷd) *Cp*.			
1465	**rād** prt	**rod**	**rode**	**roud**
	rād sf	{ **rode**	**road**	**roud**
		{ **rad**	**raid**	**reid**
	'riding'—rad *North*.			
	lād sf	**†lade**	**lode**	**loud**
	'leading,' 'path' — — *also in* loadstone.			
	sc(e)ādan	**†shædenn**	**shed**	**ʃed**
	'separate'—shadd *ptc O*.			
	strād prt	**strod**	**strode**	**stroud**

	wād	wod	woad	woud
1470	gād sf	gode	goad	goud
	tādige	tode	toad	toud
	—tadde *AR.*			
	bād	abod	abode	eboud
	‘waiting.’			
	brād	†brad	broad	brɔd
	— — (oo) *Sm, G.* (ɔɔ) *Cp, EO.* (oo) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Sh.*			
	rāp	†rap	rope	roup
1475	sāpe	sope	soap	soup
	swāpan	swopen	sweep	swijp
	prt swēop. aswopen *ptc Ru.—AR, Ch.* *prt* swēp—(ii) *Bll.*			
	grāpian	gropen	grope	group
	pāpa	pope	pope	poup
	— — pop *HVg.*			

ǣ.

	sǣ	†sæ	sea	sij
	— — (see) *G.* (sii) *W.* (see) *Cp.*			
1480	ǣr	†ǣr	ere	†eer
	—ār *adv O.* ear *Ld.* ær, ar (are) *Lay.* †er, ar *adv RGl.* †are *North., TM.* er *Harl.* or(e) *Aud.* er (or) *Ch*—yer *Td.* (eer) *G.* (*eer*) *Cp.* (iir) *EO, Sh.*			
	rǣran	reren	rear	rier
	‡skǣr	skere	sheer	ʃier
	‘pure.’ *OE* scīr—*also* s(c)here. sh *from OE.*			
	hǣlan	†hælenn	heal	hijl
	— — (ee) *Bll.*			
	†hǣlo	helþ	health	helþ
	—hæle *O, Lay.* hele *Ch.* heele *Prompt.* helþe *Lay., Ay., GE, Prompt.* —(ee) *G.*			
1485	dǣl	†del	deal	dijl
	—del, todeled, dæleth *Ld.* dælenn *vb O.*			
	‡þrǣl	þral	thrall	†þrol
	þrǣll *nom.* þræl *OE, from Scand.*—þrel *Lay., AR, Ay.* *pl* þralles *Lay.,* þrelles *AR.* þral *North.,* †*RBC.* thral : al *Ch.*			
	ǣlc	†illc	each	ijtʃ
	y, oe *VP.* *not in Du., Ru.*—elc, æ *Ld.* ælc(h), elch, alc, alch, ulc, æch (ech) *Lay.* euch *Jul.* ilch *AR.* ·ilk *North., GE.* ilk, ich *TM.* uch *AllP, Harl., Aud.* ech *Ay., Ch*—(eetʃ) *G.* (iidʒ) *Ld.*			
	hǣþ	heþ	heath	hijþ
	hǣþen	†hæþenn	heathen	hijðen
	scǣþ sf (?)	†shæþe	sheath	ʃijþ
	æ, ea, e *lWS.*			
1490	wrǣþ sf (?)	wreþe	wreath	rijþ

wrǣþ(þ)o **†wraþþe** **wrath** **†roþ**
— —(wraþ) *G.* (rɔɔþ) *EO, Sh.* (rææþ) *Bch.*

‡klǣþdi prt **cladde** **clad** **†klæd**
OE clāþian—cloþen *and* cleþen *in ME.* clad(e) *CM.* cled : led *prt MH.* cled : bed *TM.* clad *AllP.* yclad *Ch.*

hǣs sf **bihæste** **behest** **†bihest**
—behæsa *pl* 'promises' *Chr* 1093—*Lay.* biheste *AR, Ch.* beheste *Ay.*

þȳ-lǣs-þe **leste** **lest** **lest**
æ *VP.* æ, e *Ru.*—leste *Lay.* leste (ea) *AR.* lest *AllP, Harl., Wicl.* last, e *Aud.* nathelees : pees *Ch*—neverthelesse *Td.*

1495 **tǣsan** **tosen** **tease** **tijz**
'carpo'—*also* ai.

lǣssa **†lasse** **less** **les**
æ *VP.* e *Ru.*—læsse (a) *Lay.* e, ea *AR.* lasse : -nesse *ON.* e †*North.*, †*TM*, †*GE, Ay.* a *RGl, AllP*, †*Aud.* †e, †a *Ch.*

flǣsc **†flæsh, flessh** **flesh** **fleʃ**
æ *VP*—flæsc *Lay.* flesch *Jul.* fleschs, vleschs, flechs (flesch, fles) *AR.* flesc, fleis *Hom.* flesce *KS.* ulesse *Ay.* fleis, flesse : lesse *CM.* fleyse : liknes, fleys : neys *adj MH.* fleis *GE.* fleish *Harl.* flesch *AllP.* fleisch *Wicl.* flessh (ei) *Ch*—fless(h)e *Td.*

lǣst **†læst** **least** **lijst**
leasest *Du.* læsest *Ru.*—le(i)st : be(i)st *North.* leest *Ch*—(ee) *G.*

lǣstan **†lasstenn** **last** **laast**
'perform'—æ, a *Ld.* ea, e *Jul.* e *Ay.* a *North.* †e *GE.*

1500 **wrǣstan** **wresten** **wrest** **†rest**
— —(hrest) *Ld.*

wrǣstlian **wrestlen** **wrestle** **resl**
lWS also wræxlian, wraxlian—æ *Lay.* e *Kath., GE.* a *AR, Ch*—(wrestl) *Bll.* (resl) *Jn, Bch, Sh.*

mǣst **†mast, æ** **most** **moust**
æ *VP*—ea, e *Ld.* allmasst *O.* æ *Lay.* ea, e *Jul.* e *AR, RGl, Ay., Harl.* a *North.* o *GE.* †e, †o *RBC.* †meest *Ch*—utmoost *Td.* (oo) *Cp.* (ʊ) *Mg.* (uu) *EO.* (o) *Bch.* (oo) *Sh*—(ətməst).

gǣstlic **gastli** **ghastly** **gaastli**
Grein—(gææli) *Jn.*

lǣwed **†læwedd** **lewd** **l(j)uwd**
'lay(man)'—lawed *Ld.* lewede (eȝ) *Jul.* lau(e)d *North.* logede *GE.* lewd *TM.* leud *Prompt.* lewed *Ch*—(eu) *G, Pr.*

1505 **†slǣwþ** **slouþe** **sloth** **slouþ**
slāw *adj* —slauðe *Lay.* slouhðe *AR.* sle(a)uþe *Ay.* sleuthe *Harl.* slouth *Aud.* sloth, slewth, slawthe : trawthe *TM.* slouthe : trouthe *Ch*—slewth *Td.*

ǣfre **†æfre** **ever** **ever**
—ouer *Ld.* æfer, e(e)uer (euere) *Lay.* awre, euer *TM.* euere *Ch.* —(ever) *G.*

***ǣfre-ǣlc** **everich** **every** **evri**
—æuric, æureum wile *Ld.* æueræle(h), aueralch, euerulc *Lay.* eauereuch *Kath.* euerich, efrich (euch) *AR.* euereich *Ay.* euerilk *North., TM.* euerilc *GE.* eueruch *Harl.* euerich, euery *Ch*—(everi, evrəi) *G.*

	lǣfan	**leven**	**leave**	**lijv**
	——leving *HVg*.			
	lǣfde prt	**†lefedd ptc**	**left**	**left**
	—læuede *Ld*. læfde, a, (e) *Lay*. leafde *Jul*. leaved *ptc AR*. left *North*., †*RBC*. †lefte, laft : ahaft *TM*. lefte, a, ylaft : craft *Ch*—leeft *prt Td*.			
1510	**nǣfre**	**†nǽfre**	**never**	**never**
	—nefra, neure *Ld*. neauere *Kath*. never *AR*. neure *Ay*. neuer *North*. nawre *TM*. ner *Harl*.			
	hlǣfdige	**†laffdiȝ**	**lady**	**leidi**
	a *VP*—le(a)fdi *Jul*. lauedi, leuedi *KS*. lheuedi *Ay*. leuedi (e, a) *CM*. lefdi *MH*. leuedi, ledi *Harl*. ladi *Ch*.			
	ǣnig	**†aniȝ**	**any**	**eni**
	—ani, æni *Ld*. æni, æi, ei *Lay*. e(a)ni (ei) *Jul*. oni *Proel*. eny *Ay*. any *North*. ani *GE*. eny *Harl*. ane *Aud*. ony *Wicl*. any, †eny (o) *Ch*—eny *Td*. ani *G*. (æ) *Bch*, *Sh*.			
	hlǣne	**lene**	**lean**	**lijn**
	—lhene *Ay*.			
	lān sf	**lone**	**loan**	**loun**
	to lane *Suff. chart*. lanesang *Wgl*. *generally* lǣn.			
1515	**lǣnan**	**†lenenn**	**lend**	**lend**
	—æ *Lay*. ea *Kath*. lenen *Ch*. leendin *inf Prompt*.			
	lǣned ptc	**†lenedd**	**lent**	**lent**
	—lent *CM*, *PPl*.			
	mǣnan	**†menenn**	**mean**	**mijn**
	'mean'—*also* mænen.			
	mǣnan	**menenn**	**moan**	**moun**
	'complain'—æ, e *Lay*. ea *Kath*. menen *vb*, mone *sb AR*. manen min mon *Prisoner's Prayer*. monen *GE*.			
	mǣned ptc	**mened**	**meant**	**ment**
1520	**gemǣne**	**†imæn**	**mean**	**mijn**
	'common.' *sbst* gemāna—imæne, o *Lay*. imeane *Jul*.			
	clǣne	**†clene**	**clean**	**klijn**
	clane *adv*—clænnesse, clennlike *O*. æ (ea), clane (ea) *adv Lay*. ea *AR*. e, ie *Ay*.			
	wrǣnna	**wrenne**	**wren**	**ren**
	werna *Cp*. wrenna *Wgl*—wranne : monne *ON*.			
	clǣnsian	**†clennsenn**	**cleanse**	**klenz**
	clasnian *VP*.—e *KS*, *North*., *Ch*. a *Aud*.—(ii) *Bch*. (e) *Sh*. (kliinli) cleanly *Bch*, *Sh*—(klenli).			
	ǣmette	**amete**	**emmet** **ant**	**†emit** **aant**
	—*RGl*. amote *Ay*. am(p)te *Wicl*. *also* emote, emete, ematte, emmotte, ante—(ænt) ant, (æænt) aunt *Ld*. (ænt) *Bch*, *Sh*.			
1525	**ǣmet(t)ig**	**empti**	**empty**	**emti**
	'unoccupied'—empti *AR*. emti *Ay*. amti *RGl*—(empti) *G*.			
	glǣm	**glem**	**gleam**	**glijm**
	rǣcan	**rechen**	**reach**	**rijtʃ**
	—reche *North*., †*TM*.			

	hrǣcan	**—**	**reach** **retch**	**rijtʃ** **retʃ**
	'spit'——(e) *Ld.*			
	tǣcan	**†tæchenn**	**teach**	**tijtʃ**
	'show'—teche, he tekþ *Ay.*			
1530	**blǣcan**	**blechen**	**bleach**	**blijtʃ**
	tǣhte prt	**†tahhte**	**taught**	**tɔt**
	—ea, a, e *Ld.* tæhte, itaiht, tahte, taute (tehte) *Lay.* tahte *Jul.* teihte *AR.* tachte *KS.* toȝte *Ay.* taght *North.* a *GE, Harl.* taughte *Ch*—(tauht) *Sm.* (tɔɔxt) *G.*			
	stǣger	**steire**	**stair**	**steer**
	wǣge	**weie**	**wey**	**wei**
	'weight,' 'scales.'			
	hnǣgan	**neȝen**	**neigh**	**nei**
	——(næi) *Pr.* (nii) *Bch.* (nee, nææ) *Ld.* (nee) *Sh.*			
1535	**cǣg** sf	**keie**	**key**	**kij**
	—keie *Ld.* keye : pleye *Ch*—kae *HVg.* kayes *Td.* (kee) *Pr, Jn.* (kii) *EO, Ld.*			
	clǣg	**clei**	**clay**	**klei**
	—*Ch*—(ai, aai) *G.*			
	ǣg-hwæþer	**†eȝȝþerr**	**either**	**aiðer, ijðer**
	also ǣgþer. ēgþer *Du.*—æiðer, ei (ai) *Lay.* eiðer *AR.* eider, ai *Ay.* ayther *North.* a(y)ther *TM.* eyþer *Harl.*—(ei) *Sm.* (eei, ei) *G.* (ei, ee) *Jn.* (e) *Ld.* (ii) *EO, Sh.* (ei) *Bch, Fr.*			
	***nǣghwæþer**	**†nowwþerr**	**neither**	**naiðer**
	—— nother *Ck.* (eei, ei) *G.* (ee, e) *Cp.* (ei, ee) *Jn.* (ee) *EO.* (e) *Ld.* (ei) *Bch.* (ii) *Sh*—*see* nā hwæþer.			
	hǣto	**†hæte**	**heat**	**hijt**
1540	**‡sǣti** sn	**†sæte**	**seat**	**sijt**
	——(ee) *W.*			
	swǣtan	**sweten**	**sweat**	**swet**
	swāt *sb*—swát *sb O.* zuot *sb Ay.*—(ee) *Sm.* (e) *Bll.* (ee) *Cp.* (set) *Jn.* (swot) *rg.*			
	hwǣte	**†whæte**	**wheat**	**whijt**
	spǣtte prt	**spatte**	**spat**	**spæt**
	spætan *inf.*—speten *inf.*			
	fǣtt	**†fatt**	**fat**	**fæt**
	æ *VP.*			
1545	**lǣdan**	**†ledenn**	**lead**	**lijd**
	—æ *Ld.* æ, ea, e (eo) *Lay.* ea *Jul.*—leding *HVg.* (ee) *Wk, Pr.*			
	hlǣder sf	**laddre**	**ladder**	**læder**
	leddre *AR, GE.* lheddre *Ay.* a *RGl.*			
	sprǣdan	**spreden**	**spread**	**spred**
	——ee *Ck.* (e) *G.*			
	lǣdde prt	**†ledde**	**led**	**led**
	—e *Ld.* æ, ea (a) *Lay.* ea (e) *AR.* e †*North.*, †*Hv, GE.* led : bed, lad : had *RBC.* a *Harl., Aud.* ladde : hadde *Ch*—leed *Td.*			

sprǣdde prt **†spredd ptc** **spread** **spred**
—a *Lay.* ea (e) *AR.* e †*North.*, †*RBC.* a *Aud.* spradde : hadde *Ch* —spreed *Td.*

1550 **gemǣdd ptc** **mad** **mad** **mæd**
gemædid *Cp*—madd : radd (= *OI* hrǣdd) *CM.* medde : ledde *prt MH.* mad : glad *RBC.*

bæddel **badde** **bad** **bæd**
'hermaphrodite.'

ǣ (ē).

gǣ (ē) **†ʒa** **yea** **†jei**
gea *WS.* gee, gǽ *Du.* gæ *Ru.*—ʒea *Kath.* ʒe, ʒui *AR.* gia (yaa) : sua *CM.* ya *Prompt.*—(ee) *Sb.* (jee, jii, ii) *Jn.* (jɔɔ) *rustic Cp.* (jii) *EO, Ld.* (jee) *Bch, Sh.*

ǣrende (ē) **†errnde** **errand** **erend**
—ærnde, er(e)nde, arunde (ea) *Lay.* erand *North.* erand, arand *TM.* erd(e)ne *GE.* arende, ernde *AllP.*

hǣr (ē) **†hær** **hair** **heer**
her *Du., Ru.*—he(a)r *Kath.* †hare *North.* hor : sor, her : þer *Hv.* †hore, †hare *TM.* here *AllP.* heer *Wicl.*, †*Ch*—ee *Td.* (heer) *Bll.* (ee) *Cp.*

1555 **þǣr (ē)** **†þær(e)** **there** **ðeer**
e *VP, Du.* æ *Ru.* æ, a *lWS*—þær, ea, e, a, þære *etc Ld, Lay.* þe(a)r *Kath.* þer(e) *AR, Ay.* †þere *RGl.* þare : fare *vb ON.* þar(e) *North.* †ðer, ðor *GE.* †e, †o, †a *RBC, TM.* †þere *AllP.* þore : more, a, e *Harl.* thore : lore *sb*, e *Aud.*—(ee, aa) *Sm.*

wǣron (ē) prt **†wærenn** **were** **weer**
e *VP, Du., Ru.* *rarely* æ *in Du., Ru.*—wæron, we(a)ren, a *Ld.* we(o)ren, a *Lay.* weren *AR.* e, a *KS.* e *Ay.* †were, †war(e) *North.* †e, †a *AllP.* †o, e *GE.* †o, †e *TM.* †a, †e *RBC*—(weer) *G, Cp, Jn, EO.* (e) *Bch, Sh.*

hwǣr (ē) **†hwær** **where** **wheer**
e *VP, Du.* æ *Ru.* æ, a *lWS*—nowwhar *O.* hw(e)ar, hwere *Ld.* whær, e, iwere (ware) *Lay.* a, (e) *AR.* e *Ay.* quar(e) *North.* quor, e *GE.* quere *AllP.* †a, †o, e *TM.* †a, †e *RBC*—hwier *HVg.* (wheer) *G.*

fǣr (ē) **†fær** **fear** **fier**
'danger'—offæred *Ld.* offearen, fe(o)rlich *Jul.*—feare *vb*, fearful *Td.* (feer) *G.* (fiir) *Cp.*

gǣr (ē) **†ʒær, e** **year** **jier**
gear *WS.* e *Du.*—gear, gær *Ld.* ʒer *Lay.* ʒeare *dat. Procl.* gier (yeire) *CM*—(ii) *Sb, Bll, Bt.* (jeer) *G.* (jiir) *Pr.*

1560 **bǣr (ē) sf** **†bære** **bier** **bier**
ee *Du.* e *Ru.*— —(ii) *Sb.*

ǣl (ē) **el** **eel** **ijl**

gesǣlig (ē) **†seliʒ** **silly** **sili**
'beatus'—sele *Aud.* sely (ee) *Ch.*

mǣl (ē) **†mæl** **meal** **mijl**
— — *Sb implies* (miil).

	brǣþ (*ē)	**breþ**	**breath**	**breþ**	—breð (ea) *AR*. breeth (e) : heeth *Ch*—(e) *Bll*.
1565	***brǣþan**	**breþen**	**breathe**	**brijð**	— —(ee) *G*.
	***hwǣsan** (*ē)	**whesen**	**wheeze**	**whijz**	hweos *prt ÆfcH*.
	cǣse (ē)	**chese**	**cheese**	**tʃijz**	y *lWS*—æ, eo *Ld*. tsis *Sb*.
	blǣst (ē)	**blast**	**blast**	**blaast**	—æ *Lay*. e *Ay*. a *Best*., †*GE*, †*TM*—(ææ) *Cp*. (æ) *Bch*, *Sh*.
	mǣw (ē)	**meaw**	**sea(mew)**	**†mjuw**	ē *Ep*., ea *Cp*. æ *WS*—mowe *Prompt*.
1570	**ǣfen** (ē)	**†efenn**	**even(ing)**	**ijvniŋ**	efern *Du*., efen *Ru*. æfenung *ÆfcH*—æuen *Lay*.—(iivniŋ) *G*.
	lǣce (ē)	**†læche**	**leech**	**lijtʃ**	—e *AR*—(ii, ee) *Sm*.
	sprǣc (ē)	**†spæche**	**speech**	**spijtʃ**	spæc *lWS*. sprec *Du*., *Ru*.—spræce *obl case Ld*. speche (e) *AR*. speke, speche : meke *adj Hv*—(ii) *Bll*.
	†wǣg (ē)	**wawe**	**wave**	**weiv**	—waȝe (*Lay*.), *Ay*. wawe *AllP*, *Wicl*., *Ch*. wawghe *TM*. *infl of* wagian (*ME* wawien)—*infl of* wafian. wave *Td*. waw *Sb*.
	hwǣg (*ē)	**whei**	**whey**	**whei**	
1575	**grǣg** (ē)	**grei**	**gray, grey**	**grei**	— — graye, grey *Td*. (eei) *Pg*. (ee) *Pr*, *Ld*.
	ǣt prt (ē)	**†ét**	**ate**	**eit, et**	—eet : feet *Ch*.
	lǣtan (ē)	**†lǽtenn, ĕ**	**let**	**let**	—latenn 'behave' *O*; *OI* lāta. æ, e *Ld*. e *Lay*. e (eo) *AR*. a (a, e) *CM*. leete : strete *MH*. loten : bihoten *GE*. o *AllP*. leete : heete (= hǣte), *imper*. leet, lat (e) *Ch*—let(t), lat *Td*. (æ) *barbare Cp*.
	strǣt (ē) sf	**†stræte**	**street**	**strijt**	—Stretford *Ld* — — (strætfəd, stræfəd) Stratford *etc*, Strafford.
	wǣt (ē)	**weet**	**wet**	**wet**	—e *Lay*., *AR*. wate *PC*. weytt *TM*.
1580	**mǣte** (ē)	**†mete(like)**	**meet**	**†mijt**	'moderate'— —met *HVg*. (ii) *G*.
	blǣtan (ē)	**†blætenn**	**bleat**	**blijt**	
	rǣd (ē)	**†ræd**	**rede**	**†rijd**	'advice'—æ. e *Ld*. *also* raþ *O*; *OI* rāþ. æ (ea) *Lay*. e (ea) *AR*. rathe *vb* : baþe 'both' *Hv*. †rede *TM*.
	rǣdan (ē)	**†rædenn, é**	**read**	**rijd**	e *Rit*. æ *Ru*.—æ *Ld*. redd *ptc O*.—(ee) *non* (ii) *G*. (ee) *W*. (ii) *Cp*.
	rǣdels (*ē)	**redels**	**riddle**	**ridl**	—*also* i—redles *pl Td*.
1585	**þrǣd** (ē)	**þred**	**thread**	**þred**	—æ *Lay*.—(ee) *Sm*.

	sǣd (ē)	**†sed**	**seed**	**sijd**	
	nǣdre (ē)	**†neddre**	**adder**	**æder**	næd(d)re *lWS*—nadre *Ld.* neddre *AR, Best., GE.* neder (dd) *CM.* eddre *Ay., Wicl.* edder *TM.* naddre *Ch.*
	nǣdl (ē)	**†nedle**	**needle**	**nijdl**	næðl *Ep.*, nethl *Cp*—nelde *AR.*
	mǣd (ē)	**mede** **medwe**	**mead** **meadow**	**†mijd** **medou**	'meadow.' *gen.* mædwe—medewe *dat. Lay.* medewe *Prompt.* mede *Ch.*
1590	**grǣdig (ē)**	**†gredig**	**greedy**	**grijdi**	— — (ii) *G.*
	dǣd (ē) sf	**†dede**	**deed**	**dijd**	—dædbote *O.* æ, e *Ld.* dede *AR*—did *HVg.*
	on-drǣdan (ē)	**†drædenn, e**	**dread**	**dred**	e *Du., Ru.* — e, (e) *AR.* *ptc* dredd *O.* *prt* †dredde, †a *Ch*—(ee) *Sm.*
	blǣdre (ē)	**bladdre**	**bladder**	**blæder**	blæd(d)re *lWS*—bleddre *AR.* a *Ch.*
	rǣdde prt (ē)	**†redd ptc**	**read**	**red**	—geredd *Ld.* a *Lay.* e *North.* a †*Harl., Ch*—reed *Td.* (e) *Sm, G.*
1595	**slǣpan (ē)**	**†slæpenn**	**sleep**	**slijp**	æ, a *WS*—slæp *sb*, slepen *Ld.* slæp, a, e *sb O.* slæpen, eo, e, (e) *Lay.*
	scǣp (ē)	**†shep**	**sheep**	**ʃijp**	ea *WS.* ī *Du.* e, io *Ru.*—scheap, e (éé) *Lay.* schep *AR.* ssep *Ay.* scepe : kepe *vb CM*—(ii) *Sb, Sm etc.*
	scǣp-hirde (ē)	**sheepherde**	**shepherd**	**ʃeped**	— — scheephird *Ck.* (ʃepherd) *G.*
	wǣpen (ē)	**†wæpenn**	**weapon**	**wepen**	—wapen, we(a)pnen *pl* (wepne) *Lay.* wopen, e *GE.* *OI* vāpn—(wiipn) *EO, Ld, Bch.* (wepn) *Sh.*
	slǣpte prt (ē)	**†sleppte**	**slept**	**slept**	

ē (œ̄).

1600	**hē**	**†he**	**he**	**hij**	—(h)e (heo) *Lay.* heo *Hom.* he, ha *KS.* he, ha, hi *Ay.*—(hii) *G.*
	þē	**†þe**	**thee**	**†ðij**	
	wē	**†we**	**we**	**wij**	— — wi *HVg.* (wii) *Pr, Cp etc.*
	mē	**†me**	**me**	**mij**	— — (mii) *Pr.* (mee) *Cp, Mg, Jn.*
	gē	**†ȝe**	**ye**	**†jij**	—ye, hye *KS.*

1605 **hēr** **†hér(e)** **here** **hier**
—herrbiforenn *O.* her(e) *Lay.* her(en) *Hom.* †here *RGl, RBC.* hier, hyer *Ay.*—(hiir, heer) *Bll.* (hiier) *G.*

gehēran **†herenn** **hear** **hier**
ie, i *lWS*, y *lWS*—heren (u) *Lay.* u *RGl.* e, (u) *PPl.* here, hyere, hiere *Ay.* harstow (= hērest þū) *TM*—heare *Td.* (heer, hiir) *Bt.* (hiir) *W etc.*

stēran **†sterenn** **steer** **stier**
y *lWS.*

wœ̄rig **weri** **weary** **wieri**
— — wiri *HVg.* (weeri, ii) *Bt.* (weeri) *G.* (weri) *Pr.* (wiiri), (weri) *barbare Cp.*

brēr(e) **†breress pl** **briar** **braier**
brere : manere, breres : geres (‘dress’) *Ch.* brere : chere *TM*—bryres *Td.*

1610 **blēre** **bler(eyed)** **blear(eyed)** **blieraid**
blerie = blērige ‘blear-eyed’ (?) *chart.*—(bliir) *Pr etc.*

hērcnian { **†herrcnenn** **hearken** **†haakn**
{ **herkien** **hark** **haak**
—herkyn, harken; harke *imper. TM.* herkien *Hom.* herk *imper.* : werk *RBC.* herkin *Prompt.* herken *Ch*—(heerkn, a) *Bt.* (harkn) *G.* (herkn) *Mg.* (hærkn) *EO.* (hææ̈rkn) *Bch, Sh.*

gehērde prt **†he(o)rrde** **heard** **heed**
y *lWS*—herde, a, i (o) *Lay.* u *RGl.* e (u) *PPl.* yh(y)erd *Ay.* e, a *North.* †a *TM*—herde, a *Td.* (aa) *G.* (ee, a) *Bt.* (æ) *Pr etc.* (e) *Jn.* (ii) *Ld*—(hiəd) *vg.*

hēla **hele** **heel** **hijl**

stēle **stel** **steel** **stijl**
y *lWS.*

1615 **fœ̄lan** **felen** **feel** **fijl**
— — (ii) *G.*

‡fēlagi **felawe** **fellow** **felou**
—feolahe (feolohschipe) *Jul.* fe(o)lawe *AR.* velaȝe *Ay.* felaghe *North.* felage *GE.* felawes : dawes *RBC.* felowe *TM, Wicl.* felawe : shawe *Ch*—(feloou) *G.*

tœ̄þ pl **teþ** **teeth** **tijþ**

brœ̄þer dat. **†breþre pl** **brethren** **†breðrin**
pl brōþor, gebrōþru—breðre *pl Ld.* broþeren, breþeren (broþers) *Lay.* breðren *AR.* breþer *North.* breðere *GE.* brether *TM.* britheren, e *Wicl.* breetherede *Ch*—(breðren) *aut* (breðern) *G.*

gœ̄s pl **ges** **geese** **gijs**
— — gysse *Td.*

1620 **brēsan** **brusen** **bruise** **bruwz**
y *lWS*—brisin, o *Prompt.* u (o) *Ch.* bressed *ptc TM*—brosed *Td.* broosed *Ck.* (iu) *Jn.* (uu) *Ld.*

wœ̄ste **†wesste** **waste** **weist**
‘desert’—weste *Lay.* wast : māst *CM*—(aa) *G.*

gerœ̄fa **reve** **reeve** **rijv**
—greȝȝfe *O. from Scand.* greifi.

	scīr-gerœ̄fa	**schirreve**	**sheriff**	**ʃerif**	—schirreve : ilēve *Moral Ode*—(v) *Ld.*
	gelēfan	**†lefenn**	**believe**	**bilijv**	belyfan *ÆfcH*—bileven *Lay.* bilefde *Jul.*—(ii) *G.*
1625	**slēf**	**sleve**	**sleeve**	**slijv**	*also* slēfe (?). y *lWS.*
	þēfþ sf	**þefþe**	**theft**	**þeft**	y *lWS*—eo *Lay., AR.* u *RGl.* ie *Ay.* ðefte *GE.* thefte *Ch.*
	hēng prt	**†heng**	**hung**	**haŋ**	—e *Lay.* o *North.* e, ee (y, o) *Ch.*
	gesēne adj	**†sene**	**seen**	**sijn**	
	gesewen ptc	**†seʒhenn**			gesēne *used as ptc in Du. and Ru.*; gesæne, ea *also Ru.* y *lWS.* gesewen *WS.* gesegen *VP*—sen *ptc North., Best., AllP.* seyne, sayne : eyne 'eyes' *Aud.* seyn *Wicl.* yseyn : ayeyn, sayn : fayn *Ch*—(i) *Jn.*
	scēne	**†shene**	**sheen**	**†ʃijn**	(i)e, y, eo, io—*also* scōne *O.* sc(e)one (e) *Lay.*
1630	**wœ̄nan**	**†wenenn**	**ween**	**†wijn**	— — (ii) *Sm.*
	cœ̄ne	**†kene**	**keen**	**kijn**	
	cwœ̄n sf	**†cwen**	**queen**	**kwijn**	—*also* cwene—kwin *HVg.* (ii) *G, Bch, Sh.*
	grœ̄ne	**†grene**	**green**	**grijn**	— — (ii) *G.*
	tēn	**†téne, tenn**	**ten**	**ten**	y *lWS*—ten(n) *Ld.* ten(e) *Lay., AR.* ten *Ay.* tgen : men *GE.* ten : men *TM*—(i) *Mg.*
1635	**-tēne**	**†-tene**	**-teen**	**-tijn**	y *lWS* — — (þirtin, þirtiin) *G.*
	gesœ̄man	**†semenn**	**seem**	**sijm**	'reconcile;' *OI* sœ̄ma 'befit'—(bisiim) *G.*
	tēman	**†tæmenn**	**teem**	**tijm**	y *lWS*—*infl of* tēam *sbst.* teamen *HaliM.* temen 'prepare' *Lay.*
	dœ̄man	**†demenn**	**deem**	**dijm**	— — (ii) *G.*
	***brœ̄mel**	**brembel**	**bramble**	**bræmbl**	e, y—brimbil, bremmil *Prompt.* brembil, i *Wicl.*—(a) *G.*
1640	**ēcan**	**†ekenn**	**eke**	**ijk**	i *lWS*— — (iik) *G.* (eek) *Jn.*
	rēc	**rek**	**reek**	**rijk**	
	sœ̄can	**†sekenn**	**seek**	**sijk**	—sechen, æ *Lay.* sechen *AR.* zeche, he zekþ *Ay.* sek *North.* ch *Harl., AllP, Aud.* k (ch) *PPl.* k *Wicl.* †seke, †seche *Ch.*
	be-sœ̄can	**beseken**	**beseech**	**bisijtʃ**	—ch *Lay., AR, KS, Ay.* besekeþ, bisecheþ *KS.* k *North.*, †*RBC.* ch *Harl., AllP*, †*Aud.* †ch, †k *Ch.*
	bœ̄ce	**beche**	**beech**	**bijtʃ**	

1645 bēcnan †becnenn beck(on) bek(en)

i *lWS*—bæcnien *Lay.* bekke : Senekke *Ch.* beknin, bekin 'nutare' *Prompt.*

brœ̄c pl brech { breech †brijtʃ
breeches britʃiz

—breke *TM.* brech, brek 'braccae' *Prompt.*—(briitʃ) *Sm.* (britʃes) *G.* (britʃ) *Ld.*

hēhþo sf heighte height hait

i *lWS*—heȝþe *Ay.* heyt *MH.* heighte : feyghte *vb RBC.* hyght : myght *TM.* heitbe *Prompt.* heighte (e) *Ch*—haight *Ck.* (heixt) *G.* (heit, heet) *Cp.* (həit, heet, heetþ) *Jn, the last spelt* heighth. (haiþt) *Ld.* (heet) *EO, Bch.* (həit) *Sh.*

nēhst †nesst next nekst

y *lWS.* nest *VP, Du.* næhst, i *Ru.*—nexte *Lay.* nixte *sb Ay.* nestfalde *Jul.* nest : prēst *North., GE.* nest †*RBC, Harl.*

*ēgaþ eit eyot eit

WS iggaþ, igeoþ—æit *Lay.* eit *from* *ēhþ, *ēgþ (*cp* siht *from* gesihþ).

1650 ēg-land iland island ailend

i *lWS.* ealond *VP*—eitlond (ilond) *Lay.* eilond *Best.*

hēg hei hay hei

i *lWS*— —(hei) *Bll.* (hai) *G.* (hee) *Cp.*

lēgetu sf leit lightning laitniŋ

i *lWS*—*Lay., AR.* ai *Ay.* leiten *vb, confused w.* lihhtenn 'illuminate,' lihtnen 'shine.' lightninge 'fulgur' *Prompt.*—(leixtniŋ) *G.*

‡slœ̄g †sleh sly slai

—sley : ney 'near' *RGl.* sleȝe *pl Ay.* sleghe : deghe (= deyja) *CM.* sly *MH.* sleeȝ, sliȝ *Wicl.* sly : hertely *Ch.*

wrœ̄gan †wreȝ(h)enn (be)wray †birei

—wreien *AR, Ch.* wraie *Ay.* *also* wrie.

1655 tēgan teien tie tai

i *lWS*—teien (tiȝe) *Lay.* teien *AR.*

twœ̄gen †tweȝȝenn twain †twein

dēgan deyen dye dai

i *lWS*—*Ch.* dyyn *Prompt.*

‡slœ̄gþ sf sleihte sleight †slait

'cunning'—liste (slehþe) *Lay.* sleȝþe *Ay.* sleight : heyght (= hēhþo) *RBC.* sleighte : eighte, slyghte : myghte *Ch*—(ai) *Ld.* (sleit) *Bch.* (slɔit) *Sh.*

lēt prt †lét let let

—le(o)t *Ld.* le(a)tte *Lay.* lette *AR.* leet *North., GE.* leet : feet *Ch.*

1660 swœ̄te †swét(e) sweet swijt

scēte shete sheet ʃijt

y *lWS.*

fœ̄t pl †fét feet fijt

— — (ii) *G.*

mœ̄tan meten meet mijt

grœ̄tan †gretenn greet grijt

1665	bētel	betel	beetle	bijtl
	'malleus.' y *l WS.*			
	gemœ̄tte prt	mette	met	met
	*hœ̄dan	heden	heed	hijd
	hedan.			
	stœ̄da	stede	steed	†stijd
	spœ̄d sf	†sped	speed	spijd
	'wealth.'			
1670	fœ̄dan	†fedenn	feed	fijd
	— — fiding *HVg.*			
	nēd sf	†nede	need	nijd
	ie *eWS*, y, ea, eo *lWS*—neod(e) *Lay.* nede, neod *AR.* nyede *Ay.*—neade *Td.* (ii) *G, Cp.*			
	mēd sf	†mede	meed	†mijd
	crēda	crede	creed	krijd
	*brœ̄dan	breden	breed	brijd
	e — — (ii) *G.*			
1675	*blœ̄dan	bleden	bleed	blijd
	e.			
	spœ̄dde prt	spedde	sped	†sped
	fœ̄dde prt	†fedde	fed	fed
	blœ̄dde prt	bledde	bled	bled
	blœ̄dsian	†blettsenn	bless	bles
	bledsian *VP.* bl(o)edsia *Du.* bl(o)etsian *Ru.* bledsian, bletsian *WS.* geblitsad *eKt*—bletcæd *Ld.* *also* blettcedd *O.* bletseigen *Lay.* blescien *AR.* blissed *Ay.* blissed, bliscid *North.* †blyst *ptc TM.* blisced *GE.* eblest : best *Aud.* blisse : kisse, blesse : cursednesse *Ch.* *infl of* bliss—blessynge, y *Td.*			
1680	stēpel	stepel	steeple	stijpl
	y *l WS.*			
	*strēpan	strepen	strip	strip
	y—u *Jul.* e *Ay.* e (ee, i) *Ch*—stripped *Td.*			
	wœ̄pan	†wepenn	weep	wijp
	*cœ̄pan	†kepenn	keep	kijp
	e.			
	†dēpe	depe	depth	depþ
	y *l WS*—*Ch.* depthe *Wicl.*			
1685	*cœpte	†keppte	kept	kept
	e.			

ēa.

flēa(h) sf	fle	flea	flij
— — (ii) *W.*			
pēa	pecok	pea(cock)	pijkok
Grein. *generally* pawa—o *Ay.* e (o) *Ch*—(poukok) Pocock.			
ēar sn	er(e)	ear	ier
'spica.' eher *Du.* æhher *Ru.*—eares *pl AR, GE.* yere *Ay.*			

ēare **†ære** **ear** **ier**
—yere *Ay.*—(eer) *G.* (eer, iir) *Bt.* (iirwig) *Cp.*

1690 **sēarian** **seren** **sear** **†sier**
— — (ii) *Cp.*

nēar cp **†ner** **near** **nier**
—neor *Lay, Jul.* nere : lere *vb CM.* nere : here *adv,* nar : war *adj TM.* neer (nere) *Ch*—(niir) *Sm.* (neer, nier) *G.* (niir) *W etc.*

gēara **ȝore** **yore** **†jɔr**
iara *Ru.*—ȝ(e)are *Lay., AR.* yoore *Ch.*

tēar **†tær** **tear** **tier**
tear *VP.* tear, tæher *Du.* — — (ii) *Cp.*

lēaðor **—** **lather** **læðer**
leaðorwyrt *Wgl*—leþerede a swote *Lay.* liðerede *Kath.*

1695 **dēaþ** **†dæþ(þ)** **death** **deþ**
—ded *North.* de(a)d : forbead *GE.* †ded *Hv., RBC.* †dede, †dethe *TM*—(ee) *G.*

-lēas **†-læs, -less** **-less** **-lis**
— -leas (e) *AR.* -lees *Ch*— -lesse *Td.*

cēas prt **†chæs** **chose** **tʃouz**
—chæs *Lay.* cheas, chese : ese *sb North.* †ches *GE, RBC.* ches, chos : porpose *AllP.* chos *Harl.* chase, †e *TM.* chees : douteles *Ch*—(oo) *G.*

ēast **†æst** **east** **ijst**
—æst *Ld.* yeast *Ay.*—(eestʃeep) Eastcheap *Jn.*

Ēastron pl **†æstre** **easter** **ijster**
—æsterne *dat.* estren *dat. Ld.* æst(e)re (easter) *nom. Lay.* iestre *Ay.* esterne *GE.* eestern *Prompt.* astere *Aud.*

1700 **hēawan** **†hæwenn** **hew** **†hjuw**
— — (heu) *Bll, Bt.*

hrēaw **rau** **raw** **rɔ**

þēawas pl **†þæwess** **thews** **†þjuwz**
'morals.'

scēawian **†shæwenn** **show, shew** **ʃou**
'survey'—scawe *Ld.* scæwede, e, a (sewede) *Lay.* schea(u)wen, schawen (schawi) *AR.* seaweth, seywinge *KS.* sse(a)wy *Ay.* scawe (scau), scawid (sceud), scaun *ptc* : draun *CM.* shewe : Berthelmewe *PC.* schau : knau, schewes : thewes (= þēawas) *MH.* shew : thew, show, a : knaw *TM.* shauwe : knawe *Hv.* shewe : rewe 'row' *Harl.* schew : know *Aud.* shewe : fewe *Ch*—shio (showe) *HVg.* shewe *Td.* (eu, ʃoouz) *G.* (uu, eu) *Cp.* (oou, ou, iu) *Jn.* (iu, oo) *Ld.* (oo) *Bch, Sh.*

scrēawa **shrewe** **shrew** **ʃruw**
— — (ʃriu) *EO, Bch.* (ʃruu) *Sh.*

1705 **strēaw** **strau** **straw** **strɔ**
streaw-, streow-berge *Leechd.* strewu *pl Wgl.* streu *Ru.*—bedstrau *SB.* strea *AR.* stra : ga *vb,* wa *Hv.* stre : wee (= wēa) *Harl.* stree : thre, straw *Ch.* strau *PPl.* strauberi *Prompt.*—(au) *Sm.* (ɔɔu) *G.*

fēa(we) **†fæwe** **few** **fjuw**
—fæu, feuna *dat. Ld.* feue *Lay.* feawe *Kath.* ueawe *Ay.* vawe, fowe *RGl.* fone *North.* : *by anal. of* hwōn. fo : wo *GE.* fo : to go *RBC*—feawe *Td.* (feu, feeu) *G.* (feu, fiu) *W.* (fɔɔ) *barbare Cp.*

	dēaw	†dæw	dew	djuw
	— — (deu) *Sm.* (deui) dewy *G.*			
	hēafod	†hæfedd	head	hed
	—hæued, hefed *Ld.* heaued, hæued, he(f)ued, haf(u)ed, hæfd, hefd *Lay.* heaued *AR, Ay.* heued : weued (= gewǣfed), hefd *MH.* heued *GE.* hede *RBC, TM.* heed *Wicl.* heed, heddes *pl* (heuedes, heedes) *Ch*—he(e)ddes *Td.* (e) *Sm.* (ee) *G.*			
	foran-hēafod	forheved	forhead	forid
	— — forheddes *Td.*			
1710	be-rēafian	bireven	bereave	†birijv
	— — (ee) *G.*			
	berēafod ptc	†biræfedd	bereft	†bireft
	—iræved *Lay.* ireaved *Ay.* reft *North.* biraft : shaft *Ch.*			
	lēaf sn	lef	leaf	lijf
	—ea, ia *Ay.*			
	lēaf sf	†lefe	leave	lijv
	—e *from* ālēfan. leave, æ (e) *Lay.*—(ee) *G.*			
	gelēafa	†læfe	belief	bilijf
	—ilæfe *Lay.* bileaue *AR.* bileve *Ch*—ie *from* gelēfan.			
1715	scēaf	†shæf	sheaf	ʃijf
	dēaf	†dæf	deaf	def
	—deef *Ch*—(ee) *Sm.* (ii) *EO.* (e) *Bch, Sh.*			
	bēan sf	bene	bean	bijn
	— — (ee) *G.*			
	sēam	sem	seam	sijm
	stēam	stem	steam	stijm
	— — (ii) *Jn.*			
1720	strēam	†stræm	stream	strijm
	tēam	†tæm	team	tijm
	— — (ii) *Jn.*			
	drēam	†dræm	dream	drijm
	'melody,' 'joy'—*OI* draum 'dream.'			
	bēam	†bæm	beam	bijm
	— — (ee) *G.*			
	ēac	†ec	eke	†ijk
	ec *VP.* ec, æc *Du., Ru.*—eac (eke) *Lay.* eke *Jul.* †eek, †eke *Ch*—(iik) *G.* (eek) *Jn.*			
1725	hrēac	rek	rick	rik
	— — i *from Angl.* hrēc.			
	lēac	lek	leek	lijk
	— — (ii) *Bll.*			
	gār-lēac	garleek	garlick	gaalik
	cēace	cheke	cheek	tʃijk
	ea, eo *lWS.* e *Du., Ru.*—cheoke *AR.* cheake *Ay.* ee *Ch*—(ii) *Pg.*			
	bēacen sn	bekne	beacon	bijken
	becen *VP.* becon *Du.* becun *Ru.*—bocknen *vb Harl.*—(bekənzfijld, ij) Beaconsfield.			

1730 **hēah** **†heh** **high** **hai**

heh *VP*, *Du.*, *Ru.*—hæge *pl*, hehlice *Ld.* heʒhe *pl O.* he(i)h, hæh, haih, hah, *pl* hehė, heie, haʒe *etc* (heʒ, heʒe) *Lay.* heih (heh) *AR.* hey : isey (= geseah) *RGl.* heʒliche *Ay.* hegh, hei *North.* heg *GE.* hey : sley *adj Hv.* hey : worþy, þey fley 'flew' *RBC.* hee : see *vb*, hy : body *TM.* heh : neh, heʒe : dreyʒe (= drēogan) *Harl.* hyʒ *AllP*, *Aud.* hiʒ *Wicl.* heigh, hy (high), *pl* hye : Lumbardie *Ch*—hye *Td.* (heix, hei), (heier, heier) *cp G.*

hēahfore **heifre** **heifer** **hefer**

also heahfru—*also* haif(a)re. hekfere *Prompt.*—(ee, e) *Jn.*

lēah **—** **lea** **†lij**

also lēag.

þēah **†þohh** **though** **ðou**

æ *VP.* e, a *Du.* æ, ea *Ru.* ea, e *Past.*—þeah, æ, þohuuethere, þoþ *Ld.* swaþehh *O.* þeah, æ, e(i), a(i) *Lay.* þauh (a) *AR.* þey *RGl.* þæʒ *Ay.* tho(g)h, thof *North.* thoug(he), thof *TM.* ðog *GE.* þah *Harl.* þeʒ *AllP.* thaʒ *Aud.* thouʒ *Wicl.* tho(u)gh *Ch.* *OI* þō *from* *þōh, o.—(ðoo, ðoou) *Sm.* (ðoouh, ðowh) *Bll.* (ðox) *G.* (ðoo) *Ld.*

nēah **†neh** **nigh** **†nai**

neh *VP*, *Du.*, *Ru.* ne(a)h *Ld.* ne(i)h, æ *Lay.* neih (neh, nea) *AR.* nei : sley *adj RGl.* nieʒ *Ay.* neiʒ : dreigh (= drēog-) (nei) *CM.* ney : by *adv RBC.* neg *GE*—nei *HVg.* (neix) *G.*

1735 **nēah-gebūr** **neighebour** **neighbour** **neiber**

—neihebur *AR.* neʒ(ʒ)ebour, neʒibor *Ay.* neighebor (neighbur) *Ch*—(næibor, neebor) *Pr.* (ee, ææ) *Ld.* (neeber) *EO*, *Bch*, *Sh.*

ēage **†eʒhe** **eye** **ai**

e *VP*, *Du.* e(a) *Ru.*—ægon *pl Ld.* æʒen, eʒen *pl Lay.* eie (ehe) *AR.* eʒe *Ay.* eye : deye *vb MH.* eyne *pl* : pyne *RBC.* ee : bee *vb TM.* eʒe *Harl.* yʒe : dyʒe (= deyja), yʒen *pl* : i wene *vb AllP.* iʒe *Wicl.* eye (iye, eyghe) : melodye *Ch*—eye *Td.* (ei) *Sm*, *G.*

lēag sf **leie** **lye** **lai**

—l(e)ie *Prompt.*

flēag prt **†flæh** **flew** **fluw**

fleg *VP*—e *Lay.* þey fley : on hey *RBC.* fly, fleigh, flaugh (fley, fleegh) *Ch*—(yy) *G.*

þrēatian **þreten** **threat(en)** **þret(n)**

— — (þretn) *Bll.* (þreet, þreetn) *G.*

1740 **grēat** **†grǽt** **great** **greit**

— — grett *Td.* (greet) 'magnus,' (greeet) 'ingens' *G.* (*ee*) *Cp.* (ii) *EO.* (ee) *Bch*, *Sh.*

bēatan **†bætenn** **beat** **bijt**

— — (ee) *G.* (beetn) *ptc Mg.*

rēad **reed** **red** **red**

— — (e) *Sm.*

lēad **leed** **lead** **led**

— — (ee) *Sm.*

scrēadian **schreden** **shred** **ʃred**

1745 **dēad** **†dæd** **dead** **ded**

—dyad *Ay.* deed : breed (= ēa) *Ch.* didle *Aud.*—(ee) *G.*

brēad **†bræd** **bread** **bred**

—bread, bryad *Ay.*—(ee) *Sm*, *G.*

hēap   †hæp   heap   hijp
—ea, ya *Ay.*—(ee) *G.*

hlēapan   †læpenn   leap   lijp
—lheape *Ay.*—(ee) *G.*

stēap   †stæp   steep   stijp
— — (ii) *G.*

1750 **cēap sn   chep   cheap   tʃijp**
'purchase'—guodcheap 'cheap' *Ay.*

***cēap-faru sf   chaffare   chaffer   †tʃæfer**
faru 'journey'—cheffare *AR.* chapfare *Ay.* chaffare : ware 'wares' *Ch.*

cēap-mann   †chappmann   chapman   tʃæpmen
—chepmon, a *Lay.* chepmon *AR.* chapman *PPl, Ch.*

ēo.

hlēo   le   lee   lij
'shelter.' hleow *WS.*

þrēo   †þre(o)   three   þrij
eo, ie, y *WS*—þre(o) *Ld, Lay.* þreo *AR.* þrie *KS.* þri *Ay.* thre *North.*—(ii) *G.* (þrepens) *Jn*; (þripins) *Mg, Bch*; (þripens) *Sh* threepence. (þripini) *Bch*; (þripeni) *Sh* threepenny—(þripens); *vg* (þrepens). (þripeni).

1755 **sēo fem   sche   she   ʃij**
hēo 'she' sēo 'that one,' 'the'—scæ *Ld.* heo, hoe, he, ha (ȝeo) *Lay.* hēo, þēo *AR.* hi, zi *Ay.* ȝho *O.* sc(h)o : dō *North.* sho : do *Hv.* sche : to be, scheo *RBC.* sge, she : þē, g(h)e *GE.* sche *Aud.* shee : beautee *Ch.*

gesēon   †se(o)n   see   sij
—he se(o)ð *Ld.* iseon *AR.* z(y)eþ *pl*, ysi *inf Ay.* se(he) : thre *MH* —wi sin *HVg.* (sii), (siin) *ptc G.*

frēo   †fre   free   frij
freo, frig *WS*—freo *Ld, Lay., AR*—(ii) *G.*

flēo vb   †fle(o)n   flee   flij
—fle(o)n *Lay.* fleon *AR.* vleþ *pl*, beuly *inf Ay.* fle : me *MH.* fle : be *vb RBC.* flee : thee *Ch.*

cnēo   †cnes, cnewwess pl   knee   nij
cneow *WS.* cnew *Du.* cneu *Ru.*—*also* o cnewwe *O.* cneo(u)wen, cneon (cnowes, cnouwes) *pl Lay.* knee *North.* knowes, knees *Ch*—(nhii) *Cp, Ld.*

1760 **glēo   gle   glee   glij**
gliig *Past.*—gleo *Lay., AR.* gleu : breu (= brēowan) *MH.* gle : uanite *CM.* gleu : greu *prt Hv.* glew : knew *prt GE.*

trēo   †tre(o)   tree   trij
tre(o)w, treo, *gen.* tres, *pl* trew, treo *VP.* tre(o), treu *Du.* treow *Ru.*, *WS*—treowwess *pl O.* treo, *pl* treo(we)n (troues) *Lay.* trau *Ay.* tre *North.* tre : be, *pl* treen *GE.*

bēo sf   be   bee   bij

bēo vb   †be(o)n   be   bij
—ben *Ld.* beon, *pl* beoð, buð *Lay.* beon *AR.* bi(en) *inf*, ib(y)e

ptc KS. by *inf,* byeþ *pl Ay.* buen, be(o)n *Harl.* ȝe bun *Aud.*—(bi) *G.*

hlēor sn   ler(e)   leer   lier

'cheek'—leor *AR.* lure *Harl.*

1765 dēor   †de(o)r   deer   dier

'wild beast'—der, æ *Ld.* dor *Hom.* de(o)r *Lay.* deor, duer *Harl.*—(diier) *G.*

dēore adj   †de(o)re   dear   dier

ie, y *WS*—dære *Ld.* eo, u *Lay.* eo *AR.* diere, dyere *Ay.*—deare *Td.* (ii) *Sm.* (ee) *not* (ii) *Bt.* (diier, dier, deer) *G.* (diir) *W etc.* (diir, der) *Jn.*

dēorling   †derrlinng   darling   daaliŋ

e *Du.* y *lWS*—eo *Lay., AR.* e *Wicl.* a *Aud.* e, a *TM*—derlinge *Td.* (ee) *not* (a) dearling *Bt.*

drēorig   †drerig   dreary   drieri

—u, (e) *Lay.* eo *AR.* dririhed *GE.*

bēor   ber   beer   bier

— —(bier) *G.*

1770 fēorþa   †fe(o)rþe   fourth   foþ

—veorðe *AR.* uerþe *Ay.* e *North., GE.* furþe *Harl.* fourt *TM.* ferthe (ee, ou) *Ch*—(oou) *G.* (əu) *Pr.* (uu) *Cp, Jn, EO.* (oo) *Ld, Bch, Sh.*

fēorþling   ferthing   farthing   faaðiŋ

feorðung *Du.*—farthyng *TM*—a *Td.* e *Ck.* (færdiŋ) *Cp.* (fææerdin) *Bch.* (fæærðiŋ) *Sh*—(faadin) *vg.*

‡stjōrn sf   sterne   stern   steen

'steering.'

hrēol   rel   reel   rijl

hwēol   †whe(o)l   wheel   whijl

also hweowol, hwe(o)gol—hweol *AR.* hueȝel *Ay.*

1775 gēola   †ȝol   yule   †juwl

—*infl of Scand.* jōl. ȝeoldæi *Lay.* yolnight *MH*—(juul) *Bch.*

fēoll prt   †fell   fell   fel

—feol (u), feollen (volle) *pl Lay.* uolle : helle *Hom.* iuel *KS.* vil *Ay.* fell : tell *CM.* fel (u) *PPl.* †fil, e *Ch.*

hēold prt   †held   held   held

—e(a), (e)o *Ld.* eo, u (e) *Lay.* eo *AR.* e *KS.* i *Ay.* e (u) *PPl.* e(i) *North.* e *GE.* helde *pl* : schelde *RBC.* u *Harl.* heeld *Ch*—(hild) *barbare Cp.*

sēoþan   seþen   seethe   sijð

for-lēoṣan   †-le(o)senn   lose   luwz

—eo (ea) *Lay.* eo *AR.* he l(e)ost, lust *ON.* ie *KS.* ye *Ay.* e *North., Aud., Ch.* eo *Harl.* e, o *Wicl.* lo(y)se : hose *sb TM*—lose *Td.* looseth *Ck.*

1780 frēosan   fresen   freeze   frijz

— — (ii) *G.*

flēos   fleṣ   fleece   flijs

fnēosan   fnesen   sneeze   snijz

—fneseth (sneseth) *Ch*—(niiz) *Sm.*

cēosan **†chesenn** **choose** **tʃuwz**

—cesen *Ld.* eo *Lay., AR.* ie, ye *Ay.* e *North., GE, Ch, Wicl.* *also* u—u *Ck.* (yy) *G.* (tʃuuz) *Mg.*

prēost **†pre(o)st** **priest** **prijst**

—preste, i (ei): neste *superl. CM.* pruest *Harl.* e, i, y *Aud.*

1785 **brēost** **†bre(o)st** **breast** **brest**

—(e)o *Lay.* eo *AR.* ye *Ay.* ee *Wicl.* brest : fest (= ȳ), lest 'desire,' fest 'feast,' brist (e) *Ch*—(bresplæet) *Jn.*

ēow **ew** **yew** **juw**

also iw — — (yy) *Sm.*

ēow **†ȝuw** **you** **juw**

iu(i)h *Du.* eow, iu *Ru.*—(e)ou, oeu, ȝeow (ȝou, ou) *Lay.* ou *AR.* ȝew *Procl.* ou, eu *ON.* yw *KS.* giu (yow): Ihesu *CM.* yow : now *Hr.* gu *GE.* ou *Harl.* yow *AllP.* ȝow : knowe *inf Aud.* yow : now *Ch*—yw, yo *HVg.* (juu, jou) *G.* (jiu, jou) *Cp.* (juu) *Ld.*

ēower **†ȝure** **your** **juer**

iuer *Du.* e(o)wer *Ru.*—eour, euwer, ower *Hom.* ower *AR.* yure *KS.* giur (yur) *CM.* gure *GE.* o(u)r *Harl.* ȝour *Aud.* youre *Ch*—ywr *HVg.* (juur) *G.* (jur) *Cp.*

hēow sn **†hewe** **hue** **hjuw**

hīw *WS.*

1790 **hrēowan** **†treowenn** **rue** **†truw**

—rew : new, thou rues, rufully *TM*—(ryy) *Pg, G.*

þrēow prt **þreu** **threw** **þruw**

sēowan **sewen** **sew** **sou**

siuuid *Ep.* siuwid *Cp.* i, y *WS.* siuieð *Du.* siowes *Ru.*—seouwen *AR.* sewe (seu) *CM.* sowed (swed, sewed) *Ch*—(seu) *Bt.* (soou) *G.* (siu, soo) *Ld.* (soo) *Bch, Sh.*

fēower **†fowwerr** **four** **fɔr**

feor *Du.*—fower *Ld.* f(e)o(u)wer, f(e)our *Lay.* uo(u)r *AR.* uour *Ay.* four, faur *North.* foure *TM.* four *Harl.* fawre *AllP*—(oou) *G.* (ou) *Cp.* (oo) *Ld.*

fēowertēne **fourtene** **fourteen** **fɔtijn**

— — (oou) *G.*

1795 **fēowertēne-niht** **fourtenight** **fortnight** **fɔtnait**

fēowertig **†fowwertiȝ** **forty** **fɔti**

—feowerti *Lay.* fowrti *Jul.* furti *KS.* uourti *Ay.* fourti (forti) *CM.* faurty *MH, AllP.* fourti *TM*—fourtye *Td.* (ʊ) *G.* (ɔɔ) *Ld.*

nēowe **†ne(o)we** **new** **njuw**

io, eo *VP, Ru.* niwe *Du., WS*—neuuæ *Ld.* neowe *Lay., AR.* newe *Kt.* neu *North.*—(nyy) *G.* (nyy, neu, niu) *W.* (niu) *Bch, Sh.* (nuu) *Fr.*

cēowan **†chewwenn** **chew** **tʃuw**

— — (tʃiu) *Cp.* (oo, oou, iu, ɔɔ) *Jn.* (iu, oo) *Ld.* (uu, ɔɔ) *Sh.* —(ɔɔ) *vg.*

crēow prt **creu** **crew** **kruw**

1800 **clēowe** **clewe** **clew** **kluw**

— — (yy) *Pg.*

cnēow prt **†cne(o)w** **knew** **njuw**

—knew *Ay., North.* biono *AllP.* knoghe : enoghe *TM.* kneȝ *Wicl.* —(yy) *G.* (knyy) *W.* (nhiu) *Cp.*

grēow prt **greu** **grew** **gruw**

trēowe **†trowwe** **true** **truw**

tre(o)we *VP.* eo, eu, trewe *Ru.* ie, y *WS*—treo(u)we (trewe) *Lay.* trewe (eo) *AR.* triwe *RGl.* trewe *Ay.* trewe (treu) : neu, treuli (truli) *CM.* trewe *GE, Harl.* trwe *AllP.* trew, truli *Aud.* trew : blew 'blue,' truly *TM.* tr(e)uli *Wicl.* trewe : newe *Ch*—truely *Td.* (yy) *G.* (iu) *Cp, Bch.* (uu) *Fr, Sh.*

trēowian **†trowwenn** **trow** **†trau**

—tr(e)owen (trouen) *Lay.* (trowen) *AR.* tru (trau) : nu *CM.* trow *PC.* tro : dō *Hv.* trowen, e *GE.* trawen, tryȝe : yȝe, trow *AllP.* trowe : bowe (= boga), þey trowd (trod) : God *RBC.* traw : draw, trow : now *TM.* trowe : growe (= ōw), blowe (= āw) *Ch*—tro *HVg, Sb.* (oou) *G.*

1805 **brēowan** **brewen** **brew** **bruw**

— — (yy) *Sm, W.*

blēow prt **bleu** **blew** **bluw**

'blew,' 'bloomed.'

***hrēowþ** **reuþe** **ruth** **†truwþ**

—reouðe (reuþe) *Lay.* reouðe *AR.* reuþe *Ay.* eu *North.* ew *GE.* ou *Harl.* au *AllP.* routhe : slouthe, eu (au) *Ch*—(yy) *G.* (ɐ) *Bch.* (uu) *Sh.*

trēowþ **†trowwþe** { **truth** **truwþ**
{ **troth** **†trouþ**

—treuthe, eo *Ld.* treowðe, treuweþe (treuþe) *Lay.* trouðe *AR.* treuþe *RGl, Ay.* trouþe *CM.* trouþe, au, ew *MH.* trawthe : slawthe, (o)u *TM.* trewðe *GE.* treuþe, ou *Harl.* trawþe *AllP.* trowth, eu *Aud.*—trueth, eu, truwth, ou *Td.* (yy, u?) *G.* (bitroþ) betroth *Pr.* (uu) *Bch, Sh.*

lēof **leef** **lief** **†lijf**

—luef *Harl.*

1810 **lēof mann** **lemman** **lemman** **†lemen**

—leofmon *Lay., AR.* lemman *Ay., Ch.*

þēof **þef** **thief** **þijf**

—þefas *Ld.* þyef, þief *Ay.*—(ii) *G.*

clēofan **cleven** **cleave** **klijv**

— — (ii) *Sm.* (ee) *G.*

dēofol **†defell** **devil** **devl**

diobul, diowl, diwl, diul *Du.*—dyeuel *Ay.* devel *North.* diuel *Best.* deville, dewille, dwylle *TM*—devyll, dyvell *Td.* devel *Ck.* (diivil) *Sm.* (devl) *Cp.* (divl, dil, del) *Jn.* (devl) *Bch, Sh.*

betwēonan **†bitwenenn** **between** **bitwijn**

—betwenen *Ld.* bitweonen, u, bitueiȝen (þitwine) *Lay.* betuene *KS.* —(ii) *G.*

1815 ***gebēon ptc** **iben** **been** **bi(j)n**

— — byn *Td.* (ii) *G.* (i) *Jn, Ld.*

fēond **†fend** **fiend** **fijnd**

—u(y)end *Ay.* fynd : kynd *adj Aud.*—ffynd *HVg.* (ii) *W.* (i) *J.*

	frēond	†frend	friend	frend	—ur(y)end *Ay.* frend : hend *CM.* ey *TM.* y *Aud.* ee *Wicl.*, *Ch*—ffrynd *HVg.* frendly *Td.* (i) *G.* (ii) *Bt.* (ii, i, e) *Jn.* (frenli, frenſip) *Jn.* (friind) *EO.* (e) *Bch*, *Sh.*
	sēoc	†se(o)c	sick	sik	e *Du.*, *Ru.* eo, e, æ, u (ea) *Lay.* sec, þe sike, si(c)knesse *AR.* sik, zik *Kt.* sek : chēk *MH.* seke : speke *TM.* seke *Aud.* sijk, sek *Wicl.* seeke *pl* : seke *vb*, sik : phisik *Ch*—sicke, e *Td.*
	‡mjūk	†meoc	meek	mijk	
1820	þēoh	†þe(o)s pl	thigh	þai	—þeh, þih *Lay.* þeo : beo *ON.* þe : to be *RBC.* thee : me *TM.* thi *Prompt.* the *Ch*—(þih) *Bll.*
	leoht sn, adj	†lihht sb, adj	light	lait	‘bright(ness).’ e *VP, Du.* eo, e, i *Ru.*—liht *adj Ld.* liht *Lay.*, *AR.* liht : night *ON.* liȝt *Ay.* lyht : syht, lyt : syt (= siteþ) *Harl.*
	leoht	†lihht	light	lait	‘levis.’ e *Du.* i *Ru.*—leht, i *Lay.* liht *AR.* liȝt *Ay.*—(liht, leit) *Sm.*
	lēogan	†leȝhenn	lie	lai	‘mentiri.’ e, i *VP.* e *Du.* i *Ru.*—liȝen (e) *Lay.* liȝen (lihen) *AR.* leghen *KS.* l(y)eȝe *Ay.* þu leies (lighes) *CM.* lye *PC.* †ly *TM.* ley : fley (‘flew’ *pl*) *RBC.* legen *GE.* †lye *Harl.* †lie *Ch*—(ləi) *G.*
	flēogan	†fleȝhenn	fly	flai	e *VP, Du.*—fleon *Lay.* vleon *AR.* vli, he vliȝþ *Ay.* fleie (fli) *CM.* fly : ly (= licgað) *TM.* fleye : heye (high *adv*) *RBC.* flee : free *Ch.*
1825	flēoge sf	flie	fly	flai	—fle(o)ȝe (fleie) *Lay.* vliȝe (flehe) *AR.* vleȝe *Ay.* flege *GE.* fle-wing *TM.* fleȝe (flie) *Wicl.* †flīe *Ch.*
	gēoguþ sf	ȝuȝeþe	youth	juwþ	iuguð, guguþ *VP*—ȝuȝeðe *Lay.* ȝuweðe *AR.* yeȝeþe *Ay.* youthe : mouthe *MH.* youthe : nowthe (= nū þā) *Ch*—(uu) *Bt.* (yy) *G.* (iu) *Cp.* (v) *Jn.*
	tēo(go)þian	tiþen	tithe	taið	teigðega *Du.* tægþigan *Ru.* teoði(g)ian *lWS*—teoþegen *AR.* teðien *Hom.* teþen (i) *PPl.* i *Prompt.*—(taiþ) *Ld.*
	þrēotēne	†þrittene	thirteen	þeetijn	
	scēotan	†shetenn	shoot	ſuwt	—eo *Lay.*, *AR.* e *GE*, *Wicl.*, *Prompt.*, †*Ch.* *also* u. shotes *TM.*
1830	flēote	flete	fleet	flijt	fliute ‘ratis’ *Erfgl*—eo *Lay.*
	bēot prt	beet	beat	bijt	—eo *AR*—(e) *Sm.*
	hrēod	red	reed	rijd	
	wēod	wed	weed	wijd	
	hēope	hepe	hips	hips	‘dog-rose.’
1835	stēop(fæder)	step-	step-	step-	
	crēopan	crepen	creep	krijp	— — (ii) *G.*
	dēop	†de(o)p	deep	dijp	— — (ii) *G.*

I.

	bī	†bi	by	bai
	only adv—be, bi *prp Ld.* be, bie *prp KS.* be, by *prp Ay.* be *prp And.*—(bi) *Sm.* (bei) *G.*			
	īren	†īrenn	iron	aiən
	isern *Ep.* ise(r)n, īren *VP*—irnene *adj O.* izen *Ay.*—yeron *Td.* (eiərn) *G.* (eiərn, ərn) *Jn.*			
1840	scīr sf	shire	shire	ʃaiər, -ʃiər
	— — (wusterʃiir) *G.* (ʃiir) *Cp, Jn, EO, Ld, Bch.* (ʃəir) *Sh.* (ii) *weak form.*			
	scīr-gerēfa	schirreve	sheriff	ʃerif
	spīr	spire	spire	spaiər
	hreodes spir *Leechd.*			
	wīr	wir	wire	waiər
	hwīl sf	while	while	whail
1845	þā-hwīle-þe	†thwil	while whilst	whail whailst
	—*also* wīlenn *O.* þa while *Lay.* þeo hwule *AR.* þe wule þe *RGl.* whiles *PC.* wile, quiles ðat *GE*—hwill *Td.* (hweil, hweils, hwils) *Sm.*			
	fīl sf	file	file	fail
	eo *WS.*			
	mīl sf	mile	mile	mail
	pīl	—	pile	pail
	pilas 'hairs of plants' *Leechd.*			
	pīl	pil	pile	pail
	'javelin,' 'stake.'			
1850	līþe	†līþe	lithe	laið
	'gentle.'			
	sīþe	siþe	scythe	saið
	wrīþan	wrīþen	writhe	raið
	— — (raiþ) *Ld.*			
	‡tīþindi snpl	†tiþennde	tidings	taidiŋz
	—tiðinde, tidende, tidinge *Lay.* tiðinge *AR.* tithand *North.* tiding *GE.* tydand : Scotland, tydinges : offrynges *RBC.*			
	blīþe	†bliþe	blithe	†blaið
	— — (bləiþ) *Cp.*			
1855	īs	is	ice	ais
	ā-rīsan	†risenn	rise	raiz
	wīs	†wis	wise	waiz
	— — (weis) *Sm.* (weiz) *G.*			
	reht-wīs	†rihhtwis	righteous	†raitʃəs
	—rihtwis *Lay., AR.* riȝtwis *Wicl.*—rightewesness *Td.* (rəixteus) *G.* (raitius, raiteus) *Jn.* (raitʃiəs) *Ld.*			
	wīse sf	†wise	wise	waiz

1860	**on-grīslic**	**†grisliȝ**	**grisly**	**†grizli**
	also y (= ē ?)—grislich *Lay.*, *AR*, *Ay.* gris(e)li *PC.* *also* e—(greizli) *G.*			
	Crist	**†crist**	**Christ**	**kraist**
	— — kreist *HVg.*			
	crīsten-dōm	**†crisstenndom**	**Christendom**	**krisndem**
	cristnian	**†crisstnenn**	**christen**	**krisn**
	***Crīstes-mæsse**	**cristesmesse**	**christmas**	**krismes**
	—*Ay.* cristemasse *Ch*—(krismæs) *Jn.*			
1865	**grīst**	**grist**	**grist**	**grist**
	wīs-dōm	**†wissdom**	**wisdom**	**wizdem**
	— — (wiizdum) *Bll.* (wizdum) *G.* (s) *Ld.*			
	hīwa	**hīne**	**hind**	**†haind**
	'inmate of family'—hinen *pl Lay.* n *fr gpl* hīwena (?).			
	þrīwa	**†þriȝ(ȝ)ess**	**thrice**	**†þrais**
	ðri(g)a *Du.* ðrige, þriuwa, þriowa *Ru.*—þrie(n), þreie, þreoien (þries) *Lay.* þries *AR*, *Ay.* þrise : wise *CM.* thries *Ch.*			
	spīwan	**spewen**	**spew**	**spjuw**
	not in Angl.—speowen ; spi *imper.* *AR.* spuyd *ptc TM.*			
1870	**tīwes-dæg**	**tiwesdai**	**tuesday**	**tjuwzdi**
	— — (tiuzdi) *Bch.* (tʃuuzdee) *Sh.*			
	twīwa	**†twiȝess**	**twice**	**twais**
	twiga *Du.*, *Ru.* tuwa *Or.*—twiges *Ld.* tw(e)ien (twie) *Lay.* twien, twie (twies) *AR.* tuyes *Ay.* twie *GE.*			
	īfig	**†ivi**	**ivy**	**aivi**
	līf	**†lif**	**life**	**laif**
	on līfe	**on live**	**alive**	**elaiv**
1875	**‡þrīfask**	**þriven**	**thrive**	**þraiv**
	scrīfan	**†shrifenn**	**shrive**	**†ʃraiv**
	***stīf**	**stif**	**stiff**	**stif**
	stīfian 'stiffen.' stīþ 'stiff'—ii *CM.*			
	wīf	**†wif**	**wife**	**waif**
	wīf-mann	**†wifmann** **†wimmann**	**woman**	**wumen**
	wimman *late*—wimman *Ld.* wifmon, wim(m)on *Lay.* wummon *AR.* wyman *KS.* wyfmanne *d.* *Ay.* wimman, wom(m)an *CM.* woman, weman *PC.* wymmon, wommon *Harl.* wemon *Aud.*—(wuman) *G.* (wuuman) *Bt.* (wемæn) *Pr.* (umæn) *Jn.* (wемæn) *EO.* (е) *not so obscure as in* brother *etc* *Ld.* (wеmin) *Bch.* (wumən) *Sh*—*vg* (umən).			
1880	**wīf-męnn**	**†wifmenn**	**women**	**wimin**
	— wimmen *Ld.* wummen *AR.* wyfmen *Ay.* wimmen *MH.* wymmen *Harl.* wommen *Ch*—wemen *Td.* (wimen, wiimen) *G.* (wiimen) *Pr.* (wеmen) *Cp.* (wimin) *Bch*, *Sh.*			
	fīf	**†fif**	**five**	**faiv**
	fife *pl*—fyf, fyve *Ch*—(fipens) fivepence *Jn*—*older and vg* (fipəns).			
	fīfta	**†fifte**	**fifth**	**fifþ**
	—fifthe (fyfte) *Ch*—fyfte *Td.* (fift) *G.*			

	‡cnif	cnif	knife	naif
	late; *fr Scand.* knif (?).			
	drifan	†drifenn	drive	draiv
1885	fiftig	†fifftiȝ	fifty	fifti
	līne	line	line	lain
	līnen adj	linen	linen	linin
	—linen *AR*, *Ay*. line(n) *Wicl*. linnen *Lay*., *CM*, *PPl*.			
	þin	†þi(n)	thine, thy	†ðai(n)
	swīn	†swin	swine	swain
1890	scinan	†shinenn	shine	ʃain
	scrin	schrin	shrine	ʃrain
	wīn	†win	wine	wain
	hwīnan	whinen	whine	whain
	min	†mi(n)	my, mine	mai(n)
1895	twīn	twin	twine	twain
	†dwīnan	dwinen	dwindle	dwindl
	— — (dwinl) *Jn*.			
	pīnian	†pinenn	pine	pain
	'torture.'			
	pīn-trēo	pine	pine	pain
	lin-sǣd	linsed	linseed	linsijd
1900	rīm sn	†ríme	rhyme	raim
	hrīm	rim	rime	†raim
	līm	†lim	lime	laim
	slīm	slim	slime	slaim
	tīma	†tíme	time	taim
	gelīc	†lic	like	laik
	— — (i) *Sm*. (əi) *G*.			
1905	†sīcan	†sikenn	sigh	sai
	—siken, sichen *Lay*. siken *Ch*—(sih, seih) *Sm*. (səi, səiþ) *Jn*. (saiþ) *Ld*. (səi), *better* (səiþ) *Bch*. (soih) *Sh*.			
	†snīcan	sniken	sneak	snijk
	scrīc	—	shrike	ʃraik
	strīcan	striken	strike	straik
	'glide.'			
	dic sm	dik dich	dyke ditch	daik ditʃ
	'trench'—dic(h) *Lay*. diche *pl* : riche *adj Moral Ode*. dich *Ay*. dik *GE*. dyche, dyke : lyke *TM all* = 'trench'—deitsys 'ditches' *Sb*.			
1910	pīc	pik	pike	paik
	a-lihtan	alihten	alight	əlait
	higian	†hiȝhenn	hie	†hai
	—hih *sb O*.			
	stig-weard	stiward	steward	stjuəd
	—*Ld*, *AR*, *Prompt*.			

	stig-rāp	stirop	stirrup	stirep
1915	snite	snite	snipe	snaip
	—*Wicl.* snipe *Prompt.*			
	smītan	smiten	smite	†smait
	'smear.'			
	†æt-wītan	atwiten	twit	††twit
	'reproach' *sb* edwit—edwit, ædwit *Lay.* edwit *AR.* atwiten *Lay.*, *Ay.* etwiten, edwiten *AR.*			
	wrītan	†wrítenn	write	rait
	hwīt	whit	white	whait
1920	mīte	mite	mite	mait
	bītan	†bitenn	bite	bait
	īdel	†idell	idle	aidl
	hī(gi)d sfn	hide	hide	†haid
	'measure of land.'			
	rīdan	†ridenn	ride	raid
1925	sīde	†side	side	said
	slīdan	sliden	slide	slaid
	strīdan	striden	stride	straid
	wīd	†wid	wide	waid
	cīdan	chiden	chide	††tʃaid
1930	glīdan	gliden	glide	glaid
	tīd sf	††tid	tide	taid
	bīdan	biden	bide	†baid
	brīdel	bridel	bridle	braidl
	—bridledd *O.*			
	rīpe	ripe	ripe	raip
1935	wīpian	wipen	wipe	waip
	grīpan	gripen	gripe	graip
	pīpe	pipe	pipe	paip

ū.

	hū	†hu	how	hau
	—hu *Lay.* h(w)u *AR.* hu, quhu *GE.* hu, wu *Best.* *infl. of* hwȳ—how *HVg.*			
	þū	†þu	thou	†ðau
1940	nū	†nu	now	nau
	cū	cu	cow	kau
	‡būask	busken	busk	†bask
	'prepare oneself'—*also* o.			
	brū sf	bruwe	brow	brau
	ūre	†ure	our	auer
	— — owr, our *HVg.* (our) *G.* (ouer) *Bt.*			

1945	**‡þūres-dæg**	**þursdai**	**Thursday**	**þeezdi**
	þūr *from Scand.* þōr; *OE* þunresdæg—þunresdæi *Lay.* þursdei *AR.*			
	sūr	**sur**	**sour**	**sauer**
	— — sower *Ck.*			
	scūr	**schur**	**shower**	**ʃauer**
	būr	**bur**	**bower**	**†bauer**
	— — (bour) *G.*			
	fūr-lang	**furlong**	**furlong**	**feeloŋ**
	=furh-—forlonge *AllP.* furlong (forlonge) *Ch.*			
1950	**ūle**	**ule**	**owl**	**aul**
	fūl	**†ful**	**foul**	**faul**
	— — (foul) *Sm.*			
	sūþ	**†suþ**	**south**	**sauþ**
	sūþerne	**souþerne**	**southern**	**saðen**
	mūþ	**†muþ**	**mouth**	**mauþ**
1955	**cūþe**	**†cuþe**	**could**	**kud**
	—cuðe *Lay.*, *AR.* couthe : mouthe *MH.* †cowth, cowde *TM.* kowthe *Aud.* kouthe : Dertemouthe, koude : loude *Ch*—coulde, culde *Td.* (kould) *Sm.* (kuuld) *G etc*, *Cp.* (kould) *Pr.* (kuud) *Jn*, *Bch.* (kuuld, kuud, kud) *Ld.* (kud) *Sh.*			
	un-cūþ	**†unncuþ**	**uncouth**	**ankuwþ**
	— — (uu) *Cp.* (ʌ) *Jn.*			
	ūs	**†uss**	**us**	**as**
	—ous *Ay.* (o)us *Harl.* ous *AllP.* us : precius *Ch*—ws *HVg.*			
	hūs	**†hus**	**house**	**haus**
	lūs	**lus**	**louse**	**laus**
1960	**þūsend sn**	**†þusennde**	**thousand**	**þauznd**
	—þusen *Ld.* þusund, þusend, þusende *pl Lay.* þousond *Ay.* þusand *North.*—(þouzand) *G.* (þouzn) *Cp.* (þeuzend) *EO.* (þouzænd) *Fr.*			
	mūs	**mus**	**mouse**	**maus**
	drūsian	—	**drowsy**	**drauzi**
	Grein.			
	‡hūs-þing	**husting**	**hustings**	**hastiŋz**
	‘meeting’—*Lay.*			
	hūs-wīf	**huswif**	**housewife**	**hauswaif**
			hussif, †hussy	**hazi(f)**
	—husewif *AR.* houswif *PPl.* huswif *Prompt.*—(hʌzif) *Mg.* (hʌzii, hʌzi, hʌdi) *Jn.* (hʌziv) *Ld.* (hʌzif) *Bch.* (hʌzwif) *Sh.*			
1965	**dūst**	**†dusst**	**dust**	**dast**
	—u (ou) *Lay.* ou *Ay.*			
	hūs-bōnda	**husbonde**	**husband**	**hazbend**
	from Scand. hūsbōndi ‘house-master.’ bonda, bunda *Laws Æpr.*—*Lay.*, *Prompt.* housbonde (o) *Ch.* husbande : stand *CM*—husbande *Td.*			
	scūfe	**schuven**	**shove**	**ʃav**
	—scuven (seve) *Lay.* schouve *Ch*—(ʌ) *Jn.*			

	‡grūfa vb	**grovelinge**	**grovel**	**grovl**
	‘crouch’—*also* u—(grəvliŋ) *EO.* (grovliŋ) *Bch, Sh.*			
	‡hāre-hūne	**horehune**	**hore** **hoar** } **hound**	**hər(h)aund**
1970	**tūn**	**†tun**	**town**	**taun**
	dūn sf	**†dun**	**down**	**daun**
	of-dūne adv	**†dun**	**down**	**daun**
	also dunestigan *VP*—dun *Ld.* dunnwarrd *O.* doun, donward *RGl, PC* —down *HVg.*			
	‡dūn	**doun**	**down**	**daun**
	‘feathers.’			
	pūnian	**po(u)nen**	**pound**	**paund**
	—*Wicl.*			
1975	**‡bụ̄in** ptc	**†bun**	**bound**	**baund**
	‘ready.’			
	brūn	**brun**	**brown**	**braun**
	rūm	**†rum**	**room**	**rum**
	— — roume *Td.* (uu) *Bll.*			
	þūma	**þume**	**thumb**	**þam**
	—þoume *Ay.* thoumbe *Prompt.* thombe (thome) *Ch.*			
	plūme	**ploume**	**plum**	**plam**
1980	**sūcan**	**suken**	**suck**	**sak**
	—zouke *Ay.* sowke : crowke *Ch.* ou *Wicl., TM.* sokin *Prompt.*—swking *HVg.* souklinges *Ck.*			
	brūcan	**†brukenn**	**brook**	**†bruk**
	‘enjoy’—bruk(i)en *Lay.* ou *Ch*—(uu) *G.*			
	rūh	**†ruhh**	**rough**	**raf**
	—rugh *North., TM.* ru : Esau *GE.* rough *Ch., Wicl.*—(rəf) *W etc.*			
	†hunig-sūge	**hunisuccle**	**honeysuckle**	**hanisakl**
	—honisocle *Prompt.*			
	‡kūga	—	**cow**	**kau**
	‘subdue.’			
1985	**drūgaþ**	**†druhhþe**	**drought**	**draut, drot**
	—druȝþe *Ay.* drugte *GE.* droughþe, dro(u)ghte *PPl.* droghte (ou) *Ch*—(drəut) *Mg.* (əu, ɔɔ, oo) *Jn.* (drauþt) *Ld.* (ou) *Bch, Sh.* (drəuti) *Bch,* (drouti) *Sh* droughty.			
	būgan	**†buȝhenn**	**bow**	**bau**
	— —(bou) *Sm, G.* (buu) *Bll.* (bou) ‘torqueo’ *Cp.* (bau) *Ld.*			
	ūt	**†út**	**out**	**aut**
	— — owt *HVg.*			
	ymb-ūtan	**abuten**	**about**	**əbaut**
	also onbutan — — (about) *G.* (æbəut) *Cp.* (bəut) *Jn.*			
	ūterre cp	**utter**	**utter**	**atər**
	—utter *AR, PC, Ch.* outtreste (outreste) *Ch.*			
1990	**wiþ-ūtan**	**†wiþþutenn**	**without**	**wiðaut**
	lūtan	**†lútenn**	**lout**	**laut**
	clūt	**†clut**	**clout**	**klaut**

	būtan	†butenn	but	bat
	—bute *Ld.* *also* bút(t), butt *O.* beute, buten, bote(n) *Lay.* bute(n) *AR.* bote *Ay.* bot, u *North.* boute *prp*, bote *conj* *Harl.*—butt *Td.*			
	prūt	prud	proud	praud
	—prut (ou) *Lay.* †prout *RGl.* prud *AR.* proud *Ay.* †prud *GE.* proud *Ch.*			
1995	ūder	udder	udder	ader
	—uddir, iddir *Prompt.*			
	hlūd	†lhude av	loud	laud
	scrūd	†shrud	shroud	ʃraud
	crūdan	cruden	crowd	kraud
	'press.'			
	clūd	†clud	cloud	klaud
	'rock.'			
2000	ūp	†upp	up	ap
	upp *by infl. of* uppan—oppe, þerop *Ay.*			
	sūpan	soupen	sup	sap
	—*Prompt.*			
	stūpian	stupen	stoop	stuwp
	—u (ou) *Lay.* ou *Ay.*, *PC*, *Ch*—(uu) *Cp.*			
	‡drūpa	drupen	droop	druwp
	'be dejected'—drupand (ou) *CM.* ou *Ch.*			

ȳ.

	‡skȳ sm	skie	sky	skai
	'cloud.' *OE* wolcen—*also* skewes *pl.*			
2005	hwȳ	†whi	why	whai
	cȳ pl	kyn	kine	†kain
	—ken *Ay.* ky(e) *North.* kyen *Wicl.* keen (kyn) *Ch.*			
	†bycgan	†biggenn	buy	bai
	imper. byge—buggen (i), buȝe *imper.* *Lay.* beggen, he bayþ *Ay.* †bie *North.*, *TM.* by(y)e *AllP.* bigen *GE.* abegge : legge, †abye, beye : tweye *Ch*—(bei) *Sm*, *G.*			
	hȳran	hiren	hire	haier
	fȳr	†fir	fire	faier
	—i *Ld.* u *Lay.*, *AR.* fuyr *RGl.* f(u)ir *PPl.* uer *Ay.* i *North.* fy(e)re : myre *TM.* fi(g)er, fir *GE.* u *Harl.* foyre : hit wēre, fouyre, fuyre, feyre *Aud.* fyer *Wicl.* fyr *Ch*—(feier) *G.*			
2010	‡mȳr sf	mire	mire	maier
	'swamp'—*also* u, ie.			
	fȳlan	†filenn	(de)file	difail
	bȳle	bile	boil	boil
	'ulcer'—*also* u, ui, e—(ei) *Sm*—*vg* (bail).			
	fȳlþ sf	filþe	filth	filþ
	cȳþþo	kiþþe	kith	†kiþ
	'home,' 'friends.'			

2015	**lȳs pl**	**lis**	**lice**	**lais**
	— — (əi) *or* (ii) *Ben Jonson.* (ii) *barbare Cp.* (ii) *from Kt* *lēs.			
	mȳs pl	**mis**	**mice**	**mais**
	— — (əi) *or* (ii) *Ben Jonson.* (ii) *barbare Cp.* (ii) *from Kt* *mēs.			
	wȳscan	**wischen**	**wish**	**wiʃ**
	—wessen *Ay.* wuschin, i *Prompt.*—wish *HVg.*			
	‡þrȳsta	**þrusten**	**thrust**	**þrast**
	—e *Ay.* i *GE, Prompt.* i, e *Wicl.* threste : leste (i, u) ‘desired’ *Ch.*			
	fȳst sf	**fist**	**fist**	**fist**
	u *Lay., AR, AllP.* i *Prompt.* fest (i) : brest (= ēo), best *adj Ch.*			
2020	**hȳf sf**	**hive**	**hive**	**haiv**
	dȳfan	**diven**	**dive**	**daiv**
	—u *AR.* e *Marg.* i *PPl.*			
	brȳne	**brine**	**brine**	**brain**
	þȳmel	**thimbil**	**thimble**	**þimbl**
	‘thumbstall’—*Prompt.*			
	drȳge	**†driȝȝe**	**dry**	**drai**
	—druie *AR.* dri *North.* dryȝe, druye *AllP.* drie *Wicl.* dreye : weye (drie) *Ch.*			
2025	**lȳtel**	**†lítell**	**little**	**litl**
	—*pl* little *O.* luttel (t) *Lay.* lutthle *pl,* lutte *Hom.* lutel *AR.* litel, *pl* little *Ay.* lutel *Harl.* lytul, lyty *Aud.* litel, lite : visite *Ch.* (litl) ‘parvus’ (liitl) ‘valde parvus’ *G*—(lait) Lyte. *older* (lijtl).			
	cȳta	**kite**	**kite**	**kait**
	—e *Ay.* y (e) *Ch.*			
	prȳte	**pride**	**pride**	**praid**
	—prute, prude *Lay.* prute *RGl.* prude *AR.* prede *Ay.* pruyde *PPl.* pride *GE.*			
	hȳd sf	**hide**	**hide**	**haid**
	hȳdan	**†hidenn**	**hide**	**haid**
2030	**brȳd**	**†brid**	**bride**	**braid**
	hȳdde prt	**†hidde**	**hid**	**hid**
	drȳpan	**drippin**	**drip**	**drip**
	l WS ; = ē (?)—*Prompt.* *also* drepen.			

O.

	scō	**†sho**	**shoe**	**ʃuw**
	— — shues *Td.* (uu) *Pg.*			
	tō adv	**†to**	**too**	**tuw**
2035	**tō prp**	**†to, te**	**to**	**tu, te**
	—to, ta *Lay.* to, uor te *AR.* to (ta) *CM*—to, tw *HVg.* (tu, to) *G.* (too) *Ld.*			
	***un-tōweard**	**—**	**untoward**	**†antoued**
	— — (teuærd) toward *Pr.* (o) *not* (*o*) ıs toward *Ld.*			

	dō vb	**†don**	**do**	**duw**
	— — (duu) *Sm.* (du, duust, duiŋ) *G.* (duu) *rectius* (doo) *W.* (duu) *Pr etc.*			
	ōra	**oor**	**ore**	**ɔer**
	—*also* ore (?).			
	hōre	**hore**	**whore**	**hɔr**
	— — (huur) *Sm, Pr etc, Sh.* (hoor, whoor) *Ld.* (hoor) *EO, Bch*—*older* (huer).			
2040	**swōr prt**	**swor**	**sware** **swore**	**†sweer** **swɔr**
	—o *Lay., GE.* zuor *Ay.* swar (o) *AR.* sware *North.*—(oo) *G.* (forsuur) *Jn.* (soor, swoor) *Ld.*			
	flōr sfm	**†flor**	**floor**	**flɔr**
	— — (fluuer) *sometimes Jn.* (oo) *Ld.*			
	mōr	**mor**	**moor**	**muer**
	— — (moor) *EO, Ld, Bch, Sh.*			
	stōl	**stol**	**stool**	**stuwl**
	scōl sf	**scole**	**school**	**skuwl**
	Æfcgl. scolu *e WS.*			
2045	**cōl**	**col**	**cool**	**kuwl**
	tōl	**tol**	**tool**	**tuwl**
	pōl	**pol**	**pool**	**puwl**
	ōþer	**†oþerr**	**other**	**aðer**
	—ǫ́þre *pl O.* oother *Ch*—(u, o) *Sm, G.* (ænʌðer, nʌðer) *Jn.* (o) *not* (*o*) *Ld.*			
	rōþor	**roþer**	**rudder**	**rader**
2050	**sōþ**	**†soþ**	**sooth**	**†suwþ**
	— — (fersʌþ) *better* (fersuuþ) *Jn.*			
	smōþe adv	**†smeþe**	**smooth**	**smuwð**
	also as adj instead of smǣþe—e *AR,* †*PC.* o *Prompt., Ch.*			
	tōþ	**toþ**	**tooth**	**tuwþ**
	†dǣþ vb	**†doþ**	**doth**	**†daþ**
	—dooth *Ch.* doithe *TM*—dwth *HVg.* (u) *G.* (uu) *Jn.*			
	‡bōþ sf	**†boþe**	**booth**	**buwþ**
	EScand.; *OI* būþ — — (buuð) *Bll.*			
2055	**brōþor**	**†broþerr**	**brother**	**braðer**
	— — o *Ck.* (u) *G.* (bruðerhud) *Cp.*			
	ōsle	**osel**	**ouzel**	**uwzl**
	‡lǫus	**los**	**loose(n)**	**luws(n)**
	lǫusna 'get loose'—(þe lowse ston, lousse) *AR.* loos 'solutus' *Prompt.* laus (louse, los), loos : goos *Ch*—lowsen, loose *vb Td.* loous, lous, loos *Ck.* (uu) *Sm.*			
	wōs	**wos**	**ooze**	**uwz**
	gōs	**gos**	**goose**	**guws**
	—guos *Ay.*			
2060	**gōs-hafoc**	**goshauk**	**goshawk**	**goshɔk**
	bōsm	**†bosemm**	**bosom**	**buzem**
	— — (bʌzem) *Jn.* (bʌzem) *Fr.* (bozem) *Bch.* (buuzem) *Sh*—*vg* (bazim).			
	hrōst	—	**roost**	**ruwst**

	fōstor	**†fosstrenn vb**	**foster**	**foster**
	mōste prt	**†mosste**	**must**	**mast**
	—o *Lay.*, *AR*, *Ch.* u *Hom.*, *GE*, *TM*—muste *Td.*			
2065	**blōstm(e)**	**†blosstme**	**blossom**	**blosem**
	—blostme *AR.* blosme *Marg.*, *Ch.* blosme, blossum *Prompt.*—blosswm *HVg.*			
	†ōwef	**oof**	**woof**	**wuwf**
	— — (wʋf), *better* (uuf) *Jn.* w *infl. of* wefan.			
	rōwan	**rowen**	**row**	**rou**
	— — (roou) *Bll.*			
	hlōwan	**lowen**	**low**	**lou**
	— — (ou) *Sb.*			
	stōwian	**stowen**	**stow**	**stou**
2070	**flōwan**	**†flowenn**	**flow**	**flou**
	grōwan	**growen**	**grow**	**grou**
	— — (oou) *G.*			
	glōwan	**†glowenn**	**glow**	**glou**
	blōwan	**blowen**	**blow**	**blou**
	‘bloom.’			
	hōf	**hof**	**hoof**	**hu(w)f**
	—hufe *PC*—(huuv) *Sm.*			
2075	**hōf prt**	**†hof(f)**	**hove**	**†houv**
	—hof, æ, ea (eo), hefde *Lay.* hef *AR.* hof *North.* haf : yaf, haaf *Ch.*			
	be-hōfian	**†bihofenn**	**behove**	**†bihouv**
	—behoued : loued *CM.* byhufe : lufe *PC*—(bihuuv) *G*, *Cp*, *EO*, *Sh.* (bihʋv) *Pr*—*older* (uw).			
	wudu-rōfe	**wuderove**	**woodruff**	**wudraf**
	hrōf	**†r(h)of**	**roof**	**ruwf**
	glōf sf	**glove**	**glove**	**glav**
	— — (gluv) *G.*			
2080	**prōfian**	**provien**	**prove**	**pruwv**
	—preoven *AR.* provi *Ay.* proven, e *PPl.* *infl. of Fr*—(uu) *Bt*, *Cp.* (ʋ) *Pr.* (ʋ, uu) *EO*—*older* (a).			
	sōfte	**†soffte**	**soft**	**soft**
	adv of sēfte, *but also adj*—soofte *Td.* (o) *Sm*, *G.*			
	sōna	**†son(e)**	**soon**	**suwn**
	spōn	**spon**	**spoon**	**spu(w)n**
	‘chip’ — — (uu) *G.*			
	nōn	**non**	**noon**	**nuwn**
2085	**mōna**	**mone**	**moon**	**muwn**
	mōnaþ	**moneþ**	**month**	**manþ**
	— — (munþ) *G.*			
	mōnan-dæg	**mone(n)dai**	**Monday**	**mandi**
	—munendai *GE*—(mundai) *Bt.* (muundee) *Jn.* (mʋndi) *Bch.* (mʋndee) *Sh.*			
	gedōn ptc	**†don**	**done**	**dan**
	—don (u) *CM*—dynn, dywn *HVg.* done *Td.* doon *Ck.* (u) *G.*			

	‡bōn sf	**†bone**	**boon**	**†buwn**
	‘request’; *generally* bēn. *OE* bēn *sf—also* bene *O.* bone *Lay., AR.* bone : clene *adj Hom.*			
2090	**lōma**	**lōme**	**loom**	**luwm**
	‘tool.’			
	cōm	**†comm**	**came**	**keim**
	—com *Ld.* cómenn *pl O.* com *Lay., AR.* com : -dōm *RGl.* kam *KS.* com *Ay.* com, cam : Adam *CM.* cam : Adam *GE.* cam : Dardaniam, com : dōm *RBC.* com : dome *TM.* com *AllP.* come : dome *Aud.* cam : ram, coom : -dom *Ch*—cam(e) *Td.* (bikaam) *G.*			
	gōma	**gome**	**gum**	**gam**
	glōm	—	**gloom**	**gluwm**
	dōm	**†dom**	**doom**	**duwm**
2095	**-dōm**	**†-dom**	**-dom**	**-dem**
	— -dom *PC.* -dam *GE, AllP, Aud.,* †*RBC.* -dam, -doom *Wicl.* -dom : coom, -dam *Ch* — -dome, -domm *Td.*			
	brōm	**brom**	**broom**	**bru(w)m**
	— — (uu) *Bll.*			
	blōma	—	**bloom**	**†bluwm**
	‘mass of metal.’			
	‡blōmi	**†blome**	**bloom**	**bluwm**
	hōc	**hok**	**hook**	**huk**
2100	**hrōc**	**rok**	**rook**	**ruk**
	lōcian	**†lokenn**	**look**	**luk**
	— — (uu) *Sm etc.* (ɐ) *better* (u) *Jn.*			
	lōca imper.	**†lōke, loc**	**lo**	**†lou**
	lochwæt ‘whatever’ *etc late*—lou, leo (lo), la *Lay.* lo (low) *AR.* lo : do *CM*—(halluw) hollo.			
	scōc prt	**schok**	**shook**	**ʃuk**
	— — (uu) *G.*			
	on-wōc	**wok**	**woke**	**wouk**
2105	**cōc**	**cok**	**cook**	**kuk**
	— — (uu) *G.*			
	‡krōk	**†croc**	**crook**	**kruk**
	‡toc prt	**†toc**	**took**	**tuk**
	— — (ɐ), *better* (u) *Jn.*			
	bōc	**†boc**	**book**	**buk**
	— — (uu) *G, Cp, Bch, Sh.*			
	brōc	**brok**	**brook**	**bruk**
2110	**hōh**	**hoh**	**hough**	**hok**
	— — (hof) *Dyche.* (hok) *Sh.*			
	tōh	**touh**	**tough**	**taf**
	— — (tou, touh) *Sm.* (tɐf) *W.* (too) *Jn.* (tɐf) *EO, Bch, Sh.*			
	þohte prt	**†þohhte**	**thought**	**þɔt**
	— — (þowht) *Bll.* (þoouxt) *G.* (þoot) *Pr, EO.* (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Ld, Sh.*			
	sohte prt	**†sohhte**	**sought**	**sɔt**
	— — (souht) *Sm.* (bisoot) *Jn.* (ɔɔ) *Ld.*			

brohte prt **†brohhte** **brought** **brot**

— — (brouxt) *G.* (broot) *Pr, Jn.* (o) *Bch.* (ɔɔ) *Ld, Sh.*

2115 **slōg** **slouh** **slough** **slau**

'devium' *Wgl.* 'quoddam concavum' *Bede*—(oo) *Ld.* (slɐf) *Bch.* (slou) *Sh.*

slōg prt **†sloh** **slew** **†sluw**

—*pl* sloghenn *O.* sloh *Lay.* slouh *AR.* sloh : inoh *MH.* slog, slug *GE.* slow : how *adv RBC.* slooȝ. slew *Wicl.* slough, slow *Ch*—slue *Td.* (yy) *Sm.*

geswōgen ptc **swounen vb** **swoon** **†swuwn**

'senseless.' aswōgen 'choked'—swough *sbst.* iswowen 'in a swoon'—(saun) *Ld.* (suun) *Bch, Sh.*

wōgian **wowen** **woo** **wuw**

— — (uu) *Jn.*

genōg **†inoh** **enough** **inaf**

—*pl* inoȝhe *O.* inouh *AR.* inoȝ *Ay.* inoch, enogh *CM.* enewe : knew, enoghe : soghe (= sugu) *TM*—ynough *Td.* (inux, inuf) *G.* (inɐf) *W.* (enɐf) *Cp.* *pl* enow (enəu) *W, Cp.* (enɐf) *Bch.* (eenɐf) *Sh.* *pl* (eniu) *Bch,* (eenou) *Sh.*

2120 **drōg prt** **†droh(h)** **drew** **druw**

—drouh *AR.* drogh *North.* drow : prow 'profit' *RBC.* droȝ, drou(ȝ), dreuȝ *Wicl.*—drue *Td.*

plōh **†ploh** **plough** **plau**

from Scand. plōg—ploges *Ld.* plo : do *TM.* plow (plouh) *PPl.* plough : ynough, plowman *Ch*—(əu) *Cp.* (oo) *Jn.* (ou) *Bch, Sh.*

bōg **†boȝhess pl** **bough** **bau**

—bowes : growes, bughes *PC*—(bowh, buuh) *Bll.* (bou) *G.* (bəu, boo) *Jn.* (boo) *Bch.* (bou) *Sh.*

rōt **†róte** **root** **ruwt**

from Scand. rōt (?) unrotlice doþ 'exterminant' *Wgl*—rotfest *Ld.* rote *AR.*

sōt **sot** **soot** **sut, sat**

— — (uu) *G.* (uu) *Pr.* (u) *Cp.* (ɐ) *better* (u) *Jn.* (ɐ) *Bch, Sh.* (sɐti) *Bch,* (suuti) *Sh* sooty.

2125 **wrōtan** **wroten** **root** **ruwt**

'root up.' wrōt 'snout.'

fōt **†fót** **foot** **fut**

— — (uu) *Bll, Pr.* (u, ɐ) *Jn.* (ɐ) *Bch.* (u) *Sh.*

gemōt sn **mot** **moot** **muwt**

'meeting.'

bōt sf **†bote** **boot** **buwt**

'mending.'

hōd **hod** **hood** **hud**

— — (u, uu) *Sm.* (u, ɐ) *Jn.*

2130 **rōd sf** **†rode** { **rood** **ruwd**
{ **rod** **rod**

—rodde : codde *ON*—rodd 'rod' *Td.*

gescōd ptc **ischood** **shod** **ʃod**

	stōd prt	**†stod**	**stood**	**stud**
	— — (uu) *G.* (u, ɐ) *Jn.* (uu) *Bch.* (u) *Sh.*			
	wōdnes-dæg	**wednesdai**	**Wednesday**	**we(d)nzdi**
	—wodnesdawes (weodnesdei) *AR.* wednesdai *Kath.* wednesday *Harl.* —(wenzdee) *Jn, Sh.* (wenzdi) *Bch.*			
	fōda	**†fode**	**food**	**fuwd**
2135	**fōd(d)or**	**fod(d)er**	**fodder**	**foder**
	flōd	**†flod**	**flood**	**flad**
	— — fludde *Td.* (uu) *Sm.* (u) *Bll, G.* (*u*, ɐ) *Cp.*			
	mōd	**†mod**	**mood**	**muwd**
	†wer-mōd	**wermod**	**wormwood**	**weemwud**
	módor	**†moderr**	**mother**	**maðer**
	—moder *North., Aud.* mooder *Ch*—mwddyr *HVg.* oo *Ck.* (u) *Bll.* (ɐ) *Jn.*			
2140	**gōd**	**†god**	**good**	**gud**
	—guod *Ay.* goud *AllP.*—gwd *HVg.* (uu, u) *Sm.* (u) *G.* (u, ɐ) *Jn.*			
	brōd	**brod**	**brood**	**bruwd**
	blōd	**†blod**	**blood**	**blad**
	— — bloud *Td, Ck.* (uu) *Sm.* (u) *Bll, G.*			
	hwōpan	—	**whoop**	**(w)huwp**
	— — (huup, uup) *Jn.*			

SECOND WORD-LIST.

(LIVING-OLD.)

a

þarə	*thorough*	þurh
wari	*worry*	wyrgan
farou	*furrow*	furh
barə	*borough*	burg
dal	*dull*	dol
halk	*hulk*	hulc
naþiŋ	*nothing*	nānþing
daþ	*doth*	dœ̄þ
aðər	*other*	ōþer
saðən	*southern*	sūþerne
maðər	*mother*	mōþor
braðər	*brother*	brōþor
as	*us*	ūs
ðas	*thus*	þus
masl	*mussel*	muscle
basl	*bustle*	bustla
task	*tusk*	tusc
bask	*busk*	būask
hastiŋz	*hustings*	hūsþing
rast	*rust*	rust
last	*lust*	lust
þrast	*thrust*	þrȳsta
mast	*must*	must mōste
klastər	*cluster*	clyster
gast	*gust*	gust
trast	*trust*	treysta
dast	*dust*	dūst
hazi(f)	*hussy, -if*	hūswif
hazbənd	*husband*	hūsbōnda
raʃ	*rush*	risc
þraʃ	*thrush*	þrysce
blaʃ	*blush*	blyscan
raf	*rough*	rūh
wudraf	*woodruff*	wudurōfe
inaf	*enough*	genōg
kaf	*cuff*	cuffie
taf	*tough*	tōh
avn	*oven*	ofen
lav	*love*	lufian

ʃav	*shove*	scūfan
ʃavl	*shovel*	scofel
glav	*glove*	glōf
foksglav	*foxglove*	foxes-glofa
əbav	*above*	onbufan
haŋ	*'hung*	hēng
jaŋ	*young*	geong
raŋ	*rung*	hrung wrungen
laŋ	*lung*	lungen
saŋ	*sung*	sungen
slaŋ	*slung*	slungin
swaŋ	*swung*	swungen
staŋ	*stung*	stungen
spraŋ	*sprung*	sprungen
əmaŋ(st)	*among*	ongemang
klaŋ	*clung*	clungen
taŋ	*tongue*	tunge
daŋ	*dung*	dung
saŋk	*sunk*	suncen
ʃraŋk	*shrunk*	scruncen
maŋk	*monk*	munuc
draŋk(ən)	*drunk(en)*	druncen
haŋgər	*hunger*	hunger
maŋgər	*monger*	mangere
hani	*honey*	hunig
ran	*run*	eornan urnen
san	*son*	sunu
san	*sun*	sunne
stan	*stun*	stunian
span	*spun*	spunnen
ʃan	*shun*	scunian
wan	*won*	gewunnen
wan	*one*	ān
nan	*nun*	nunne
nan	*none*	nān
kaniŋ	*cunning*	cunnan
bigan	*begun*	begunnen
tan	*tun*	tunne
dan	*dun*	dunn
dan	*done*	gedōn
manþ	*month*	mōnaþ
wans	*once*	ǣne
hant	*hunt*	huntian
stant	*stunt*	stunt
pant	*punt*	punt
andər	*under*	under

handrəd	*hundred*	hundred
þandər	*thunder*	þunor
sandi	*sunday*	sunnandæg
wandər	*wonder*	wundor
mandi	*monday*	mōnandæg
trandl	*trundle*	tryndel
bandl	*bundle*	byndelle
þam	*thumb*	þūma
sam	*some*	sum
samər	*summer*	sumor
swam	*swum*	swummen
nam	*numb*	genumen
kam	*come*	cuman
kamli	*comely*	cȳmlic
kram	*crumb*	cruma
gam	*gum*	gōma
dam	*dumb*	dumb
plam	*plum*	plūme
krampl	*crumple*	crump
slambər	*slumber*	sluma
tambl	*tumble*	tumbian
sak	*suck*	sūcan
hanisakl	*honeysuckle*	hunigsūge
mak	*muck*	myk
klak	*cluck*	cloccian
plak	*pluck*	pluccian
bak	*buck*	bucca
agli	*ugly*	ugglig
magwəət	*mugwort*	mucgwyrt
tag	*tug*	togian
atər	*utter*	ūterre
ʃat	*shut*	scyttan
ʃatl	*shuttle*	scytel
flatər	*flutter*	floterian
nat	*nut*	hnutu
katlfiʃ	*cuttlefish*	cudele
gat	*gut*	gutt
bat	*but*	būtan
bat	*butt*	potian
batər	*butter*	butere
batək	*buttock*	buttuc
satʃ	*such*	swelc
matʃ	*much*	micel
kratʃ	*crutch*	crycc
adər	*udder*	ūder
radər	*rudder*	rōþor
radi	*ruddy*	rudig
flad	*flood*	flōd
kad	*cud*	cwidu
blad	*blood*	blōd
ap	*up*	ūp
sap	*sup*	sūpan
kap	*cup*	cuppe
tapəns	*twopence*	twā pęningas
stabl	*stubble*	stybb

ə

ə(n)	*a(n)*	ān
-dəm	*-dom*	-dōm
-əd	*-herd*	-hirde
-wəd	*-ward*	-weard

i

stirəp	*stirrup*	stigrāp
il	*ill*	ill
hil	*hill*	hyll
þril	*thrill*	þyrelian
sil	*sill*	syll
sili	*silly*	gesǣlig(ō)
swil	*swill*	swilian
skil	*skill*	skil
stil	*still*	stille
spil	*spill*	spildan
ʃiliŋ	*shilling*	scilling
wil	*will*	willa
wilou	*willow*	welig
fil	*fill*	fyllan
mil	*mill*	mylen
kil	*kill*	cwęllan
til	*till*	til tilian
tʃil	*chill*	cęle
dil	*dill*	dile
pilou	*pillow*	pyle
bil	*bill*	bile bill
bilou	*billow*	bylgja
filþ	*filth*	fȳlþ
milʃ	*milch*	milce
silvər	*silver*	seolfor
kiln	*kiln*	cylen
film	*film*	filmen
silk	*silk*	seoloc
milk	*milk*	meolc
hilt	*hilt*	hilt
gilt	*guilt*	gylt
mildjuw	*mildew*	mildēaw
tʃildrən	*children*	cildru
gild	*guild*	gildi
gild	*gild*	gyldan
bild	*build*	byldan
smiþ	*smith*	smiþ
kiþ	*kith*	cȳþþo
piþ	*pith*	piþa
hiðər	*hither*	hider
ðiðər	*thither*	þider
smiði	*smithy*	smiþþe
stiði	*stithy*	stęþi

wið	*with*	wiþ
wiði	*withy*	wiþig
whiðər	*whither*	hwider
-lis	*-less*	-lēas
lisn	*listen*	hlysnan
þisl	*thistle*	þistel
ðis	*this*	þis
whisl	*whistle*	wistlian
mis	*miss*	missan
misltou	*mistletoe*	misteltān
kis	*kiss*	cyssan
krisn	*christen*	crīstenian
krisndəm	*christendom*	crīstendōm
krisməs	*christmas*	Crīstes-mæsse
grisl	*gristle*	gristle
glisn	*glisten*	glysnian
brisl	*bristle*	byrst
blis	*bliss*	bliss
rist	*wrist*	wrist
list	*list*	gelystan hlystan
listlis	*listless*	lust
sistər	*sister*	sweostor
fist	*fist*	fȳst
mist	*mist*	mist
grist	*grist*	grīst
twist	*twist*	twist
distaaf	*distaff*	distæf
lisp	*lisp*	wlisp
whispər	*whisper*	hwisprian
krisp	*crisp*	crisp
iz	*is*	is
hiz	*his*	his
rizn	*risen*	risen
wizn	*wizen*	wisnian
grizli	*grisly*	ongrīslic
dizi	*dizzy*	dysig
bizi	*busy*	bysig
wizdəm	*wisdom*	wīsdōm
wiʃ	*wish*	wȳscan
fiʃ	*fish*	fisc
diʃ	*dish*	disc
biʃəp	*bishop*	biscop
if	*if*	gif
stif	*stiff*	stīf
klif	*cliff*	clif
fifþ	*fifth*	fīfta
lift	*lift*	lyfta
þrift	*thrift*	þrift
sift	*sift*	siftan
swift	*swift*	swift
ʃift	*shift*	skifta
ʃrift	*shrift*	scrift
fifti	*fifty*	fīftig
gift	*gift*	gift
drift	*drift*	drift

liv	*live*	libban
livər	*liver*	lifer
siv	*sieve*	sife
giv	*give*	gifan
drivn	*driven*	drifen
riŋ	*ring*	hring (h)ringan
riŋ	*wring*	wringan
þiŋ	*thing*	þing
siŋ	*sing*	singan
sliŋ	*sling*	slöngva
swiŋ	*swing*	swingan
stiŋ	*sting*	stingan
striŋ	*string*	strẹnge
spriŋ	*spring*	springan
wiŋ	*wing*	vẹng
kiŋ	*king*	cyning
kliŋ	*cling*	clingan
briŋ	*bring*	bringan
riŋkl	*wrinkle*	wrincle
liŋk	*link*	hlẹnce
þiŋk	*think*	þyncan
siŋk	*sink*	sincan
sliŋk	*slink*	slincan
stiŋk	*stink*	stincan
ʃriŋk	*shrink*	scrincan
wiŋk	*wink*	wincian
twiŋkl	*twinkle*	twinclian
driŋk	*drink*	drincan
iŋgliʃ	*english*	ẹnglisc
iŋglənd	*england*	ẹngla-land
fiŋgər	*finger*	finger
miŋgl	*mingle*	mẹngan
in	*in*	in
in	*in, inn*	inn
linin	*linen*	līnen
linit	*linnet*	linetwige
þin	*thin*	þynne
sin	*sin*	synn
sinju	*sinew*	sinu
skin	*skin*	skinn
spin	*spin*	spinnan
ʃin	*shin*	scinu
win	*win*	gewinnan
winou	*winnow*	windwian
fin	*fin*	finn
minou	*minnow*	myne
kin	*kin*	cynn
bigin	*begin*	beginnan
grin	*grin*	grennian
tin	*tin*	tin
tʃin	*chin*	cinn
twin	*twin*	getwinn
din	*din*	dyne
bin	*bin*	binn
bin	*been*	*gebēon
linsijd	*linseed*	līnsǣd
sins	*since*	siþþan

minstər	*minster*	mynster
inʃ	*inch*	ynce
linʃpin	*linch(pin)*	lynes
winʃ	*winch*	wince
finʃ	*finch*	finc
sinʒ	*singe*	sęngan
krinʒ	*cringe*	cringan
stint	*stint*	styntan
wintər	*winter*	winter
flint	*flint*	flint
mint	*mint*	minte mynet
dint	*dint*	dynt
hindər	*hinder*	hindrian
lindin	*linden*	linden
sindər	*cinder*	sinder
spindl	*spindle*	spinel
wind	*wind*	wind
windou	*window*	vindǫuga
windləs	*windlass*	vindās
tindər	*tinder*	tynder
dwindl	*dwindle*	dwīnan
him	*him*	him
rim	*rim*	rima
lim	*limb*	lim
swim	*swim*	swimman
ʃimər	*shimmer*	scimerian
wimin	*women*	wīfmęnn
grim	*grim*	grimm
trim	*trim*	trymman
dim	*dim*	dimm
brim	*brim*	brymme
brimstən	*brimstone*	*brynestān
imp	*imp*	impa
limp	*limp*	lęmp(healt)
þimbl	*thimble*	þȳmel
nimbl	*nimble*	numol
timbər	*timber*	timber
(ais)ikl	*icicle*	gecel
rik	*rick*	hrēac
lik	*lick*	liccian
(gaa)lik	*garlic*	(gār)lēac
þik	*thick*	þycce
sik	*sick*	sēoc
sikl	*sickle*	sicol
stik	*stick*	stician sticca
strikən	*stricken*	stricen
wik	*wick*	weoce
wikid	*wicked*	wicce
fikl	*fickle*	ficol
flikər	*flicker*	flicorian
kwik	*quick*	cwic
kwiksænd	*quicksand*	cwęcesand
tik	*tick*	ticia
tikl	*tickle*	citelian
tʃikin	*chicken*	cicen
prik	*prick*	prician
prikl	*prickle*	pricel
siks	*six*	sex
viksn	*vixen*	fyxen
miks	*mix*	miscian
siksþ	*sixth*	sexta
bitwikst	*betwixt*	betwix
iəwig	*earwig*	ēarwicga
twig	*twig*	twig
it	*it*	hit
hit	*hit*	hitta
ritn	*written*	writen
litl	*little*	lȳtel
sit	*sit*	sittan
slit	*slit*	sliten
smitn	*smitten*	smiten
spit	*spit*	spitu spittan
wit	*wit*	witan gewitt
whit	*whit*	wiht
fit	*fit*	fitt
flit	*flit*	flytja
nit	*knit*	cnyttan
grit	*grit*	grytt
glitər	*glitter*	glitter
twit	*twit*	ætwītan
pit	*pit*	pytt
priti	*pretty*	prættig
bit	*bit*	bite
bitn	*bitten*	biten
bitər	*bitter*	biter
itʃ	*itch*	giccan
stitʃ	*stitch*	stice
witʃ(elm)	*wychelm*	wice
witʃ	*witch*	wicce
whitʃ	*which*	hwilc
flitʃ	*flitch*	flicce
kitʃin	*kitchen*	cycene
twitʃ	*twitch*	twiccian
ditʃ	*ditch*	dīc
pitʃ	*pitch*	pic
bitʃ	*bitch*	bicce
britʃiz	*breeches*	brœ̄c
hid	*hid*	hȳdde
rid	*rid*	hręddan
ridl	*riddle*	rǣdels (ē)
ridn	*ridden*	riden
(bed)ridn	*bedridden*	będdrida
lid	*lid*	hlid
slid	*slid*	sliden
widou	*widow*	widwe
fidl	*fiddle*	fiþele
midl	*middle*	middel
kid	*kid*	kiþ
kwid	*quid*	cwidu
gidi	*giddy*	gidig
did	*did*	dyde

bid	*bid*	biddan
bidn	*bidden*	biden
midst	*midst*	tōmiddes
ridʒ	*ridge*	hrycg
midʒ	*midge*	mycg
bridʒ	*bridge*	brycg
hip	*hip*	hype
hips	*hips*	hēopan
lip	*lip*	lippa
þripəns	*threepence*	þrēo pęningas
(kau)slip	*cowslip*	cūslyppe
slipəri	*slippery*	slipor
strip	*strip*	strēpan
ʃip	*ship*	scip
kripl	*cripple*	crypel
klip	*clip*	klippa clyppan
tipit	*tippet*	tæppet
grip	*grip*	gripe
dip	*dip*	dyppan
drip	*drip*	drȳpan
rib	*rib*	ribb
nib	*nib*	nębb

e

erənd	*errand*	ǣrende (ē)
heriŋ	*herring*	hæring
ʃerif	*sheriff*	scīrgerœ̄fa
feri	*ferry*	fęrian
meri	*merry*	myrg
beri	*berry*	bęrge
beri	*bury*	byrgan
beriəl	*burial*	byrgels
el	*ell*	ęln
hel	*hell*	hęll
jel	*yell*	gellan
jelou	*yellow*	geolu
sel	*sell*	sęllan
swel	*swell*	swellan
smel	*smell*	smellan
spel	*spell*	spell
ʃel	*shell*	scęll
wel	*well*	wel węlle
fel	*fell*	fell fęllan fēoll
feli, -ou	*felly, -oe*	fęlg
felou	*fellow*	fēlagi
nel	*knell*	cnyllan
kwel	*quell*	cwęllan
tel	*tell*	tęllan
dwel	*dwell*	dvęlja
bel	*bell*	belle
beli	*belly*	bęlg
belouz	*bellows*	
belou	*bellow*	belgan

helþ	*health*	hǣlo
els	*else*	ęlles
welʃ	*welsh*	węlisc
elf	*elf*	ęlf
self	*self*	self
ʃelf	*shelf*	scęlf
twelfþ	*twelfth*	twęlfta
twelv	*twelve*	twelf
delv	*delve*	delfan
elm	*elm*	elm
helm	*helm*	helma
helmit	*helmet*	helm
welkin	*welkin*	wolcen
whelk	*whelk*	weoloc
smelt	*smelt*	smelt
spelt	*spelt*	spelt
felt	*felt*	felt
melt	*melt*	meltan
belt	*belt*	bęlt
beltʃ	*belch*	belcettan
eldər, -ist	*elder, -est*	ęldra, ęldest
eldər	*elder*	ellern
held	*held*	hēold
seldəm	*seldom*	seldon
help	*help*	helpan
jelp	*yelp*	gelpan
whelp	*whelp*	hwęlp
deþ	*death*	dēaþ
breþ	*breath*	brǣþ (ē)
leðər	*leather*	leþer
weðər	*wether*	weþer
weðər	*weather*	weder
wheðər	*whether*	hwæþer
feðər	*feather*	feþer
neðər	*nether*	neoþor
təgeðər	*together*	tōgædre
breðrin	*brethren*	brœ̄þer
jes	*yes*	gise
resl	*wrestle*	wrǣstlian
les	*less*	lǣssa
kres	*cress*	cresse
bles	*bless*	blœ̄dsian
bihest	*behest*	hǣs
jestədi	*yesterday*	geostran-dæg
rest	*rest*	ręst
rest	*wrest*	wrǣstan
lest	*lest*	þȳ-lǣs
west	*west*	west
nest	*nest*	nest
gest	*guest*	gęst
tʃest	*chest*	cest
best	*best*	bętst
brest	*breast*	brēost
sez	*says*	sęgeþ
þreʃould	*threshold*	þerscold

freʃ	*fresh*	fersc
fleʃ	*flesh*	flǣsc
hefər	*heifer*	hēahfore
def	*deaf*	dēaf
bireft	*bereft*	berēafod
left	*left*	lyft lǣfed
þeft	*theft*	þēofþ
weft	*weft*	wefta
kleft	*cleft*	geclyfte
deft	*deft*	gedæfte
evər	*ever*	ǣfre
evri	*every*	ǣfre ǣlc
hevi	*heavy*	hęfig
hevn	*heaven*	heofon
ilevn	*eleven*	endlufon
sevn	*seven*	seofon
nevər	*never*	nǣfre
devl	*devil*	dēofol
lengþ	*length*	lęngo
streŋþ	*strength*	stręngþo
eni	*any*	ǣnig
hen	*hen*	hęnn
renit	*rennet*	ręnnan
ren	*wren*	wrǣnna
ðen	*then*	þonne
wen	*wen*	węnn
when	*when*	hwonne
fen	*fen*	fęnn
men	*men*	męnn
meni	*many*	manig
ken	*ken*	kęnna
əgen(st)	*against*	ongægn
ten	*ten*	tēn
den	*den*	dęnn
pen	*pen*	pęnnan
peni	*penny*	pęning
hens	*hence*	heonon
ðens	*thence*	þanon
whens	*whence*	hwanon
klenz	*cleanse*	clǣnsian
stenʃ	*stench*	stęnc
renʃ	*wrench*	wręncan
frenʃ	*french*	fręncisc
kwenʃ	*quench*	cwęncan
drenʃ	*drench*	dręncan
benʃ	*bench*	bęnc
ənent	*anent*	on efen
lent	*lent*	lęncten
lent	*lent*	lǣned
sent	*sent*	send
ment	*meant*	mǣned
kent	*kent*	cęnt
twenti	*twenty*	twentig
end	*end*	ęnde
rend	*rend*	ręndan
lend	*lend*	lǣnan
send	*send*	sęndan
spend	*spend*	spęndan
wend	*wend*	węndan
frend	*friend*	frēond
bend	*bend*	bęndan
blend	*blend*	blęndan
hem	*hem*	hęmm
hemlok	*hemlock*	hymlic
lemən	*lemman*	lēof mann
ðem	*them*	þeim
stem	*stem*	stęmma
stem	*stem*	stęmn
emti	*empty*	ǣmettig
hemp	*hemp*	hænep
embəz	*embers*	eimyrja
rek	*reck*	ręccan
rek	*wreck*	vręk
rek	*wreak*	wrecan
rekən	*reckon*	recenian
spek	*speck*	specca
nek	*neck*	hnęcca
bek(ən)	*beck(on)*	bēcnan
nekst	*next*	nēhst
eg	*egg*	ęgg
leg	*leg*	lęgg
dregz	*dregs*	dręgg
beg	*beg*	bedecian
et	*ate*	ǣt
jet	*yet*	get
let	*let*	lęttan lǣtan lēt
þret(n)	*threat(en)*	þrēatian
set	*set*	sęttan
setl	*settle*	setl
swet	*sweat*	swǣtan
wet	*wet*	wǣt
whet	*whet*	hwęttan
fetər	*fetter*	fetor
fret	*fret*	fretan frætwan
net	*net*	nętt
netl	*nettle*	nętele
met	*met*	gemœ̄tte
ketl	*kettle*	cętel
get	*get*	(be)getan
tetər	*tetter*	teter
betər	*better*	bętera
retʃ	*retch*	rǣcan
retʃ	*wretch*	wręcca
stretʃ	*stretch*	stręccan
fetʃ	*fetch*	fęccan
hed	*head*	hēafod
red	*red*	rēad
red	*read*	rǣdde

led	*lead*	lēad
led	*led*	lǣdde
þred	*thread*	þrǣd (ē)
sed	*said*	sægde
sted	*stead*	stęde
stedi	*steady*	stæþþig
sped	*sped*	spœ̄dde
spred	*spread*	sprǣdan sprǣdde
ʃed	*shed*	scydd scēadan
ʃred	*shred*	screādian
wed	*wed*	wedd
wednzdi	*wednesday*	wōdnes-dæg
fed	*fed*	fœ̄dde
medou	*meadow*	mǣd (ē)
tred	*tred*	tredan
ded	*dead*	dēad
dred	*dread*	ondrǣdan (ē)
bed	*bed*	będd
bred	*bread*	brēad
bled	*bled*	blœ̄dde
edʒ	*edge*	ęcg
hedʒ	*hedge*	hęge
sedʒ	*sedge*	sęcg
sledʒ(hæmər)	*sledge*	slęcg
wedʒ	*wedge*	węcg
stəp	*step*	stęppan
step-	*step-*	stēop-
ʃepəd	*shepherd*	scǣphirde (ē)
wepən	*weapon*	wǣpen (ē)
depþ	*depth*	dēpe
slept	*slept*	slǣpte (ē)
kept	*kept*	cēpte
eb	*ebb*	ębba
web	*web*	wębb
pebl	*pebble*	papol

æ

ærou	*arrow*	arwe
hæri	*harry*	hęrgian
jærou	*yarrow*	gearwe
spærou	*sparrow*	spearwa
nærou	*narrow*	nearu
mærou	*marrow*	mearg
tæri	*tarry*	tęrgan
bærou	*barrow*	bearwe beorg
hælou	*hallow*	hālgian
sælou	*sallow*	salu salh
ʃæl	*shal*	scæl
fælou	*fallow*	falu
mælou	*mallow*	malwe
kælou	*callow*	calu
gælouz	*gallows*	galga
tælou	*tallow*	tælg
sælv	*salve*	salfian
hæþ	*hath*	hæfþ
læðər	*lather*	lēaþor
fæðəm	*fathom*	fæþm
gæðər	*gather*	gædrian
mæs	*mass*	mæsse
bæs	*bass*	bærs
bæst	*bast*	bæst
æspin	*aspen*	æspe
æz	*as*	alswā
hæz	*has*	hæfþ
æʃ	*ash*	æsc
æʃiz	*ashes*	ascan
ræʃ	*rash*	rask
þræʃ	*thrash*	þerscan
mæʃ	*mash*	mæsc
tʃæfər	*chaffer*	*cēapfaru
hæv	*have*	habban
hæŋ	*hang*	hangian
sæŋ	*sang*	sang
spræŋ	*sprang*	sprang
gæŋ	*gang*	gang
bæŋ	*bang*	banga
æŋkər	*anchor*	ancor
æŋkl	*ancle*	anclēow
hæŋk	*hank*	hanki
ræŋk	*rank*	ranc
læŋk	*lank*	hlanc
þæŋk	*thank*	þancian
sæŋk	*sank*	sanc
stæŋk	*stank*	stanc
ʃæŋk	*shank*	scanca
ʃræŋk	*shrank*	scranc
kræŋk	*crank*	cranc
dræŋk	*drank*	dranc
bæŋk	*bank*	banki
æŋgər	*anger*	angr
æŋgl	*angle*	angel
ræn	*ran*	arn
ðæn	*than*	þonne
spæn	*span*	spann spannan
fæn	*fan*	fann
mæn	*man*	mann
kæn	*can*	cann canne
bigæn	*began*	begann
kænl	*cannel*	candel

gænit	*gannet*	ganot
tæn	*tan*	tannian
pæn	*pan*	panne
bæn	*bann*	gebann
ænþim	*anthem*	antefn
rænsæk	*ransack*	rannsaka
ænvil	*anvil*	anfilt
ænd	*and*	and
hænd	*hand*	hand
lænd	*land*	land
sænd	*sand*	sand
stænd	*stand*	standan
strænd	*strand*	strand
kændl	*candle*	candel
gændər	*gander*	gandra
brænd	*brand*	brand
æm	*am*	eom
hæm	*ham*	hamm
hæmər	*hammer*	hamor
ræm	*ram*	ramm
læm	*lamb*	lamb
læməs	*lammas*	hlāfmæsse
swæm	*swam*	swamm
stæmər	*stammer*	stamrian
kræm	*cram*	crammian
stæmp	*stamp*	stampian
kræmp	*cramp*	cramp
bræmbl	*bramble*	brœ̄mel
læk	*lack*	lak
sæk	*sack*	sæcc
rænsæk	*ransack*	rannsaka
slæk	*slack*	slæc
ʃækl	*shackle*	scacol
kræk	*crack*	cracian
bæk	*back*	bæc
blæk	*black*	blæc
æks	*axe*	æx
æksl	*axle*	æxl
wæks	*wax*	wæxan wæx
flæks	*flax*	flæx
ræg	*rag*	raggig
ʃæg	*shag*	sceacga
wæg	*wag*	wagian
bæg	*bag*	baggi
æt	*at*	æt
hæt	*hat*	hætt
lætər	*latter*	lator
ðæt	*that*	þæt
sæt	*sat*	sæt
sætədi	*saturday*	sæternes-dæg
spæt	*spat*	spǣtte
fæt	*fat*	fǣtt
flæt	*flat*	flat
væt	*vat*	fæt
næt	*gnat*	gnætt

mætək	*mattock*	mattoc
kæt	*cat*	catte
klætər	*clatter*	clatrian
bigæt	*begat*	begæt
tætər	*tatter*	tættec-
bætn	*batten*	batna
lætʃ	*latch*	gelæccan
þætʃ	*thatch*	þæc
mætʃ	*match*	gemęcca
ædər	*adder*	nǣdre (ē)
ædld	*addled*	adela
hæd	*had*	hæfde
lædər	*ladder*	hlǣdre
sæd	*sad*	sæd
sædl	*saddle*	sadol
ʃædou	*shadow*	sceadu
mæd	*mad*	gemǣdd
mædər	*madder*	mædere
gæd(flai)	*gad(fly)*	gadd
klæd	*clad*	klǣþdi
glæd	*glad*	glæd
bæd	*bade*	bæd
bæd	*bad*	bǣddel
blædər	*bladder*	blǣdre (ē)
ædz	*adze*	adese
æpl	*apple*	æppel
hæp	*hap*	happ
læp	*lap*	lapian
læp, -it	*lap, -pet*	læppa
læpwiŋ	*lapwing*	læpewince
sæp	*sap*	sæp
stræp	*strap*	stropp
næp	*nap*	hnappian
kæp	*cap*	cæppe
klæp	*clap*	klappa
tæp	*tap*	tæppe
træp	*trap*	træppe
tʃæpmən	*chapman*	cēapmann
æbət	*abbot*	abbod
skæb	*scab*	scæbb
ʃæbi	*shabby*	
kræb	*crab*	crabba
gæb(l)	*gab(ble)*	gabba

u

tu	*to*	tō
wul	*wool*	wull
ful	*full*	full
fulər	*fuller*	fullere
pul	*pull*	pullian
bul	*bull*	buli
bulək	*bullock*	bulluc
wulf	*wolf*	wulf
buzəm	*bosom*	bōsm

huf	*hoof*	hōf
spu(w)n	*spoon*	spōn
rum	*room*	rūm
wumən	*woman*	wīfmann
bru(w)m	*broom*	brōm
huk	*hook*	hōc
ruk	*rook*	hrōc
luk	*look*	lōcian
ʃuk	*shook*	scōc
kuk	*cook*	cōc
kruk	*crook*	krōk
tuk	*took*	tōc
buk	*book*	bōc
bruk	*brook*	brōc brūcan
sut	*soot*	sōt
fut	*foot*	fōt
hud	*hood*	hōd
-hud	*-hood*	-hād
stud	*stood*	stōd
ʃud	*should*	scolde
wud	*wood*	wudu
wud	*would*	wolde
kud	*could*	cūþe
gud	*good*	gōd

o

sori	*sorry*	sārig
sorou	*sorrow*	sorg
morou	*morrow*	morgen
borou	*borrow*	borgian
holi	*holly*	holegn
holidi	*holiday*	hālig dæg
holou	*hollow*	holh
swolou	*swallow*	swalwe swelgan
wolou	*wallow*	walwian
folou	*follow*	folgian
nolidʒ	*knowledge*	*cnāwlǣcan
olsou	*also*	alswā
fols	*false*	fals
holt	*halt*	halt
holtər	*halter*	halfter
solt	*salt*	salt
molt	*malt*	malt
mos	*moss*	mosi
gosip	*gossip*	godsibb
goshɔk	*goshawk*	gōshafoc
dros	*dross*	drosne
blosəm	*blossom*	blōstme
fostər	*foster*	fōstor
nostril	*nostril*	næsþȳrel
wosp	*wasp*	wæsp
gospl	*gospel*	godspell
woz	*was*	wæs
woʃ	*wash*	wæscan
ofl	*offal*	offall
ov	*of*	of
hovl	*hovel*	*hofel
grovl	*grovel*	grūfa
provəst	*provost*	prāfost
roŋ	*wrong*	vrang
loŋ	*long*	lang
þoŋ	*thong*	þwang
þroŋ	*throng*	geþrang
soŋ	*song*	sang
stroŋ	*strong*	strang
toŋz	*tongs*	tang
on	*on*	on
əpon	*upon*	uppon
ənon	*anon*	on ān
jon	*yon*	geon
swon	*swan*	swan
ʃon	*shone*	scān
won	*wan*	wann
gon	*gone*	gegān
wont	*wont*	vanta
wontən	*wanton*	*wantogen
bijond	*beyond*	begeondan
wond	*wand*	vǫnd
wondər	*wander*	wandrian
bond	*bond*	band
from	*from*	from
(holi)hok	*(holly)hock*	hocc
hok	*hough*	hōh
rok	*rock*	rocc
lok	*lock*	loc locc
sok	*sock*	socc
smok	*smock*	smoc
stok	*stock*	stocc
flok	*flock*	flocc
nok	*knock*	cnocian
kok	*cock*	cocc
kokl	*cockle*	coccel
krokəri	*crockery*	crocca
dok	*dock*	docce
oks	*oxe*	oxa
foks	*fox*	fox
poks	*pox*	poccas
boks	*box*	box
frog	*frog*	frogga
dog	*dog*	docga

otər	*otter*	otor
hot	*hot*	hāt
rot	*rot*	rotian
lot	*lot*	hlot
snot	*snot*	gesnot
spot	*spot*	splott
ʃot	*shot*	gescot scoten
wot	*wot*	wāt
wotl	*wattle*	watol
whot	*what*	hwæt
not	*not*	nāwiht
not	*knot*	cnotta
kot	*cot*	cot
klot	*clot*	clott
got	*got*	(be)gæt
bigotn	*begotten*	begeten
dot	*dot*	dott
plot	*plot*	plot
botəm	*bottom*	botm
blot	*blot*	plot
wotʃ	*watch*	wæcce
od	*odd*	oddi
rod	*rod*	rōd
sodn	*sodden*	soden
swodl	*swaddle*	swęþel
ʃod	*shod*	gescōd
fodər	*fodder*	fōdor
kod	*cod*	codd
god	*god*	god
trodn	*trodden*	troden
bodi	*body*	bodig
hop	*hop*	hoppian
sop	*sop*	soppian
stop	*stop*	stoppian
strop	*strop*	strop
kopər	*copper*	copor
krop	*crop*	cropp kroppa
top	*top*	topp
drop	*drop*	dropa
popi	*poppy*	popig
kob(web)	*cob(web)*	(ātor)coppa
lobstər	*lobster*	loppestre

aa

aar	*are*	earun
staar	*star*	steorra
spaar	*spar*	spær(stān)
faar	*far*	feorr
maar	*mar*	męrran
taar	*tar*	teoru
tʃaar ədʒaar	*char* *ajar*	cęrr
staaliŋ	*starling*	stær

gaalik	*garlick*	gārlēac
tʃaalək	*charlock*	cęrlic
daaliŋ	*darling*	dēorling
baali	*barley*	bærlic
haaþ	*hearth*	heorþ
laaþ	*lath*	lætt
paaþ	*path*	pæþ
baaþ	*bath*	bæþ
raaðər	*rather*	hraþor
faaðər	*father*	fæder
faaðər	*farther*	furþor
faaðiŋ	*farthing*	fēorþling
aas	*ass*	assa
aas	*arse*	ears
faasn	*fasten*	fæstenian
kaasl	*castle*	castel
graas	*grass*	græs
glaas	*glass*	glæs
aask	*ask*	āscian
flaask	*flask*	flasce
baask	*bask*	baþask
laast	*last*	hlæst latost lāst læstan
faast	*fast*	fæst fæstan
maast	*mast*	mæst
kaast	*cast*	kasta
gaastli	*ghastly*	gæstlic
blaast	*blast*	blæst (ē)
haasp	*hasp*	hæspe
maaʃ	*marsh*	męrsc
haaf	*half*	half
laaf	*laugh*	hlęhhan
staaf	*staff*	stæf
kaaf	*calf*	calf kalfi
tʃaaf	*chaff*	cæf
aaftər	*after*	æfter
raaftər	*rafter*	ræfter
laaftər	*laughter*	hlahtor
ʃaaft	*shaft*	scæft
kraaft	*craft*	cræft
draaft	*draught* *draft*	draht
haavist	*harvest*	hærfest
staav	*starve*	steorfan
kaav	*calve*	calfian
kaav	*carve*	ceorfan
jaan	*yarn*	gearn
baan	*barn*	bærn
aansər	*answer*	andswaru

aant	*ant*	ǣmette
ʃaant	*shall not*	scæl nāwiht
aam	*arm*	earm
aamz	*alms*	ælmesse
haam	*harm*	hearm
baam	*barm*	beorma
aak	*ark*	earc
haak	*hark*	hērcnian
haakn	*hearken*	
laak	*lark*	lāwerce
staak	*stark*	stearc
spaak	*spark*	spearca
maak	*mark*	mearc
daak	*dark*	deorc
paak	*park*	pearroc
baak	*bark*	bǫrk beorcan
aat	*art*	eart
haat	*hart*	heorot
haat	*heart*	heorte
smaat	*smart*	smeortan
kaat	*cart*	cræt
taat	*tart*	teart
aatʃ-	*arch-*	ærce-
haad	*hard*	heard
haadn	*harden*	harþna
jaad	*yard*	geard gęrd
haap	*harp*	hearpe
ʃaap	*sharp*	scearp

əə

həər	*her*	hire
stəər	*stir*	styrian
spəər	*spur*	spura
wəər	*were*	wǣron (ē)
əəl	*earl*	eorl
whəəl	*whirl*	hvirfla
fəəloŋ	*furlong*	furlang
tʃəəl	*churl*	ceorl
wəəld	*world*	woruld
əəþ	*earth*	eorþe
wəəþ	*worth*	weorþ
məəþ	*mirth*	myrgþ
gəəþ	*girth*	gjǫrþ
bəəþ	*birth*	gebyrd
fəəðər	*further*	furþor
wəəs	*worse*	wyrsa
kəəs	*curse*	curs
þəəst	*thirst*	þyrstan
wəəst	*worst*	wyrrest
fəəst	*first*	fyrsta
dəəst	*durst*	dorste
bəəst	*burst*	berstan borsten
fəəz	*furze*	fyrs
þəəzdi	*thursday*	þūres-dæg
wəəʃip	*worship*	weorþscipe
skəəf	*scurf*	scurf
təəf	*turf*	turf
swəəv	*swerve*	sweorfan
əən	*earn*	geearnian
əənist	*earnest*	eornest
jəən	*yearn*	georn
ləən	*learn*	leornian
stəən	*stern*	stęrne stjōrn
spəən	*spurn*	spurnan
fəən	*fern*	fearn
kəənl	*kernel*	cyrnel
təən	*turn*	turnian
bəən	*burn*	beornan
wəəm	*worm*	wyrm
wəəmwud	*wormwood*	wermod
əək	*irk*	yrkja
sməək	*smirk*	sme(a)rcian
wəək	*work*	weorc wyrcan
məəki	*mirky*	myrce
þəəti	*thirty*	þritig
þəətijn	*thirteen*	þrēotēne
ʃəət	*shirt*	skyrta
wəət	*wort*	wyrt
kəətl	*kirtle*	cyrtel
təətl	*turtle*	turtle
dəət	*dirt*	drit
tʃəətʃ	*church*	cirice
bəətʃ	*birch*	birce
həəd	*herd*	heord
həəd	*heard*	gehērde
həədl	*hurdle*	hyrdel
tʃəəvil	*chervil*	cerfille
þəəd	*third*	þridda
wəəd	*word*	word
məədər	*murder*	myrþran morþor
gəədl	*girdle*	gyrdel
bəəd	*bird*	bridd
bəədn	*burden*	byrþen

ij

hij	*he*	hē
jij	*ye*	gē
lij	*lee*	hlēo
lij	*lea*	lēah
þrij	*three*	þrēo
ðij	*thee*	þē
ðij	*the*	se
sij	*see*	sēo(n)
sij	*sea*	sǣ
ʃij	*she*	sēo
wij	*we*	wē
fij	*fee*	feoh
frij	*free*	frēo
flij	*flee*	flēo(n)
flij	*flea*	flēah
nij	*knee*	cnēo
mij	*me*	mē
kij	*key*	cǣge
glij	*glee*	glēo
trij	*tree*	trēo
pij(kok)	*pea(cock)*	pēa
bij	*bee*	bēo
bij	*be*	bēo(n)
ijl	*eel*	ǣl (ē)
hijl	*heel*	hēla
hijl	*heal*	hǣlan
rijl	*reel*	hrēol
sijl	*seal*	seolh
stijl	*steel*	stēle
stijl	*steal*	stelan
whijl	*wheel*	hwēol
fijl	*feel*	fœ̄lan
mijl	*meal*	mǣl (ē) melu
kijl	*keel*	kjǫl
dijl	*deal*	dǣl
jijld	*yield*	geldan
ʃijld	*shield*	sceld
wijld	*wield*	gewęldan
fijld	*field*	feld
hijþ	*heath*	hǣþ
rijþ	*wreath*	wrǣþ
ʃijþ	*sheath*	scǣþ
binijþ	*beneath*	beneoþan
bikwijþ	*bequeath*	becweþan
tijþ	*teeth*	tœ̄þ
sijð	*seethe*	sēoþan
flijs	*fleece*	flēos
gijs	*geese*	gœ̄s
ijst	*east*	ēast
ijstər	*easter*	ēastron
jijst	*yeast*	gest
lijst	*least*	lǣst
prijst	*priest*	prēost
wijzl	*weazel*	wesule
whijz	*wheeze*	hwǣsan (ē)
snijz	*sneeze*	fnēosan
frijz	*freeze*	frēosan
tijz	*tease*	tǣsan
tʃijz	*cheese*	cǣse (ē)
pijz	*pease*	pēosan
bijzəm	*besom*	besma
lijf	*lief*	lēof
lijf	*leaf*	lēaf
bilijf	*belief*	gelēafa
þijf	*thief*	þēof
ʃijf	*sheaf*	scēaf
ijvl	*evil*	yfel
ijvn	*even*	efen
ijvniŋ	*evening*	ǣfen
hijv	*heave*	hębban
birijv	*bereave*	berēafian
lijv	*leave*	lēaf lǣfan
bilijv	*believe*	gelēfan
slijv	*sleeve*	slēf
wijv	*weave*	wefan
wijvl	*weevil*	wifel
fijvər	*fever*	fefer
klijv	*cleave*	clēofan clifian
ijvz	*eaves*	efes
lijn	*lean*	hleonian hlǣne
sijn	*seen*	gesēne
ʃijn	*sheen*	scēne
wijn	*ween*	wœ̄nan
wijn	*wean*	węnian
mijn	*mean*	mǣnan gemǣne
kijn	*keen*	cēne
klijn	*clean*	clǣne
kwijn	*queen*	cwœ̄n
kwijn	*quean*	cwene
grijn	*green*	grœne
-tijn	*-teen*	-tēne
bitwijn	*between*	betwēonan
bijn	*been*	*gebēon
bijn	*bean*	bēan
fijnd	*fiend*	fēond
sijm	*seem*	sœ̄man
sijm	*seam*	sēam
stijm	*steam*	stēam
strijm	*stream*	strēam
glijm	*gleam*	glǣm
tijm	*teem*	tēman
tijm	*team*	tēam
drijm	*dream*	drēam
bijm	*beam*	bēam

ijk	*eke*	ēcan ēac
rijk	*reek*	rēc
lijk	*leek*	lēac
lijk	*leak*	leka
sijk	*seek*	sœ̄can
snijk	*sneak*	snīcan
spijk	*speak*	sprecan
wijk	*week*	wicu
wijk	*weak*	veik
mijk	*meek*	mjūk
tʃijk	*cheek*	cēace
bijkər	*beaker*	bikar
bijkən	*beacon*	bēacn
ijt	*eat*	etan
hijt	*heat*	hǣto
sijt	*seat*	sǣti
swijt	*sweet*	swœ̄te
strijt	*street*	strǣt (ē)
ʃijt	*sheet*	scēte
whijt	*wheat*	hwǣte
fijt	*feet*	fœ̄t
flijt	*fleet*	flēote
mijt	*meet*	gemœ̄tan mǣte (ē)
mijt	*meat*	męte
mijt	*mete*	metan
grijt	*greet*	grœ̄tan
bijt	*beat*	bēatan bēot
bijtl	*beetle*	bitol bētel
blijt	*bleat*	blǣtan (ē)
ijtʃ	*each*	ǣlc
rijtʃ	*reach*	rǣcan
rijtʃ	*retch*	hrǣcan
lijtʃ	*leech*	lǣce (ē)
bisijtʃ	*beseech*	besœ̄can
spijtʃ	*speech*	sprǣc (ē)
tijtʃ	*teach*	tǣcan
bijtʃ	*beech*	bœ̄ce
brijtʃ	*breech*	brœ̄c
brijtʃ	*breach*	bryce
blijtʃ	*bleach*	blǣcan
hijd	*heed*	hœ̄dan
rijd	*reed*	hrēod
rijd	*rede*	rǣd (ē)
rijd	*read*	rǣdan (ē)
lijd	*lead*	lǣdan
sijd	*seed*	sǣd (ē)
stijd	*steed*	stœ̄da
spijd	*speed*	spœ̄dan
wijd	*weed*	wēod
fijd	*feed*	fœ̄dan
nijd	*need*	nēd
nijd	*knead*	cnedan
nijdl	*needle*	nǣdl (ē)

mijd	*meed*	mēd
mijd	*mead*	medu mǣd (ē)
krijd	*creed*	crēda
grijdi	*greedy*	grǣdig (ē)
dijd	*deed*	dǣd (ē)
bijd	*bead*	gebed
brijd	*breed*	brœ̄dan
blijd	*bleed*	blœ̄dan
hijp	*heap*	hēap
rijp	*reap*	reopan
lijp	*leap*	hlēapan
slijp	*sleep*	slǣpan (ē)
swijp	*sweep*	swāpan
stijp	*steap*	stēap
stijpl	*steeple*	stēpel
ʃijp	*sheep*	scǣp (ē)
wijp	*weep*	wœ̄pan
kijp	*keep*	cœ̄pan
krijp	*creep*	crēopan
tʃijp	*cheap*	cēap
dijp	*deep*	dēop

iə

iər	*ear*	ēar ēare
hiər	*here*	hēr
hiər	*hear*	gehēran
jiər	*year*	gēar (gēr)
riər	*rear*	rǣran
liər	*leer*	hlēor
siər	*sear*	sēarian
smiər	*smear*	smeru
stiər	*steer*	stēoran
spiər	*spear*	spere
ʃiər	*shear*	sceran
ʃiər	*sheer*	skǣr
wiər	*wier*	wer
wiəri	*weary*	wœ̄rig
fiər	*fear*	fǣr (ē)
niər	*near*	nēar
miər	*mere*	męre
giər	*gear*	gearwe
tiər	*tear*	tēar
diər	*deer*	dēor
diər	*dear*	dēore
driəri	*dreary*	drēorig
biər	*beer*	bēor
biər	*bier*	bǣr (ē)
bliər	*blear*	blēre
wiəd	*weird*	wyrd
biəd	*beard*	beard

ei

hei	*hay*	hēg
jei	*yea*	gēa (gē)

(bi)rei	*bewray*	wrœ̄gan
lei	*lay*	læg lęcgan
ðei	*they*	þeir
sei	*say*	sęcgan
slei	*slay*	slēan
swei	*sway*	sveigja
wei	*way*	weg
wei	*wey*	wǣge (ē)
whei	*whey*	hwǣg
nei	*nay*	nei
nei	*neigh*	hnǣgan
mei	*may*	mæg
klei	*clay*	clǣg
grei	*gray, grey*	grǣg (ē)
dei	*day*	dæg
plei	*play*	plegian
eil	*ale*	alu
eil	*ail*	ęglan
heil	*hale*	hāl
heil	*hail*	hægl heil
seil	*sale*	sal
seil	*sail*	segl
sneil	*snail*	snægl
skeil	*scale*	scalu
weil	*wail*	weilāwei
wheil	*whale*	hwæl
neil	*nail*	nægl
naitiŋgeil	*nightingale*	nęhtegale
teil	*tale*	talu
teil	*tail*	tægel
deil	*dale*	dæl
peil	*pail*	pægel
leið	*lathe*	lǫþ
sweið	*swathe*	swęþian
beið	*bathe*	baþian
reis	*race*	rās
weist	*waist*	wæstm
weist	*waste*	wœ̄stan
heizl	*hazel*	hæsel
reiz	*raise*	reisa
greiz	*graze*	grasian
deizi	*daisy*	dæges-ēage
breizn	*brazen*	bræsen
bleiz	*blaze*	blæse
tʃeifər	*chafer*	cæfer
biheiv	*behave*	behabban
heivn	*haven*	hǫfn
reivn	*raven*	hræfn
ʃeiv	*shave*	scafan
weiv	*wave*	wafian wǣg (ē)
weivər	*waver*	vafra

neiv	*nave*	nafu
neiv	*knave*	cnafa
neivl	*navel*	nafola
kreiv	*crave*	crafian
geiv	*gave*	gæf
greiv	*grave*	grǫf
steivz	*staves*	stafas
rein	*rain*	regn
lein	*lane*	lane
lein	*lain*	gelegen
þein	*thane*	þegen
slein	*slain*	slægen
swein	*swain*	svein
wein	*wane*	wanian
wein	*wain*	wægn
vein	*vane*	fana
mein	*mane*	manu
mein	*main*	mægen
krein	*crane*	cran
twein	*twain*	twœ̄gen
drein	*drain*	drehnian
bein	*bane*	bana
brein	*brain*	brægen
(tʃil)blein	*(chill)blain*	blegen
eint	*am not*	eom nāwiht
leim	*lame*	lama
seim	*same*	sami
ʃeim	*shame*	scamu
neim	*name*	nama
keim	*came*	cwōm
geim	*game*	gamen
eik	*ache*	acan
eikər	*acre*	æcer
eikon	*acorn*	æcern
reik	*rake*	race
leik	*lake*	lacu
seik	*sake*	sacu
sleik	*slake*	slacian
sneik	*snake*	snaca
steik	*stake*	stacu
steik	*steak*	steik
speik	*spake*	spræc
ʃeik	*shake*	scacan
weik	*wake*	(on)wacan
weikn	*waken*	(ā)wæcnian
fleik	*flake*	flaki
neikid	*naked*	nacod
meik	*make*	macian
keik	*cake*	kaka
kweik	*quake*	cwacian
teik	*take*	tacan
beik	*bake*	bacan
breik	*brake*	bræc
breik	*break*	brecan
eit	*ate*	ǣt
eit	*eight*	æhta

eit	*eyot*	ōgaþ
heit	*hate*	hatian
leit	*late*	late
skeit	*skate*	skata
weit	*weight*	gewihte
geit	*gate*	gæt
greit	*great*	grēat
beit	*bait*	beita *sb.*
beit	*bait*	beita *sb.*
eitþ	*eighth*	æhtoþa
reid	*raid*	rād
leid	*lade*	hladan
leid	*laid*	lęgde
leidi	*lady*	hlæfdige
leidl	*ladle*	hlædel
speid	*spade*	spade
ʃeid	*shade*	sceadu
weid	*wade*	wadan
meid	*made*	macode
meid(n)	*maid(en)*	mægden
kreidl	*cradle*	cradol
breid	*braid*	bregdan
bleid	*blade*	blæd
eip	*ape*	apa
heipni	*halfpenny*	healf pęning
skreip	*scrape*	scrapian
steipl	*staple*	stapol
ʃeip	*shape*	skapa
meipl	*maple*	mapulder
geip	*gape*	gapa
teip	*tape*	tæppe
teipər	*taper*	tapor
neibər	*neighbour*	nēahgebūr

eə

eər	*ere*	ǣr
heər	*hare*	hara
heər	*hair*	hǣr (ē)
ðeər	*there*	þǣr (ē)
ðeər	*their*	þeira
sweər	*swear*	swęrian
sneər	*snare*	sneare
steər	*stare*	starian
steər	*stair*	stǣger
speər	*spare*	sparian
ʃeər	*share*	scær
ʃeər	*share*	scaru
weər	*ware*	wær
weər	*wear*	węrian
wheər	*where*	hwǣr (ē)
feər	*fare*	faran
feər	*fair*	fæger
(fijld)feər	*fieldfare*	felofor
(nait)meər	*nightmare*	mare
meər	*mare*	męre
keər	*care*	caru
teər	*tear*	teran
tʃeəri	*chary*	cearig
deər	*dare*	dearr
peər	*pear*	peru
beər	*bare*	bær *adj.*
beər	*bare*	bær *prt.*
beər	*bear*	bera beran

uw

huw	*who*	hwā
ruw	*rue*	hrēowan
þruw	*threw*	þrēow
þruw	*through*	þurh
sluw	*slew*	slōg
struw	*strew*	stręwian
ʃuw	*shoe*	scō
ʃruw	*shrew*	scrēawa
wuw	*woo*	wōgian
fluw	*flew*	flēah
kruw	*crew*	crēow
kluw	*clew*	clēowe
gruw	*grew*	grēow
tuw	*too*	tō
tuw	*two*	twā
truw	*true*	trēowe
tʃuw	*chew*	cēowan
duw	*do*	dō(n)
druw	*drew*	drōg
bruw	*brew*	brēowan
bluw	*blew*	blēow
stuwl	*stool*	stōl
skuwl	*school*	scōl
tuwl	*tool*	tōl
puwl	*pool*	pōl
ruwþ	*ruth*	*hrēowþ
suwþ	*sooth*	sōþ
ankuwþ	*uncouth*	uncūþ
tuwþ	*tooth*	tōþ
truwþ	*truth*	trēowþ
buwþ	*booth*	bōþ
^{s}muwð	*smoothe*	smōþe
luws(n)	*loose(n)*	lǫus(na)
guws	*goose*	gōs
ruwst	*roost*	hrōst
uwz	*ooze*	wōs
uwzl	*ousel*	ōsle
luwz	*lose*	(for)lēosan
tʃuwz	*choose*	cēosan
bruwz	*bruise*	brēsan
^{r}uwf	*roof*	hrōf

wuwf	*woof*	ōwef
pruwv	*prove*	prōfian
suwn	*soon*	sōna
swuwn	*swoon*	(ge)swōgen
nuwn	*noon*	nōn
muwn	*moon*	mōna
buwn	*boon*	bōn
wuwnd	*wound*	wund
huwm	*whom*	hwām
luwm	*loom*	lōma
wuwm	*womb*	wamb
gluwm	*gloom*	glōm
duwm	*doom*	dōm
bluwm	*bloom*	blōma
luwk(wəm)	*lukewarm*	wlacu
ruwt	*root*	rōt wrōtan
ʃuwt	*shoot*	scēotan
muwt	*moot*	gemōt
buwt	*boot*	bōt
ruwd	*root*	rōd
luwd	*lewd*	lǣwed
fuwd	*food*	fōda
muwd	*mood*	mōd
bruwd	*brood*	brōd
stuwp	*stoop*	stūpian
whuwp	*hoop*	hwōpan
druwp	*droop*	drūpa
	uə	
muər	*moor*	mōr
	juw	
juw	*you*	ēow *prn.*
juw	*yew*	ēow *sb.*
juw	*ewe*	eowe
hjuw	*hue*	hēow
hjuw	*hew*	hēawan
þjuwz	*thews*	þēawas
spjuw	*spew*	spīwan
fjuw	*few*	fēawe
njuw	*new*	nēowe
njuw	*knew*	cnēow *prt.*
mjuw	*mew*	mǣw
djuw	*dew*	dēaw
juwl	*yule*	gēola
juwþ	*youth*	geoguþ

tjuwzdi	*tuesday*	tīwes-dæg
njuwt	*newt*	ęfete
	juə	
juər	*your*	ēower
stjuəd	*steward*	stīgweard
	ou	
ou	*owe*	āgan
rou	*roe*	rā hrogn
rou	*row*	rāw rōwan
lou	*lo*	lōca
lou	*low*	lāg hlōwan
þrou	*throe*	þrā
þrou	*throw*	þrāwan
ðou	*though*	þōh
sou	*so*	swā
sou	*sow*	sāwan
sou	*sew*	sēowan
slou	*sloe*	slā
slou	*slow*	slāw
snou	*snow*	snāw
stou	*stow*	stōwian
ʃou	*show*	scēawian
wou	*woe*	wā
fou	*foe*	fā
frou	*fro*	frā
flou	*flow*	flōwan
nou	*no*	nā
nou	*know*	cnāwan
mou	*mow*	māwan
krou	*crow*	crāwe crāwan
gou	*go*	gā(n)
grou	*grow*	grōwan
glou	*glow*	glōwan
tou	*toe*	tā
tou	*tow*	tow
antouəd	*untoward*	*untōweard
dou	*doe*	dā
dou	*dough*	dāg
bou	*bow*	boga
blou	*blow*	blāwan blōwan
houl	*hole*	hol
houl	*whole*	hāl
houli	*holy*	hālig
þoul	*thole*	þol
soul	*soul*	sāwol
swouln	*swollen*	swollen
stouln	*stolen*	stolen

ʃoul	*shoal*	scolu
foul	*foal*	fola
noul	*knoll*	cnoll
moul	*mole*	māl
koul	*coal*	col
toul	*toll*	toll
doul	*dole*	gedāl
poul	*pole*	pāl
boul	*bole*	bol
boul	*bowl*	bolla
boulstər	*bolster*	bolster
moultn	*molten*	molten
koult	*colt*	colt
koultər	*coulter*	culter
boult	*bolt*	bolt
ould	*old*	ald
hould	*hold*	haldan
sould	*sold*	salde
ʃouldər	*shoulder*	sculdor
(ʃijp)fould	*fold*	falod
fould	*fold*	faldan
mould	*mould*	molde
kould	*cold*	cald
gould	*gold*	gold
tould	*told*	talde
bould	*bold*	bald
ouþ	*oath*	āþ
louþ	*loath*	lāþ
slouþ	*sloth*	slǣwþ
kwouþ	*quoth*	cwæþ
bouþ	*both*	bāþir
trouþ	*troth*	trēowþ
louð	*loathe*	lāþian
klouðz	*clothes*	clāþas
moust	*most*	mǣst
goust	*ghost*	gāst
poust	*post*	post
houz	*hose*	hose
rouz	*rose*	rose rās
ðouz	*those*	þās
frouzn	*frozen*	froren
nouz	*nose*	nosu
tʃouz	*chose*	cēas
tʃouzn	*chosen*	coren
ouf	*oaf*	ælf
louf	*loaf*	hlāf
ouvər	*over*	ofer
houv	*hove*	hōf
bihouv	*behove*	behōfian
stouv	*stove*	stofe
wouvn	*woven*	wefen
kouv	*cove*	cofa

klouv	*clove*	clofe
klouvər	*clover*	clāfre
klouvn	*cloven*	clofen
grouv	*grove*	grāf
drouv	*drove*	drāf
oun	*own*	āgen
houn	*hone*	hān
ounli	*only*	ǣnlic
loun	*loan*	lān
əloun	*alone*	all āna
stoun	*stone*	stān
floun	*flown*	flogen
moun	*moan*	mǣnan
groun	*groan*	grānian
droun	*drone*	drān
boun	*bone*	bān
wount	*wont*	gewunod
wount	*will not*	wile nāwiht
houm	*home*	hām
loum	*loam*	lām
foum	*foam*	fām
koum	*comb*	camb
ouk	*oak*	āc
oukəm	*oakum*	ācumba
jouk	*yoke*	geoc
jouk	*yolk*	geolca
souk	*soak*	socian
smouk	*smoke*	smocian
strouk	*stroke*	strācian
spouk	*spoke*	spāca spræc
spoukn	*spoken*	gesprecen
wouk	*woke*	(on)wōc
fouk	*folk*	folc
krouk	*croak*	crācettan
toukn	*token*	tācen
tʃouk	*choke*	ceocian
pouk	*poke*	poki
brouk	*broke*	bræc
broukn	*broken*	gebrocen
out(s)	*oat*	āte
rout	*wrote*	wrāt
þrout	*throat*	þrote
smout	*smote*	smāt
(ə)flout	*(a)float*	flot
flout	*float*	flotian
mout	*mote*	mot
gout	*goat*	gāt
grout	*groat*	grot
bout	*boat*	bāt
roud	*rode*	rād *prt.*
roud	*road*	rād *sb.*
loud(stoun)	*load(stone)*	lād
stroud	*strode*	strād
woud	*woad*	wād

goud	*goad*	gād
toud	*toad*	tādige
boud	*bode*	bodian
əboud	*abode*	ābād
oupn	*open*	open
houp	*hope*	hopa
roup	*rope*	rāp
soup	*soap*	sāpe
group	*grope*	grāpian
poup	*pope*	pāpa

ɔ

ɔ	*awe*	agi
hɔ	*haw*	haga
hɔþɔn	*hawthorn*	haguþorn
rɔ	*raw*	hrēaw
lɔ	*law*	lagu
autlɔ	*outlaw*	ūtlaga
þɔ	*thaw*	þāwan
sɔ	*saw*	gesæh sage sagu
strɔ	*straw*	strēaw
ʃɔ	*shaw*	scaga
nɔ	*gnaw*	gnagan
mɔ	*maw*	maga
klɔ	*claw*	clawu
drɔ	*draw*	dragan
ɔl	*awl*	awel
ɔl	*all*	all
hɔl	*hall*	hall
þrɔl	*thrall*	þrǣll
smɔl	*small*	smæl
stɔl	*stall*	stall
stɔlwət	*stalwart*	stælwirþe
wɔl	*wall*	wall
wɔlnət	*walnut*	valhnot
fɔl	*fall*	fallan
kɔl	*call*	ceallian
krɔl	*crawl*	krafla
gɔl	*gall*	galla
gɔld	*galled*	gallede
ɔldər	*alder*	aler
ɔldəmən	*alderman*	aldermann
rɔþ	*wrath*	wrǣþþo
rɔþ	*wroth*	wrāþ
swɔþi	*swarthy*	sweart
fɔþ	*forth*	forþ
fɔþ	*fourth*	fēorþa
frɔþ	*froth*	froþa
nɔþ	*north*	norþ
mɔþ	*moth*	moþþe
klɔþ	*cloth*	clāþ
brɔþ	*broth*	broþ
hɔs	*horse*	hors
hɔs	*hoarse*	hās
krɔs	*cross*	kross
gɔs	*gorse*	gorst
lɔst	*lost*	gelosod
frɔst	*frost*	frost
ɔf	*off*	of
ɔfn	*often*	oft
kɔf	*cough*	cohhettan
trɔf	*trough*	trog
dwɔf	*dwarf*	dweorg
lɔft	*loft*	loft
sɔft	*soft*	sōfte
krɔft	*croft*	croft
ɔn	*awn*	ogn
hɔn	*horn*	horn
hɔnit	*hornet*	hyrnetu
jɔn	*yawn*	geonian
fəlɔn	*forlorn*	forloren
þɔn	*thorn*	þorn
swɔn	*sworn*	sworen
ʃɔn	*shorn*	scoren
wɔn	*warn*	warnian
fɔn	*fawn*	fægnian
mɔn	*mourn*	murnan
kɔn	*corn*	corn
gɔn	*gone*	gegān
tɔn	*torn*	toren
dɔn	*dawn*	dagian
bɔn	*born(e)*	geboren
hɔm	*haulm*	halm
swɔm	*swarm*	swearm
stɔm	*storm*	storm
wɔm	*warm*	wearm
fɔmər	*former*	forma
kwɔm	*qualm*	cwalm
hɔk	*hawk*	hafoc
stɔk	*stalk*	stalcian
stɔk	*stork*	storc
wɔk	*walk*	walcian
fɔk	*fork*	forca
mɔkiʃ	*mawkish*	maþk
tʃɔk	*chalk*	cealc
bɔk	*baulk*	balc
ɔgər	*auger*	nafogār
ɔt	*aught*	āwiht
ɔt	*ought*	āhte
rɔt	*wrought*	worhte
þɔt	*thought*	þōhte
þwɔt	*thwart*	þvert
sɔt	*sought*	sōhte
slɔtər	*slaughter*	slahtr
ʃɔt	*short*	scort
wɔt	*wart*	wearte

wɔtər	*water*	wæter
fɔt	*fought*	fæht
fɔti	*forty*	fēowertig
fɔtijn	*fourteen*	fēowertēne
fɔtnait	*fortnight*	fēowertēne nẹht
nɔt	*naught*	nāwiht
tɔt	*taught*	tǣhte
dɔtər	*daughter*	dohtor
pɔt	*port*	port
bɔt	*bought*	bohte
brɔt	*brought*	brōhte
ɔtʃəd	*orchard*	ortgeard
skɔtʃ	*scorch*	skorpna
ɔdijl	*ordeal*	ordāl
hɔd	*hoard*	hord
lɔd	*lord*	hlāford
sɔd	*sword*	sweord
swɔd	*sward*	sweard
wɔd	*ward*	weard
fɔd	*ford*	ford
əfɔd	*afford*	geforþian
bɔd	*board*	bord
brɔd	*broad*	brād
tɔdz	*towards*	tōweardes
wɔp	*warp*	wearp weorpan

ɔə

ɔr	*or*	āhwæþer
ɔr	*oar*	ār
ɔr	*ore*	ōra
hɔr	*hoar*	hār
hɔr	*whore*	hōre
hɔr(h)aund	*horehound*	hārehūne
jɔr	*yore*	gēara
rɔr	*roar*	rārian
lɔr	*lore*	lār
sɔr	*sore*	sār
swɔr	*swore*	swōr
skɔr	*score*	scoru
fɔr	*for*	for
bifɔr	*before*	beforan
fɔr	*four*	fēower
flɔr	*floor*	flōr
nɔr	*nor*	nāhwæþer
mɔr	*more*	māre
gɔr	*gore*	gor gāra
dɔr	*door*	duru
bɔr	*bore*	bær borian
bɔr	*boar*	bār

ai

ai	*i*	ic
ai	*eye*	ēage
ai	*aye*	ei
hai	*high*	hēah
hai	*hie*	hīgian
rai	*rye*	ryge
lai	*lie*	licgan lēogan
lai	*lye*	lēag
þai	*thigh*	þēoh
sai	*sigh*	sīcan
slai	*sly*	slœ̄g
skai	*sky*	skȳ
stai	*stye*	stigu
whai	*why*	hwȳ
flai	*fly*	flēoge flēogan
nai	*nigh*	nēah
tai	*tie*	tēgan
dai	*dye*	dēgan
dai	*die*	dȳyja
drai	*dry*	drȳge
bai	*by*	bī
bai	*buy*	bycgan
ailənd	*island*	īgland
stạil	*stile*	stigel
whail	*while*	whīl
whail(st)	*whilst*	þā-whīle-þe
fail	*file*	fīl
(di)fail	*(de)file*	fȳlan
tail	*tile*	tigole
mail	*mile*	mīl
pail	*pile*	pīl pīl
waild	*wild*	wilde
maild	*mild*	milde
tʃaild	*child*	cild
aiðər	*either*	ǣgþer
raið	*writhe*	wrīþan
laið	*lithe*	līþe
saið	*scythe*	sīþe
naiðər	*neither*	*nǣgþer
taið	*tithe*	tēogoþian
blaið	*blithe*	blīþe
ais	*ice*	īs
lais	*lice*	lȳs
þrais	*thrice*	þrīwa
mais	*mice*	mȳs
twais	*twice*	twīwa
kraist	*christ*	crīst
raiz	*rise*	arīsan
waiz	*wise*	wīs wīse
laif	*life*	līf
waif	*wife*	wīf
naif	*knife*	cnīf

aivi	*ivy*	īfig
haiv	*hive*	hȳf
əlaiv	*alive*	on līfe
þraiv	*thrive*	þrīfask
faiv	*five*	fīfe
ʃraiv	*shrive*	scrīfan
daiv	*dive*	dȳfan
draiv	*drive*	drīfan
lain	*line*	line
ðai(n)	*thine, thy*	þīn
swain	*swine*	swīn
ʃain	*shine*	scīnan
ʃrain	*shrine*	scrīn
wain	*wine*	wīn
whain	*whine*	hwīnan
nain	*nine*	nigon
mai(n)	*mine, my*	mīn
kain	*kye*	cȳ
twain	*twine*	twīn
pain	*pine*	pīnian pīn(trēow)
brain	*brine*	brȳne
haind	*hind*	hind hīwa
bihaind	*behind*	behindan
raind	*rind*	rind
waind	*wind*	windan
faind	*find*	findan
kaind	*kind*	gecynd gecynde
graind	*grind*	grindan
baind	*bind*	bindan
blaind	*blind*	blind
raim	*rhyme*	rīm
raim	*rime*	hrīm
laim	*lime*	līm linden
klaim	*climb*	climban
taim	*time*	tīma
laik	*like*	gelīc
straik	*strike*	strīcan
ʃraik	*shrike*	scrīc
daik	*dyke*	dīc
paik	*pike*	pīc
hait	*height*	hēhþo
rait	*right*	reht
rait	*write*	wrītan
rait	*wright*	wyrhta
əlait	*alight*	alihtan
lait	*light*	leoht 'levis'
lait	*light*	leoht
laitning	*lightning*	lēgetu
sait	*sight*	gesihþ
slait	*slight*	sleht
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fait	*fight*	feohtan
frait	*fright*	fyrhto
flait	*flight*	flyht
flait	*flight*	flyht 'fleeing'.
nait	*night*	nęht
nait	*knight*	cniht
mait	*mite*	mīte
mait	*might*	męht mæhte
kait	*kite*	cȳta
tait	*tight*	þeht
dait	*dight*	dihtan
plait	*plight*	pliht
bait	*bite*	bītan
brait	*bright*	beorht
blait	*blight*	blęcþa
raitʃəs	*righteous*	rehtwīs
aidl	*idle*	īdel
haid	*hide*	hīd hȳd hȳdan
raid	*ride*	rīdan
said	*side*	sīde
slaid	*slide*	slīdan
straid	*stride*	strīdan
waid	*wide*	wīd
fraidi	*friday*	frīge-dæg
glaid	*glide*	glīdan
taid	*tide*	tīd
taidiŋz	*tidings*	tīþendi
tʃaid	*chide*	cīdan
praid	*pride*	prȳte
baid	*bide*	bīdan
braid	*bride*	brȳd
braidl	*bridle*	brīdels
raip	*ripe*	rīpe
snaip	*snipe*	snīte
waip	*wipe*	wīpian
graip	*gripe*	grīpan
paip	*pipe*	pīpe

aiə

haiər	*hire*	hȳran
spaiər	*spire*	spīr
ʃaiər	*shire*	scīr
waiər	*wire*	wīr
faiər	*fire*	fȳr
maiər	*mire*	mȳr
taiər	*tire*	teorian
braiər	*briar*	brēre
aiə-n	*iron*	īren

au

hau	*how*	hū
ðau	*thou*	þū

sau	*sow*	sugu
slau	*slough*	slōg
nau	*now*	nū
kau	*cow*	cū kūga
trau	*trow*	trēowian
plau	*plough*	plōh
bau	*bow*	būgan
bau	*bough*	bōg
brau	*brow*	brū
aul	*owl*	ūle
faul	*fowl*	fugol
faul	*foul*	fūl
kaul	*cowl*	cugle
sauþ	*south*	sūþ
mauþ	*mouth*	mūþ
haus	*house*	hūs
laus	*louse*	lūs
maus	*mouse*	mūs
(tit)maus	(*tit*)*mouse*	māse
þauzənd	*thousand*	þūsend
drauzi	*drowsy*	drūsian
taun	*town*	tūn
daun	*down*	ofdūne dūn ‘feathers’
braun	*brown*	brūn
graunsl	*groundsel*	gundeswilge
haund	*hound*	hūnd
hɔəhaund	*horehound*	hāre-hūne

saund	*sound*	sund gesund
waund	*wound*	gewunden
faund	*found*	funden
graund	*ground*	grund
paund	*pound*	pund punian
baund	*bound*	bunden būin
aut	*out*	ūt
wiðaut	*without*	wiþūtan
laut	*lout*	lūtan
klaut	*clout*	clūt
dauti	*doughty*	dyhtig
draut	*drought*	drūgaþ
əbaut	*about*	ymbūtan
laud	*loud*	hlūd
ʃraud	*shroud*	scrūd
kraud	*crowd*	crūdan
klaud	*cloud*	clūd
praud	*proud*	prūt

auə

auər	*our*	ūre
sauər	*sour*	sūr
ʃauər	*shower*	scūr
bauər	*bower*	būr

oi

boil	*boil*	bȳle

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make 294
mallow 89
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man 232
mane 222
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mare 660
mark 42
marrow 44
marsh 682
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mast 148
mast 149
match 876
mattock 379
maw 340
mawkish 126
may 339
me 1603
mead 950
mead 1589
meadow 1589
meal 735
meal 1563
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mean *adj* 1520
meant 1519
meat 934
meed 1672
meek 1819
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midst 638
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mill 1105
mind 1143
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mingle 824
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mint 541
mint 1133
mire 2010
mirky 1090
mirth 1095
miss 471
mist 481
mistletoe 482
mite 1920
mix 475
moan 1518
mole 1383
molten 1237
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-monger 211
monk 1021
month 2086
mood 2137
moon 2085
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moot 2127
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roost 2062
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thrive 1875
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thrust 2017
thwart 707
thumb 1978
thunder 1016
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weak 916
weal 714
wean 830
weapon 1598
wear 657
weary 1608
weather 949
weave 805
weazel 783
web 961
wed 956
wedge 927
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weed 1833
week 574
ween 1630
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weevil 491
weft 809
welkin 1233
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wen 837
wend 852
weight 556
weird 1102
were 1556
west 789
wet 1579
wether 778
wey 1533
wich(elm) 573
wick 864
wicked 588
wide 1928
widow 631
wield 768
wier 655
wife 1878
wight 595
wild 450
will 442
willow 755
win 533
winch 506
wind 549
windlass 550
window 551
wine 1892
wing 823
wink 507
winnow 552
winter 539
wipe 1935
wire 1843
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wit 623
(to) wit 612
witch 588
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without 1990
withy 457
wizened 469
whale 71
what 368
wheat 1542
wheel 1774
wheeze 1566
whelk 715
whelp 772
when 1277
whence 220
where 1557
whet 944
whether 119
whey 1574
which 749
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while *adv* 1845
whilst 1845
whine 1893
whirl 428
whisper 487
whistle 479
whit 595
white 1919
whither 632
who 1360
whole 1379
whom 1444
whoop 2143
whore 2039
why 2005
woad 1469
woe 1359
woke 2104
wolf 983
woman 1879
womb 271
women 1880
won 1024
wonder 1040
wont 1020
woo 2118
wood 1071
woodruff 2077
woof 2066
wool 978
word 1215
work *sb* 697
work *vb* 1089
world 1181
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wormwood 656, 2138
worry 1093
worse 1080
worship 677
worst 1077
wort 1099
worth 676
wot 1460
would 1241
wound *sb* 1039
wound *ptc* 1041
woven 1265
wrath 1491
wreak 866
wreath 1490
wreck 865
wren 1522
wrench 812
wrest 1500
wrestle 1501
wretch 873
wright 1091
wring 519
wrinkle 508
wrist 480
write 1918
writhe 1852
written 613
wrong 209
wrote 1461
wroth 1389
wrought 1205
wrung 1011

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yard 711
yarn 33
yarrow 26
yawn 833
ye 1604
yea 1552
year 1559
yearn 692
yeast 792
yell 731
yellow 736
yelp 773
yes 468
yesterday 794
yet 937
yew 1786
yield 770
yoke 1284
yolk 751
yon 832
yore 1692
you 1787
young 827
your 1788
youth 1826
yule 1775

TABLES.

I. SOUND-CHANGE.

(References to §§.)

A*a*. INTERNAL ISOLATIVE.

voice to breath, through whisper, esp. in stops (50). also in vowels.

Vowels.

short widened, long narrowed (53).

high become unsyllabic (54).

place. short lowered, long raised (55). back to front, gen. through mixed (57). front to mixed (59).

rounding. back to rounding, front to unrounding (60). abnormal (62).

diphthonging of long vowels (63). smoothing of diphthongs (70). short diphthongs (73). glide to cons. (74).

loss (75).

contraction (78).

Consonants.

form. *weakenings*: stop to open, esp. when voiced (79). nasal to open (81). stop to side (82). side to open (83). open to vowel (84). open breath to breath glide (87). *strengthenings*: open to stop (88). trilling (89).

place. back to throat (90). front to back (92). forward to back (93). forward to front (94). lip to lip-teeth (95). forward to lip (96). other changes of forward (98). inversion (100). rounding, esp. of back open (102). *l* (104). cleaving (105). smoothing (106). loss (107). addition (108).

Quantity.

unstrest sounds shortened; short vowel + long cons. and vice-versa; conss. shortened (110). high vowels shortened (112). length-shifting in diphthongs (113). cons.-influence (114). different languages (116). infl. on other changes (117).

Force.

force-shifting in diphthongs (118). alternation in stress (119). want of stress (120). free stress (121). stress-shifting (122). influence on other changes (124).

Intonation.

word-intonation (127). sentence-intonation (128). connection with stress (129). to glottal stop (132). infl. on other changes (133).

Transposition.

generally isolated (135).

A*b*. INTERNAL COMBINATIVE.

forwards, backwards; partial, complete (136).

breath and voice (137). aspiration (140).

vowel harmony (141).

front-modification (142). mutation (145). diphthongic mutation (147).

back-influence (150).

rounding (151).

nasalizing (153). modifies vowel-formation (156).

parasite-vowels (159).

other influences (163). point (164). height and narrowness of vowels (165). front vowel developed before *s* (165). *s* opens stop (166). change of place (167). *kw* to *p* (168). development of *tʃ* etc (169). *sj* to *ʃ* (172).

B. ACOUSTIC.

isolative and combinative (173). vowel-pairs (174). striving after audibility (176). some changes partly acoustic, partly organic (176).

C. EXTERNAL CHANGES.

formal analogy (178). logical analogy (179). popular etymology (180). complete and partial influence (181). blendings (181). differentiation (182). retardation of organic change (183).

D. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

principles of economy: (*a*) dropping of superfluous sounds; (*b*) ease of transition (185). economy of exertion doubtful (186). fluctuation (187).

II. FORMS OF LETTERS.

Capitals.	Minuscules.	Black Letter.	Cursive.
A	a	𝔞	*a*
AE	æ ę	𝔞𝔢	*æ*
B	b	𝔟	*b*
C	c	𝔠	*c*
D	ꝺ d ð	𝔡	*d*
E	e	𝔢	*e*
F	ꝼ f	𝔣	*f*
G	ᵹ g	𝔤	*g*
H	h	𝔥	*h*
I	ı i j	𝔦 𝔧	*i j*
K	k	𝔨	*k*
L	l	𝔩	*l*
M	m	𝔪	*m*
N	n	𝔫	*n*
O	o	𝔬	*o*
P	p	𝔭	*p*
Q	q	𝔮	*q*
R	ꞃ r	𝔯	*r*
S	s ꞅ ſ	𝔰	*s*
T	ꞇ t	𝔱	*t*
V	v u	𝔳 𝔲	*v u*
VV	w	𝔴	*w*
X	x	𝔵	*x*
Y	y ẏ	𝔶	*y*
Z	z ç	𝔷	*z*

III. ENGLISH VOWELS.

OE	ME	LE
mann	man	mæn
sæt	sat	sæt
heard	hard	haad
nama	nāme	neim
witan	witen	wit
helpan	helpen	help
heofon	hevene	hevn
stelan	stêlen	stijl
ęnde	ende	end
męte	mête	mijt
sunu	sune	sən
synn	sinne	sin
oxa	oxe	óks
open	ôpen	oupn
stān	stǭn	stoun
dǣl	dę̄l	dijl
drēam	drę̄m	drijm
wīn	wīn	wain
grēne	grēne	grijn
dēop	dēp	dijp
hūs	hūs	haus
mōd	mōd	muwd
fȳr	fīr	faiər

IV. OLD-ENGLISH DIALECTS.

Gmc	eWS	lWS	eKt	lKt	Merc.	North.
a	monn, a	a	o, a	a	o	o
	heard	ea	ea	ea	ea	ea, a
	eall, a	ea	ea, a	ea	a	a
	gesceah	ea	ea	ea	æ	æ
	geaf	ea	æ	æ	æ	æ
e	weorc	eo	eo	eo	e	e
a-i	ierfe	y	ę	ę̄	ę	ę
i	bierhtu	y	i	i	i	i
ge	giellan	y	e	e	e	e
ka-i	ciele	y	ę	ę	ę	ę
u-i	synn	y	y	e	y	y
o-i	ele	e	œ	e	e	œ
ǣ	dǣd	ǣ	ē	ē	ē	ē
jǣ	gēar	ēa	ē	ē	ē	ē
au-i	hieran	ȳ	ē	ē	ē	ē
eu̯-i	gesīene	ȳ	ē	ē	ē	ē
aug	ēage	ēa	ēa	ēa	ē	ē
eug	flēogan	ēo	ēo	ēo	ē	ē
ū-i	fȳr	ȳ	ȳ	ē	ȳ	ȳ
ō-i	grēne	ē	œ̄	ē	œ̄	œ̄

V. MIDDLE-ENGLISH DIALECTS.

OE	Sth	EMl	Kt	Ch
o, a	mon	a	a	a
æ	þęt	a	a, e	a
ea	hęrd	a	a	a
ā, ea	ǭld	ā	ya	ǭ
eo	eorþe	eo, e	ye	e
y	sünne	i	e	i
ā	stǭn	ā	ǭ	ǭ
ēa	dę̄d	ę̄	ya	ę̄
ēo	dēovel	ēo, ē	ye	ē
ȳ	vǖr	ī	ē	ī

VI. MODERN ENGLISH VOWELS.

lME	fMn		aMn	thMn	LE
a	*man*	æ, a	æ	æ	æ
	path	æ, a	ææ	ææ	aa
i	*wit*	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*
e	*end*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*
u	*son*	*u*	ʌ	ɐ	ɐ
o	*ox*	*o*	*ɔ*	*ɒ*	*ɔ*
ā	*name*	ææ, aa	*ee*	ee	*e*i, əi
ī	*wine*	ei	əi	əi	əi, ai
ē	*green*	ii	ii	ii	*i*j
ę̄	*deal*	*ee*	ee	ee, ii	
ū	*house*	ou	əu	əu	əu, æu
ō	*moon*	uu	uu	uu	*u*w, *ü*w
ǭ	*stone*	*oo*	oo	oo	*o*u, au
ai	*day*	ai, *ee*	æi, *ee*	ee	*æ*i, əi
ei	*they*	*e*i, *ee*	*ee*		
oi	*boil*	oi, ui	oi, ʌi	oi, əi	oi, əi
au	*saw*	au, *oo*	*ɔɔ*	ɔɔ	ɔɔ
ēu (ǖ)	*new*	yy(u), iu	yy, iu	juu	j*u*w, jw
ę̄u	*few*	*e*u	eu, iu		
ōu	*grow*	ou	ou, oo	oo	*o*u, au
ǭu	*know*				

CONTRACTIONS.

Æfc = Ælfric.
ÆfcH = Ælfric's Homilies.
Æþr = Æþelred.
AFrisian = Anglo-Frisian.
Aldhgl = Aldhelm Glossary.
AllP = Morris's Alliterative Poems.
Amer. = American.
AR = Ancren Riwle.
Ar. = Arian, Arabic.
Aud. = Audelay.
Ay. = Ayenbite.

Bch = Buchanan.
Best. = Bestiary.
Bg = Bulgarian.
BH = Bede's History (OET).
BlH = Blickling Homilies.
Bll = Bullokar.
Bo- = Boulogne.
Boeth. = Boethius.
Bt = Butler.
Bulg. = Bulgarian.

CH = Cædmon's Hymn.
ch(art.) = charter.
Ch = Chaucer.
Chr(on.) = Chronicle.
cj = conjunction.
Ck = Cheke.
CM = Cursor Mundi.
cp = compare, comparative.
Cp = Corpus glossary, Cooper.

Dan. = Danish.
Du. = Durham Gospels.

e- = Early.
E. = English.
E- = East.
EO = Expert Orthographist.
Ep. = Epinal glossary.
E(r)f. = Erfurt.

f- = First.
Fk = Franklin.
F(r) = French.

Gael. = Gaelic.
GE = Genesis and Exodus.
Gk = Greek.

-gl = Glossary.
G(m) = German.
Gmc = Germanic.
Goth. = Gothic.
Grein = Grein's Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie.
Guþl. = Godwin's Guþlac.

Harl. = Harleian MS.
Hom. = Morris's Old-English Homilies.
Ht = Hart.
Hung. = Hungarian.
Hv = Havelok.
HVg = Welsh Hymn to the Virgin.

Icel. = (Modern) Icelandic.
Ital. = Italian.

Jn = Jones.
Jul. = St. Juliana.

Kath. = St. Katharine.
KS = Kentish Sermons.
Kt = Kentish.

l- = Late.
L- = Living.
Lay. = Layamon.
Ld = Laud (Peterborough) Chronicle, Lediard.
Leechd. = Cockayne's Leechdoms.
Lei. = Leiden.
Lith. = Lithuanian.
L(a)t = Latin.
LV = Liber Vitae (OET).

M- = Middle.
Marg. = St. Margaret.
Merc. = Mercian.
Mg = Miege.
MH = Metrical Homilies.
MHG = Middle High German.
Ml = Midland.
Mn- = Modern.
Mod. = Modern.
Mtt = Matthew.

N- = North.
North. = Northumbrian, Northern.
Norw. = Norwegian.

O = Ormulum.
O- = Old.
OE = Old English (Anglo-Saxon).
OET = Oldest English Texts.
OHG = Old High German.
OI = Old Icelandic.
ON = Owl and Nightingale.
Or. = Orosius.

P. = Price.
Past. = Pastoral Care.
PC = Prick of Conscience.
PChr = Parker Chronicle.
Pg = Palsgrave.
pl = plural.
Port. = Portuguese.
PPl = Piers Ploughman.
prn = pronoun.
Prompt. = Promptorium Parvulorum.
prp = preposition.
prt = preterite.
Ps = Metrical Psalter.
ptc = participle.

RBC = Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.
RG(l) = Robert of Gloucester.
Rit. = Durham Ritual.
Ru. = Rushworth gloss (Matthew).
Russ. = Russian.

s- = Second.
S- = South.
sb = substantive.
Sb = Salesbury.
Scand. = Scandinavian.
Scint. = Liber Scintillarum.
sg = singular.
Sh = Sheridan.
Sk = Sanskrit.
Sm = Smith.
st- = Standard.
Sth = Southern.
Suff. = Suffolk.
Sw(ed.) = Swedish.

Td = Tindal.
th- = Third.
TM = Townley Mysteries.
Tr = Transition.

vb = verb.
Verc. = Vercelli MS.
vg = Vulgar.
VP = Vespasian Psalter.
VS = Visible Speech.

W. = Wallis.
W- = West.
Wgl = Wright's Glossaries.
Wicl. = Wiclif.
Wk = Wilkins.
WS = West-Saxon.

THE END.

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